

PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

IX

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

MCMLXXXV

American ISBN 0-674-99400-0
British ISBN 0 434 99363 8

First printed 1941
Reprinted 1954, 1960, 1967, 1985

Printed in Great Britain

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PREFACE TO VOLUME IX

THE six treatises or parts of treatises comprised in this volume are of a very different nature from the eight preceding volumes. In those the all-engrossing subject has been the interpretation of the Pentateuch, illustrated to a small extent from the rest of the Old Testament and largely, throughout the first five which we have called the Commentary, from Greek philosophy. In this volume only one part, the fragment of the *Hypothetica* preserved by Eusebius, takes any serious account of the Pentateuch, and it treats it with a method and in a spirit which has nothing in common with the philosophical allegorizing of the Commentary and bears only a superficial resemblance to the full and orderly classification and the abundance of striking thoughts which distinguish the Exposition. Of the other five treatises three are purely philosophical and differ entirely from the other two. One of these is to some extent autobiographical and deals with contemporary history. It is closely related to the longer *Legatio* which is reserved for the final volume, but stands quite apart from the remaining one, the *De Vit. Cont.*, which describes the life of a particular community, whether we take this, as is generally assumed, to be a typical example of a widespread movement, or, as I should prefer, an isolated and perhaps ephemeral institution

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which happened to be well known to Philo and secured his friendship and admiration. Even the three philosophical treatises are very heterogeneous. The first deals with that kernel of Stoic ethics, the self-sufficiency of the virtuous man, the second with the mystery of the universe, the third with its divine government. The volume as a whole is an ample proof of the versatility of Philo's mind, but yet to me at least it is far less interesting than the other eight. I expect that this is true also of the great majority of those who throughout the centuries have made a careful study of Philo, and that what I have suggested with regard to the *Quod Omn. Prob.*, that it owes its preservation not so much to its intrinsic merits as to the interest and respect created by Philo's main work, is true more or less of the other five treatises.

In view of this it is odd to find that there has been more translation into English of the contents of this volume than of all the rest of Philo. In the first five volumes of Cohn-Wendland the German translation by different hands has appeared at intervals, but there has been no rendering into English except of isolated passages between Yonge and this translation. For this volume the German version is no doubt either in preparation or has been completed and possibly published, but I have heard nothing of it.^a In English on the other hand we have Conybeare's version of the *De Vit. Cont.*, which supplements his great and important commentary, Gifford's versions of the *Hypothetica*, and of the *De Prov.* as well as of 16 sections of the *Quod Omn. Prob.* contained in the transla-

^a We have, however, Bernays' earlier version of the *De Aeternitate*.

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tion which forms part of his monumental edition of the *Praeparatio*, and Box's translation of the *Flaccus* in his recent edition of that treatise. While I have been careful not to look at any of the translations before making my own I have found comparison with them very useful, leading sometimes to correction or at least reconsideration, though I have abstained from borrowing their phraseology even when I prefer it to my own. But I must say something more about Mr. Box's work. I cannot of course judge the comparative merits of the two translations, but his historical introduction and commentary on historical points is on a scale which I could not attempt to rival, and my much shorter notes even when they embody different conclusions from his are largely founded on them. What a pity that the same pains and research have never been used to produce so complete a commentary on the real, the theological and philosophical side of Philo's work!

It was clearly right to include either in this or the next volume the extracts made by Eusebius from the otherwise unknown *Hypothetica*. The extracts are so substantial that it is much to be regretted that they were omitted in the *Editio Maior* of Cohn-Wendland, and their inclusion in the *Editio Minor* makes only partial amends, as that has no *Apparatus Criticus*. The other great set of extracts from the *De Prov.* are in a different position, as the whole treatise survives in the Armenian, and it was a doubtful question whether it should not be relegated to a separate volume containing that and also the other treatise only known in the Armenian, the *De Animalibus*. But at any rate by the course which we have adopted the reader will have ultimately in

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his hands all that substantially survives of Philo in the original Greek.

The text of the first three treatises was edited by Cohn himself. Here his work both in the text itself and in the subsequent discussion of points in *Hermes*, 1916, ended, and the rest of his volume six, *i.e.* the *Flaccus* and *Legatio*, was edited by Reiter. I have as in previous volumes taken their text for my base, but, largely because I felt that I was moving in a less familiar region, I have adhered to it more closely and confined my suggested corrections almost entirely to the footnotes instead of substituting them in the text, even in cases such as that of p. 52 where I feel fairly confident of the correction proposed. In the two Eusebian items I have taken for my base what seemed to be the most authoritative, *i.e.* the text of the Editio Minor for the *Hypothetica* and the latest edition (Gifford's) for the *De Prov.*, but compared them with other editions and noted the alternatives. These alternatives I have occasionally adopted, and as the notes both at the foot and in the Appendix will show, there are other cases where further reflection makes me think that the alternatives are superior. But at any rate so long as the alternatives are clearly indicated it matters little whether they appear in the notes or in the body of the text.

F. H. C.

CAMBRIDGE
March 1941

LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES
IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (*De Opificio Mundi*)
Allegorical Interpretation (*Lægum Allegoriæ*)
- II. On the Cherubim (*De Cherubim*)
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (*De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*)
The Worse attacks the Better (*Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari solet*)
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (*De Posteritate Caini*)
On the Giants (*De Gigantibus*)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (*Quod Deus immutabilis sit*)
On Husbandry (*De Agricultura*)
On Noah's Work as a Planter (*De Plantatione*)
On Drunkenness (*De Ebrietate*)
On Sobriety (*De Sobrietate*)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (*De Confusione Linguarum*)
On the Migration of Abraham (*De Migratione Abrahami*)
Who is the Heir (*Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres*)
On the Preliminary Studies (*De Congressu quaerendæ Eruditionis gratia*)
- V. On Flight and Finding (*De Fuga et Inventione*)
On the Change of Names (*De Mutatione Nominum*)
On Dreams (*De Somniis*)
- VI. On Abraham (*De Abrahamo*)
On Joseph (*De Iosepho*)
Moses (*De Vita Mosis*)

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VOLUME

- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)
On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)
- VIII. On the Special Laws Book IV (De Specialibus Legibus)
On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)
On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)
- IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)
On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)
On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)
Flaccus (In Flaccum)
Hypothetica ¹ (Apologia pro Iudaeis)
On Providence ¹ (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)
- GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis ² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus ² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)
- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

¹ Only two fragments extant.

² Extant only in an Armenian version.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE
(QUOD OMNIS PROBUS LIBER SIT)

INTRODUCTION TO *QUOD OMNIS PROBUS LIBER SIT*

This treatise is usually believed to be a youthful essay of Philo's and we may well suppose that it belongs to a period of his life when he still had the dialectic of the philosophical schools fresh in mind and before he had settled down to his life's work of interpreting the Pentateuch. Its genuineness has been impugned but on no good grounds. It has the testimony of Eusebius, who names it in his list of Philo's works,^a and also makes a long extract from it, and it is also used on a considerable scale by St. Ambrose though he does not name the author. But apart from these the close resemblance in style and language, remarkably close, considering the difference of subject to the main body of treatises, leaves little doubt as to the authorship.

The tract is an argument to show the truth of the Stoic "paradox" that the wise man alone is free. The paradoxes are one of the best known features of the Stoic system. The doctrine that all the gifts and qualities generally held desirable belong in the true sense to the virtuous or wise man is a natural deduction from the primary maxim that the morally excellent, τὸ καλόν, is the only good. Though they sometimes assume a fantastic form, as when the Stoics claimed, or were supposed to claim, that only the wise

^a *Ecel. Hist.* ii. 18.

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man could be a general or a pilot or a poet or a cobbler,^a the more obvious ones that he alone is free or rich or noble or beautiful,^b are really almost truisms which have been echoed by preachers and moralists in every age. But they put the doctrine in arresting forms which impressed the serious and also gave occasion for banter to those who observed that the life of the philosophers was not always consistent with their principles. Allusions to them and short explanations of their meaning abound in Stoic writings. The list compiled by Arnim (*S.V.F.*) contains some 120 items. But the peculiarity of this treatise is that it argues out the matter with a fullness and lengthiness unparalleled elsewhere,^c though since the writings of the founders of Stoicism have not survived we cannot say how they may have treated it. At any rate the treatise, whatever its intrinsic merits, has this interest that we have in it a specimen of Stoic dialectic preserved to us almost by accident because it was part of the works of an author whose treatment of the Pentateuch appealed so strongly to the Christian mind.

The length and fullness become still more remark-

^a Cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 3. 128.

^b "The wise man only is free, because he alone uses his own will and controls himself; alone beautiful, because only virtue is beautiful and attractive; alone rich and happy, because goods of the soul are the most valuable, and true riches consist in being independent of wants." Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. trans.), p. 253.

^c The most substantial discussions of this particular paradox known to me are Cicero's *Paradoxa*, ch. v., and Epictetus's *Diss.* iv. 1. Epictetus's meditation is much the longer of the two, but is too discursive to summarize. It lays more stress than Philo does on obedience to the will of God as the true freedom.

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able when we find that we have here only the second part of a disquisition, for Philo tells us in his opening sentence that it was preceded by "that every fool or bad man is a slave," which is also mentioned by Eusebius in the catalogue named above. Since mankind are divided into free and slaves and also, according to orthodox Stoicism, into wise and fools, then if the wise alone is free it must follow that a fool is a slave, and one cannot but think that the two should be taken together as they are by Cicero. However, it is a fact that the slavery of the bad though frequently just mentioned is never discussed at length in our treatise except in §§ 51 ff., where the argument that the wise enjoy the right of free discussion (*ἰσηγορία*), which is the mark of the free, is followed by the converse so completely worked out that it can hardly have been given in the earlier half. The slavery of lovesickness is also described at some length in § 38, but it is introduced there so incidentally that one would not be surprised to find it earlier. The main topic presumably was the slavery to the passions which is noted in § 45 and more fully in §§ 156 and 158 f. and is a subject capable of development to any extent. Slightly different to this is the slavery of the multitude to opinion, cf. § 21, and he may well have noticed also what Cicero gives as an example, the devotion to artistic objects. The description of a statesman who never cringes to the mob in *De Ios.* 67 suggests that something about the statesman who is in servitude to the people would be appropriate, and this again appears in Cicero. The thought that slavery in the sense of subjection to the wise is the best hope for the wicked, a moral which he draws from the story of Esau (§ 57) and from Noah's curse of Canaan in *De*

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Sob. 69,^a may well have played a part. One thing we may be sure of is that examples were drawn from secular history such as the slavish fear of Dionysius or the impious infatuation of Xerxes^b to correspond to the examples of philosophical heroism in which this tract abounds.

The great preponderance of secular illustration may be fairly regarded as another sign that this and the twin treatise belong to the youth of Philo. There are altogether only five allusions to or quotations from the Pentateuch. In this the treatise stands in marked contrast to the *De Nob*, which as I have pointed out elsewhere is really a dissertation on the twin paradox that the wise man is noble but is illustrated entirely from the Pentateuch.

It is a consequence of this predominantly secular character that to judge from Cohn's footnotes little use of the treatise was made by Christian writers with two marked exceptions. The first is the account of the Essenes in §§ 75-91, which is quoted in full by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* viii. 12. Eusebius has special reasons for making this extract. The other is the 37th letter of Ambrose, a large part of which is a kind of paraphrase of the *Quod Omnis Probus*. I have mentioned in my notes three passages from this which have some bearing on the text or its interpretation, but there are many others cited by Cohn.^c

^a Both these examples from Genesis are quoted by Ambrose xxxvii. 67, with the same moral.

^b Cf. *De Som.* ii. 117 ff.

^c One that is not noticed by Cohn is to be found in xxxvii. 33, where the "heavy hands" of Moses in Ex. xvii. 12 are cited as showing that the heart and deeds of the wise man should be steadfast and immovable. Cf. § 29.

In general it is interesting to observe how Ambrose

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The following is an analysis of the treatise.

After stating the subject of this and the preceding treatise Philo points out that such high doctrines are beyond the comprehension of the uneducated multitude (1-3) to whom they seem wild illusion (4-5). He gives a highly coloured picture of the way in which the ignorant react to the paradoxes that the wise and the foolish are respectively (a) citizens and exiles (6-7), (b) rich and poor (8-9) and says that they raise the same objection to the paradox of freedom and slavery which is here discussed (10). Such persons should like sick people put themselves under the guidance of the physician, that is the philosopher, and if they do so they will feel that they have wasted their past, whence we see the need of philosophical education for the young (11-15).

Coming to the main question, after pointing out that he is not dealing with freedom or slavery of the body (16-18) and declaring that the true freedom, like true sovereignty (though this does not concern us at present), lies in following God (19-20), he passes at once to the main point that the wise man is free from the domination of the passions (21-22). What the poet rightly says of the contempt of death is true of the contempt of other ills, and the wise man will assert

manages to give a Christian and Biblical touch to the secular matter which he draws from Philo. Thus while noting the quotation from Sophocles, in § 19, he adds that David and Job said the same thing before Sophocles. The thought in §§ 38 ff. that masters, like the purchasers of lions, become slaves of their slaves is supported by Ambrose from Prov. xvii. 2 (Lxx) : "a wise servant rules a foolish master," and after giving the story of Calanus and his letter (§§ 93 ff.) almost verbatim, he points out that Calanus's heroism is surpassed by Laurence and the Three Children and the Maccabean martyrs.

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his freedom by facing these bravely (22-25). This is supported by citing the resolution shown by pancratiasts (26-27); also the wise man is unmoved and thus has the leadership of the common herd (28-31). At this point he seems to digress ^a in order to show that some common conceptions of slavery are inconsistent. Such are (a) the fact of service, but soldiers serve without being slaves and the same is true of the impoverished free man, whilst slaves often have control of others (32-35), (b) the fact of having to obey, but children obey their parents yet are reckoned free (36), (c) of being purchased, but free men are ransomed and purchased slaves often rule their masters just as purchased lions intimidate their owners (37-40). The argument is resumed by showing that the wise man is (a) happy (41), (b) like Moses a friend of God and therefore free (42-44), also as law-abiding cities are considered free, so he also obeys the law of reason (45-47). Next comes an intricate argument on the *ἰσχυροπία* or right of discussion on an equal footing enjoyed by the wise (48-50) and not enjoyed by the fool (51-52), and this is supported by a saying of Zeno (53-56) which Philo supposes him to have derived from Moses's account of Isaac condemning Esau to be the slave of Jacob (57). A final argument is: "the wise man is free because he does right voluntarily, cannot be compelled to do wrong and treats things indifferent with indifference" (58-61).

Here till towards the end of the treatise the argument proper is dropped and we have several stories of persons who exemplify the picture of the wise man given above. These are introduced by a discussion whether such persons are to be found. Some doubt

^a See note on § 32.

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it (62), yet they do exist and have existed though they are scarce and also hard to find because they seek retirement from the wickedness of the world (62-63). We ought to seek them out instead of ransacking land and sea for jewels and the like (64-66) and we should remember the text, "the word is very near thee in thy mouth and thy heart and thy hand." The thoughts, words and deeds here symbolized will if properly cultivated produce good fruit (67-70), but we neglect this and consequently the rarity of the virtuous (71-72). Still they exist both in Greece itself and outside Greece, among the Persians and Indians (73-74), while in Palestine we have the Essenes (75). The long account of the Essenes which follows describes the innocence of their occupations (76-78), rejection of slave labour (79), devout study of the law, particularly on the Sabbath (80-82), threefold devotion to God, virtue and man (83-84), the last particularly shown by sharing house and property and providing for the sick and aged (84-87). Their excellence is attested by the respect shown them even by tyrants and oppressors (88-91). Passing on to individuals, we have the story of the Indian Calanus and his firm resistance to Alexander (92-97), and returning to the Greeks some examples from poetry and history, the picture of Heracles in Euripides (98-104) and, leaving demigods out as not fair specimens, Zeno the Eleate and Anaxarchus (105-109). Further, the dauntlessness shown by those who are not philosophers assures us that the true philosopher is still more dauntless. Among these are the athletes (110-113) and even boys and women (114-117), and whole people like the Xanthians (118-120). In these we see a fortitude which ends in their death, but there is

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also a fortitude in continuing to live, and so we here have a number of anecdotes of Diogenes, somewhat irrelevantly, since Diogenes was a philosopher (120-124). This leads to other stories of bold answering by Chaereas and Theodorus (125-130); after this digression we return to the fortitude which defies death, the example being fighting cocks who fight on till they are killed (131-135). Then there is another digression. That freedom in the ordinary sense is noble and slavery disgraceful is universally recognized (136-137) and examples of this feeling are given—the desire for political freedom shown by senates and generals (138-139), the abhorrence of slavery shown by exclusions of slaves from festivals and from the Argo (140-143). The remainder of the treatise is connected though loosely with the main theme. The wise man will scorn and have a ready answer for all attempts which threaten his independence (144-146) for, since actual slaves when in asylum often exhibit great boldness, the wise man will find a stronger asylum in his virtue (148-153) and will discard all crooked and crafty ways (154-155). It is absurd to suppose that manumission gives true liberty (156-157). The concluding sections (158-161) repeat the main doctrine that freedom lies in eliminating the passions and emphasize the need of education of the young to attain this end.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΙΟΝ ΕΛΕΥ- ΘΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ

- [445]
¹ I. Ὁ μὲν πρότερος λόγος ἦν ἡμῖν, ὦ Θεόδοτε, περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον, ὥς καὶ διὰ πολλῶν καὶ εἰκότων καὶ ἀληθῶν ἐπιστῶσάμεθα· οὗτοσί δ' ἐκείνου συγγενής, ὁμοπάτριος καὶ ὁμομήτριος ἀδελφὸς καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δίδυμος, καθ' ὃν ² ἐπιδείξομεν, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἀστεῖος ἐλεύθερος. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἱερώτατον θίασον λόγος ἔχει μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων καλῶν καὶ τοῦτ' ἀναδιδάσκειν, “ταῖς λεωφόροις μὴ βαδίζειν ὁδοῖς,” οὐχ ἵνα κρημνοβατῶμεν—οὐ γὰρ ποσὶ κάματον παρήγγελλεν—, ἀλλ' αἰνιττόμενος διὰ συμβόλου τὸ μήτε λόγοις μήτ' ἔργοις δημῶδεσι καὶ πεπατημένοις ³ χρῆσθαι. ὅσοι δὲ φιλοσοφίαν γνησίως ἡσπάσαντο, καταπειθεῖς γενόμενοι τῷ προστάγματι νόμον αὐτὸ μᾶλλον δὲ θεσμόν ἰσοῦμενον χρησμῷ ὑπέτοπησαν, δόξας δ' ἀγελαίους ὑπερκύψαντες ἀτραπὸν ἄλλην ἐκαινοτόμησαν ἄβατον¹ ἰδιώταις λόγων
- ¹ MSS. ἄλλην.

^a See Introd. p. 4.

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I. Our former treatise, Theodotus, had for its theme 1
“ every bad man is a slave ” and established it by
many reasonable and indisputable arguments.^a The
present treatise is closely akin to that, its full brother,
indeed, we may say its twin, and in it we shall show
that every man of worth is free.^b Now we are told 2
that the saintly company of the Pythagoreans teaches
among other excellent doctrines this also, “ walk not
on the highways.”^c This does not mean that we
should climb steep hills—the school was not prescribing
foot-weariness—but it indicates by this figure
that in our words and deeds we should not follow
popular and beaten tracks. All genuine votaries of 3
philosophy have obeyed the injunction, divining in it
a law, or rather super-law,^d equivalent to an oracle.
Rising above the opinions of the common herd they
have opened up a new pathway, in which the outside
world can never tread, for studying and discerning

^b On this and the Stoic “ paradoxes ” in general see
Intro. pp. 2 ff.

^c See Diog. Laert. viii. 17, where this occurs in a list of
allegorical watchwords or precepts (σύμβολα) put forth by
Pythagoras, others being “ Don’t stir a fire with a knife,”
“ Don’t eat your heart,” and “ Don’t keep birds with crooked
claws.” Diogenes Laertius explains a few of them. On the
exact form of the one quoted here see App. p. 509.

^d See App. p. 509.

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- καὶ δογμάτων, ἰδέας ἀνατείλαντες ὧν οὐδενὶ μὴ
 4 καθαρῷ θέμις ψαύειν. λέγω δὲ μὴ
 [446] καθαρούς, ὅσοι ἢ παιδείας εἰς ἅπαν ἄγευστοι | δι-
 ετέλεσαν ἢ πλαγίως ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπ' εὐθείας αὐτὴν
 ἐδέξαντο κάλλος τὸ σοφίας εἰς τὸ σοφιστείας
 5 αἰσχος μεταχαράξαντες. οὗτοι τὸ νοητὸν φῶς
 ἰδεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι δι' ἀσθένειαν τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν
 ὁμματος, ὃ ταῖς μαρμαρυγαῖς πέφυκεν ἐπισκιάζε-
 σθαι, καθάπερ ἐν νυκτὶ διάγοντες ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ζῶσι καὶ ὅς' ἂν αὐγαῖς ἀκράτοις τῶν
 ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων¹ εἰλικρινέστατα περιabhρήσαντες
 διηγῶνται τεράστια νομίζουσι φάσμασιν εἰκότα,
 τῶν ἐν τοῖς θαύμασιν οὐ διαφέροντα.
 6 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτόπια καὶ θαύματ' ὄντως, φυγάδας
 μὲν καλεῖν τοὺς μὴ μόνον ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει διατρί-
 βοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευόντας καὶ δικάζοντας καὶ
 ἐκκλησιάζοντας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἀγορανομίας καὶ
 γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας λειτουργίας ὑπο-

¹ The text here is uncertain. All mss. except M have *κρατούντων* or *ἐπικρατούντων* after *ἀκτίνων*. But *ἀκτίς* is always feminine. Cohn follows M in the main, but does not give any satisfactory account of the presence of *κρατούντων* in the others.

^a *ἰδέα* here in the Platonic sense equivalent to *νοητὸν φῶς* below.

^b This section is clearly a reminiscence of the opening of Plato, *Rep.* vii. 514 ff. where mankind are compared to prisoners chained in a cave with their backs to a fire and unable to see more than the shadows cast by the passers-by, who even if released will be so dazzled by the daylight that they will still believe that the shadows are the reality.

^c So Plato 515 c *διὰ τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς ἀδυνατοὶ καθορᾶν ἐκείνα ὧν τότε τὰς σκιὰς εἶώρα*.

^d Philo is perhaps thinking of *ibid.* 514 B *ὥσπερ τοῖς*

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truths, and have brought to light the ideal forms^a which none of the unclean may touch.

By unclean I mean all those who without ever tasting⁴ education at all, or else having received it in a crooked and distorted form, have changed the stamp of wisdom's beauty into the ugliness of sophistry. These,^b unable to discern the conceptual light through⁵ the weakness of the soul's eye, which cannot but be beclouded by the flashing rays,^c as dwellers in perpetual night disbelieve those who live in the daylight, and think that all their tales of what they have seen around them, shown clearly by the unalloyed radiance of the sunbeams, are wild phantom-like inventions no better than the illusions of the puppet show.^d

"Surely it is an absurdity," they think,^e 6
"a mere showman's trick, to apply names in this way, to give the name of exile to men who not only spend their days in the heart of the city, but also sit as councillors, jurymen, and members of assembly, and sometimes undertake the burden of administering the market, or managing the gymnasium and the

θαυματοποιοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόκειται τὰ παραφράγματα, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ θαύματα δεικνύσιν. But see App. p. 509.

^e While the sense requires beyond all question that the next four sections represent the views of the unphilosophical common man and in particular explain the word *θαύματα* ("puppet show" or "conjurer's trick") as applied just above to the paradoxes of the philosophers, it seems strange to find no word to indicate this. And anyone who reads the translations of Yonge or Mangey, where no such word is inserted, naturally starts off by taking these sections to be Philo's opinion, until he realizes that they will make hopeless nonsense. It is possible that *φασί* or some such word has fallen out, but not necessary. A somewhat similar air of approbation in stating opinions which are finally condemned may be found in *Spec. Leg.* i. 335-338.

PHILO

- 7 μένοντας, πολίτας δὲ τοὺς ἢ μὴ ἐγγραφέντας τὸ παράπαν ἢ ὧν ἀτιμία καὶ φυγὴ κατέγνωσται, πέραν ὄρων ἀνθρώπους ἐληλαμένους, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς χώρας ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὸ πατρῶον ἔδαφος θεάσασθαι δυναμένους, εἰ μὴ τισι Ποιναῖς ἐλαύνοντο θανατῶντες; ἔφεδροι γὰρ καταστειχόντων κολασταὶ μυρίοι, καὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν ἡκονημένοι καὶ νόμων προστάξειςιν ὑπηρετοῦντες.
- 8 II. πῶς δὲ οὐ παράλογα καὶ γέμοντα πολλῆς ἀναισχυντίας ἢ μανίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω—διὰ γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν οὐδ' οἰκείων ὀνομάτων εὐπορῆσαι ῥάδιον—πλουσίους μὲν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς, λυπρῶς καὶ ἀθλίως ἀποζῶντας, μόλις τὸ ἐφήμερον ἐκπορίζοντας, ἐν εὐθηνία κοινῇ λιμὸν ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντας, ἀρετῆς αὖρα, καθάπερ ἀέρι φασὶ τοὺς τέττιγας, τρεφομένους,
- 9 πένητας δὲ τοὺς ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ πλήθει κτημάτων καὶ προσόδων καὶ ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονία περιρρεομένους, ὧν ὁ πλοῦτος οὐ συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους αὐτὸ μόνον ὤνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔξω προελθὼν μεγάλους ὀμίλους δημοτῶν καὶ φυλετῶν, διαβὰς δ' ἔτι μείζον καὶ πόλει χορηγεῖ τὰ πάντα, ὧν εἰρήνη χρειὸς ἢ πόλεμος;

^a The paradox of good man citizen *v.* bad man exile does not seem to be quoted so often as some of the others, and the only examples cited by Arnim are from Philo himself, *e.g.* *Leg. All.* iii. 1. But *cf.* Cicero, *Acad. Pri.* ii. 136 *Sapientem . . . solum civem . . . insipientes omnes peregrinos, exsules.*

^b Lit. "I know not." This use of the 1st person sing. in a statement of other people's opinions seems strange, but is paralleled in *De Aet.* 119, and *Flacc.* 50.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 7-10

other public services : to call those citizens^a who have 7
either never been placed on the burgess rolls or have
been condemned to disfranchisement or banishment,
men chased beyond the frontiers, unable not only to
set foot in the country but even to get a distant view
of their ancestral soil, unless hounded thither by some
kind of avenging furies they come courting death.
For when they return there are numberless ministers
of punishment waiting for them, spurred to vengeance
by their personal feelings and also ready to do service
to the commands of the law."

II. "Surely 8
your other statements too," they continue, "are con-
trary to reason, brimful of shameless effrontery and
madness or one knows not^b what to call them, for even
names are difficult to find appropriate to such extra-
vagance. You call those rich^c who are utterly desti-
tute, lacking the very necessities, who drag on their
sorry, miserable life, scarcely providing their daily
subsistence, starving exceptions to the general pros-
perity, feeding on the empty breath of virtue as
grasshoppers are said to feed on air.^d You call those 9
poor who are lapped round by silver and gold and a
multitude of landed possessions and revenues and
numberless other good things in unstinted abundance,
whose wealth not only benefits their kinsfolk and
friends but steps outside the household to do the same
to multitudes of fellow tribesmen and wardsmen, and
taking a still wider sweep endows the state with all
that either peace or war demands. It is part of the 10

^c The paradox good man rich *v.* bad man poor is very common, see examples in *S.V.F.* iii. 589-603. Philo's constant insistence on the contrast between blind wealth and seeing wealth is substantially the same.

^d See on *De Vit. Cont.* 35.

PHILO

- 10 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ὀνειρώξεως τοῖς μὲν ἀμφιθαλέσι καὶ τῷ ὄντι εὐπατρίδαις, ὧν οὐ γονεῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πάπποι καὶ πρόγονοι μέχρι τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν ἐπιφανέστατοι γεγόνασι, δουλείαν ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιφημίσαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τριγωνίας στιγματαῖαις, πεδότρυψι καὶ παλαιο-δούλοις, ἐλευθερίαν.
- 11 [447] "Ἔστι δὲ | τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς ἔφην, πρόφασις ἀνθρώπων, οἱ διάνοιαν μὲν ἡμαύρωνται, δοῦλοι δ' εἰσὶ δόξης ἐπανεχόντες αἰσθήσεσιν, ὧν τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὸ
- 12 τῶν κρινομένων ἀεὶ δεκαζόμενον¹ ἀβέβαιον. χρῆν δὲ αὐτούς, εἴπερ ὅλως ἐξήλουν ἀλήθειαν, μὴ τῶν τὰ σώματα καμνόντων ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι· ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἰατροῖς ὑγείας ὀρεγόμενοι, κατοκνοῦσι δ' οὗτοι νόσον ψυχῆς, ἀπαιδευσίαν, ἀπώσασθαι, γενόμενοι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμιληταί, παρ' ὧν οὐ μόνον ἔστιν ἀπομαθεῖν ἀμαθίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου κτῆμα προσλαβεῖν, ἐπι-
- 13 στήμην. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον² Πλάτωνα "φθόνος ἕξω θείου χοροῦ ἴσταται," θειότατον δὲ καὶ κοινωνικώτατον σοφία, συγκλείει μὲν οὐδέποτε τὸ ἑαυτῆς φροντιστήριον, ἀναπεπταμένη δὲ ἀεὶ δέχεται τοὺς ποτίμων διψῶντας λόγων, οἷς ἀκράτου διδασκαλίας ἄφθονον ἐπαντλοῦσα νᾶμα μεθύειν τὴν

¹ mss. δικάζόμενον.

² So M. The others *λιγυρώτατον* ("most musical" or "clear-voiced"). I feel considerable doubt as to whether M is right. The quotation which follows as well as the phrase *ποτίμων λόγων* comes from the myth in the *Phaedrus* which Socrates introduces with an appeal to the Muses as *λίγεια* (237 A), and *λιγυρός* has been used earlier, 230 c, in describing the scene of the dialogue.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 10-13

same fantastic dream when you dare to ascribe slavery to the highly connected,^a the indisputably nobly born, who have not only parents but grandparents and ancestors right down to the founders of the family greatly distinguished both in the male and the female line : freedom to those who are heirs in the third generation to the branding iron, the fetter, and immemorial thralldom."

So they think, but all this is as I have said, the 11 shallow talk of men with minds bedimmed, slaves to opinion, basing themselves on the senses, whose unstable council is always open to bribes from its suitors. If they whole-heartedly sought for truth, they ought 12 not to let themselves be outdone in prudence by the sick in body. They in their desire for health commit themselves to physicians, but these people show no willingness to cast off the soul-sickness of their untrained grossness by resorting to wise men from whom they can not only unlearn their ignorance but gain that knowledge which is mankind's peculiar property. But since we have it on the sacred author- 13 ity of Plato that envy has no place in the divine choir,^b and wisdom is most divine and most free-handed, she never closes her school of thought but always opens her doors to those who thirst for the sweet water of discourse,^c and pouring on them an unstinted stream of undiluted doctrine, persuades them to be drunken with the drunkenness which is

^a See App. p. 510.

^b *Phaedrus* 247 A. Quoted also with *βαίνει* for *ἵσταται* *Spec. Leg.* ii. 249, and with many echoes elsewhere. See note on *De Fuga* 62 (vol. v. pp. 583 f.).

^c Cf. *Phaedrus* 243 D *ἐπιθυμῶ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἷον ἄλμυρὰν ἀκοήν ἀποκλύσασθαι*. The phrase has been used several times by Philo.

14 νηφάλιον ἀναπείθει μέθην. οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ἱεροφαντηθέντες, ὅταν ὀργίων γεμισθῶσι, πολλὰ τῆς πρόσθεν ὀλιγωρίας ἑαυτοὺς κακίζουσιν, ὥς οὐ φεισάμενοι χρόνου, βίον δὲ τρύφαντες ἀβίω-

15 τον, ἐν ᾧ φρονήσεως ἐχήρουν. ἄξιον οὖν νεότητα τὴν πανταχοῦ πᾶσαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς πρώτης ἀκμῆς μηδενὶ μᾶλλον ἢ παιδείᾳ ἀναθεῖναι,¹ ἥ καὶ ἐνηβῆσαι καὶ ἐγγηράσαι καλόν· ὥσπερ γάρ, φασί, τὰ καινὰ τῶν ἀγγείων ἀναφέρει τὰς τῶν πρώτων εἰς αὐτὰ ἐγχυθέντων ὁσμὰς, οὕτως καὶ αἱ τῶν νέων ψυχαὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν φαντασιῶν τύπους ἀνεξαλείπτους ἐναποματτόμεναι, τῇ φορᾷ τῶν αἰσθητικῶν ἐπιεισερόντων ἥκιστα κατακλυζόμεναι, τὸ ἀρχαῖον διαφαίνουσιν εἶδος.

16 III. "Αλις μὲν δὴ τούτων. ἀκριβωτέον δὲ τὸ ζητούμενον, ἵνα μὴ τῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀσαφείᾳ παραγόμενοι πλαζώμεθα, καταλαβόντες δὲ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος τὰς ἀποδείξεις εὐσκόπως ἐφαρμόττωμεν.

17 δουλεία τοίνυν ἢ μὲν ψυχῶν, ἢ δὲ σωμάτων λέγεται. δεσπόται δὲ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων ἄνθρωποι, ψυχῶν δὲ κακίαι καὶ πάθη. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερία·

ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἄδειαν σωμάτων ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων δυνατω-
 [448] 18 τέρων, ἢ δὲ διανοίας ἐκεχειρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν παθῶν
 18 δυναστείας | ἐργάζεται. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον οὐδὲ
 εἰς ζητεῖ· μυρίαί γὰρ αἱ ἀνθρώπων τύχαι, καὶ
 πολλοὶ πολλάκις καιροῖς ἀβουλήτοις τῶν σφόδρα

¹ On the hiatus παιδεία ἀναθεῖναι see App. p. 510.

^a See App. p. 511.

^b The meaning presumably is that ἐλευθερία in the literal sense cannot be the subject of a philosophical ζήτημα because

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 14-18

soberness itself. Then when like initiates in the 14 mysteries they have taken their fill of the revelations, they reproach themselves greatly for their former neglect and feel that they have wasted their time and that their life while they lacked wisdom was not worth the living. It is well then that the young, all 15 of them and everywhere, should dedicate the first fruits of the flower of their prime above all else to culture, wherein it is good for both youth and old age to dwell. For just as new vessels are said to retain the scents of the substances first poured into them,^a so, too, the souls of the young take indelible impressions of the ideas first presented to them and do not have them washed away by the stream of the later influx, and so they preserve the original form for all to see.

III. So much for these matters. Let us proceed 16 to the subject of our discourse and give it careful consideration, that we may not go astray, misled by the vagueness in the terms employed, but apprehend what we are talking about, adjust our arguments to it, and so prove our point. Slavery then is applied 17 in one sense to bodies, in another to souls ; bodies have men for their masters, souls their vices and passions. The same is true of freedom ; one freedom produces security of the body from men of superior strength, the other sets the mind at liberty from the domination of the passions. No one makes the first 18 kind the subject of investigation.^b For the vicissitudes of men are numberless and in many instances and at many times persons of the highest virtue have through adverse blows of fortune lost the

no moral issues are involved. It is an accident which does not tell us anything about character or conduct.

PHILO

ἀστείων τὴν ἐκ γένους ἀπέβαλον ἐλευθερίαν· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡ σκέψις περὶ τρόπων, οὓς οὐτ' ἐπιθυμία οὔτε φόβοι οὐθ' ἡδοναὶ οὔτε λῦπαι κατέζευξαν, ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς προεληλυθότων καὶ δεσμῶν οἷς
 19 ἐπεσφίγγοντο διαφειμένων. ἀνελόντες οὖν ἐκποδὼν τὰς προφασιστικὰς εὐρεσιλογίας καὶ τὰ φύσεως μὲν ἀλλότρια δόξης δ' ἡρτημένα ὀνόματα οἰκοτριβῶν ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων ἢ αἰχμαλώτων τὸν ἀψευδῶς ἐλεύθερον ἀναζητῶμεν, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸ αὐτοκρατὲς πρόσεστι, καὶ μυρίοι γράφωσι δεσπότης ἑαυτοῦς. ἀναφθέγγεται γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ Σοφόκλειον οὐδὲν τῶν πυθοχρήστων διαφέρων·

“θεὸς¹ ἐμὸς ἄρχων, θνητὸς δ' οὐδεὶς.”

20 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι μόνος ἐλεύθερος ὁ μόνῳ θεῷ χρώμενος ἡγεμόνι, κατ' ἐμὴν δὲ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμῶν, ἐπιτετραμμένος τὰ περίγεια, οἷα μεγάλου βασιλέως, θνητὸς ἀθανάτου, διάδοχος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν περὶ ἀρχῆς τοῦ σοφοῦ λόγος εἰς καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότερον ὑπερκείσθω, τὸν δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας τὰ νῦν
 21 ἀκριβωτέον. εἰ δὴ τις εἴσω προελθὼν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβελήσειε διακύψαι, γνώσεται σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἄλλῳ συγγενὲς οὕτως, ὥς αὐτοπραγία ἐλευθερία, διότι πολλὰ μὲν τῷ φαύλῳ τὰ ἐμποδῶν, φιλαργυρία, φιλοδοξία, φιληδονία, τῷ δ' ἀστείῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν, ἐπανισταμένῳ καὶ ἐπιβεβηκότι

¹ Perhaps read Ζεὺς, see note a.

^a This line is quoted in Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 1242 a 37 with Ζεὺς for θεός, as the anapaestic metre requires, and is paraphrased by Ambrose “Jupiter mihi praeest, nullus autem hominum.” As Ambrose is not likely to have known the
 20

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 18-21

freedom to which they were born. Our inquiry is concerned with characters which have never fallen under the yoke of desire, or fear, or pleasure, or grief; characters which have as it were escaped from prison and thrown off the chains which bound them so tightly. Casting aside, therefore, specious 19 quibblings and the terms which have no basis in nature but depend upon convention, such as "home-bred," "purchased" or "captured in war," let us examine the veritable free man, who alone possesses independence, even though a host of people claim to be his masters. Let us hear the voice of Sophocles in words which are as true as any Delphic oracle

God and no mortal is my Sovereign.^a

For in very truth he who has God alone for his leader, 20 he alone is free, though to my thinking he is also the leader of all others, having received the charge of earthly things from the great, the immortal King, whom he, the mortal, serves as viceroy. But the subject of the wise man's sovereignty^b must be postponed to a more suitable occasion and we have now to examine his freedom carefully. If one looks with 21 a penetrating eye into the facts, he will clearly perceive that no two things are so closely akin as independence of action and freedom, because the bad man has a multitude of incumbrances, such as love of money or reputation and pleasure, while the good man has none at all. He stands defiant and trium-

line from any other source, there is certainly some reason to suppose that he found *Zeus* in his text of Philo.

^b Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 122 οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας. This is probably the most common of the paradoxes, and is given by Philo several times, e.g. *De Mut.* 152 (vol. v. p. 591), where see note.

καθάπερ ἐν ἄθλων ἀγῶνι τοῖς καταπαλαισθεῖσιν, ἔρωτι, φόβῳ, δειλίᾳ, λύπῃ, τοῖς ὁμοιοτρόποις.
 22 ἔμαθε γὰρ ἀλογεῖν ἐπιταγμάτων, ὅσα οἱ ψυχῆς παρανομώτατοι ἄρχοντες ἐπιτάττουσι, διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον ἐλευθερίας, ἥς τὸ αὐτοκέλευστον καὶ ἐθελουργὸν κλήρος ἴδιος. ἐπαινεῖται παρά τισιν ὁ τὸ τρίμετρον ἐκείνο ποιήσας

“ τίς δ’ ἐστὶ δούλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἄφροντις ὢν;”

ὥς μάλα συνιδὼν τὸ ἀκόλουθον· ὑπέλαβε γάρ, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτως δουλοῦσθαι πέφυκε διάνοιαν, ὥς τὸ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δέος, ἔνεκα τοῦ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἰμέρου.
 23 IV. χρῆν δὲ λογίσασθαι, ὅτι οὐχ ὁ τοῦ θανεῖν μόνον ἄφροντις ὢν ἀδούλωτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πένεσθαι καὶ ἀδοξεῖν καὶ ἀλγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 [449] ὅσα οἱ πολλοὶ κακὰ νομίζουσι, κακοὶ τῶν | πραγμάτων ὄντες αὐτοὶ κριταί, οἵτινες ἐκ τῶν χρειῶν δοκιμάζουσι τὸν δούλον εἰς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας ἀφ-
 24 ὠρῶντες, δέον εἰς τὸ ἀδούλωτον ἦθος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ ταπεινοῦ καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς φρονήματος ταπεινοῖς καὶ δουλοπρεπέσι παρὰ γνώμην ἐγχειρῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δούλος ὄντως· ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν ἀρμοζόμενος τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ἐκουσίως ἅμα καὶ τλητικῶς ἐγκαρτερῶν τοῖς ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ μηδὲν καιρὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων εἶναι νομίζων, ἀλλ’ ἐξητακῶς ἐπιμελῶς, ὅτι τὰ μὲν θεῖα αἰωνίῳ τάξει καὶ εὐδαιμονία τετίμηται, τὰ δὲ θνητὰ πάντα σάλῳ καὶ κλύδωνι πραγμάτων διαφερόμενα πρὸς ἀνίσους ροπὰς ταλαντεύει, καὶ γενναίως ὑπομένων τὰ συμ-

^a Quoted also by Plut. *De Poet. Aud.* 13 as from Euripides. Plutarch makes the same point as Philo, that it applies to other seeming evils besides death.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 21-24

phant over love, fear, cowardice, grief and all that sort, as the victor over the fallen in the wrestling bout. For he has learnt to set at nought the injunctions laid upon him by those most lawless rulers of the soul, inspired as he is by his ardent yearning for the freedom whose peculiar heritage it is that it obeys no orders and works no will but its own. Some people praise the author of the line

What slave is there who takes no thought of death? ^a

and think that he well understood the thought that it involves. For he meant that nothing is so calculated to enslave the mind as fearing death through desire to live. IV. But we must reflect that ²³ exemption from slavery belongs to him who takes no thought not only of death but also of poverty, disrepute and pain and all the other things which the mass of men count as evil, though the evil lies in themselves and in their judgement, which makes them test the slave by the tasks he performs and fix their eyes on the services he renders instead of on his unenslaved character. For he who with a ²⁴ mean and slavish spirit puts his hand to mean and slavish actions contrary to his own proper judgement is a slave indeed. But he who adjusts himself and his to fit the present occasion and willingly and also patiently endures the blows of fortune, who holds that there is nothing new in human circumstances, who has by diligent thought convinced himself that, while what is God's has the honour of possessing eternal order and happiness, all mortal things are carried about in the tossing surge of circumstance and sway unevenly on the balance, who nobly endures whatever befalls him—he indeed needs no more to

25 πίπτοντα φιλόσοφος εὐθύς ἐστι καὶ ἐλεύθερος. ὅθεν οὐδὲ παντὶ τῷ¹ προστάττοντι ὑπακούσεται, καὶ ἀϊκίας καὶ βασάνους καὶ τινὰς φοβερωτάτας ἀπειλὰς ἐπανατείνηται, νεανιευσάμενος δὲ ἀντικηρύξει·

“ ὅπτα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου πίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω γῆς εἰσιν ἄστροι, γῇ δ’ ἄνεις’ ἐς οὐρανόν, πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ’ ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.”

26 V. ἤδη ποτ’ εἶδον ἐν ἀγῶνι παγκρα-
τιαστῶν τὸν μὲν ἐπιφέροντα τὰς πληγὰς καὶ χερσὶ
καὶ ποσὶ καὶ πάσας εὐσκόπως καὶ μηδὲν παρα-
λελοιπότα τῶν εἰς τὸ νικᾶν ἀπειρηκότα καὶ παρ-
ειμένον καὶ πέρας ἀστεφάνωτον ἐξελθόντα τοῦ
σταδίου, τὸν δὲ τυπτόμενον, ὑπὸ πυκνότητος
σαρκῶν πεπιλημένον, στρυφνόν, ναστόν, ὄντως
γέμοντα πνεύματος ἀθλητικοῦ, δι’ ὅλων νενευρω-
μένον, οἷα πέτραι ἢ σίδηρον, οὐδὲν μὲν πρὸς τὰς
πληγὰς ἐνδόντα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου δύναμιν τῷ
καρτερικῷ καὶ παγίῳ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καθηρηκότα
27 μέχρι παντελοῦς νίκης. ὁμοιον δὴ τι τούτῳ πε-
πονθέναι μοι δοκεῖ ὁ ἀστεῖος· τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν εὖ
μάλα κραταιωθείς ἰσχυρογνώμονι λογισμῷ θάπτον
ἀναγκάζει τὸν βιαζόμενον ἀπειπεῖν ἢ ὑπομένει τι

¹ Perhaps read παντί τῳ, a common phrase in Philo, or παντὰ τῳ. The stress seems to be on resistance to improper orders, rather than to the person who makes them.

^a See on § 99.

^b Or “elasticity”—or perhaps “with the well-knit frame of the true athlete.” That is to say I conceive the word to be used in the semi-physical Stoic sense of the force or current

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 25-27

make him a philosopher and a free man. And, there- 25
fore, he will not obey just anyone who gives him
orders, even though he menaces him with outrage
and tortures and threats however dreadful, but will
openly and boldly defy him thus :

Roast and consume my flesh, and drink thy fill
Of my dark blood ; for sooner shall the stars
Go 'neath the earth and earth go up to heaven
Than thou shalt from my lips meet fawning word.^a

V. I have observed in a contest of pancratiasts how 26
one of the combatants will strike blow after blow both
with hands and feet, every one of them well aimed,
and leave nothing undone that might secure his
victory, and yet he will finally quit the arena without
a crown in a state of exhaustion and collapse, while
the object of his attack, a mass of closely packed
flesh, rigid and solid, full of the wiriness^b of the true
athlete, his sinews taut from end to end, firm as a
piece of rock or iron, will yield not a whit to the
blows, but by his stark and stubborn endurance will
break down utterly the strength of his adversary and
end by winning a complete victory. Much the same 27
as it seems to me is the case of the virtuous man ;
his soul strongly fortified with a resolution firmly
founded on reason, he compels the employer of
violence to give up in exhaustion, sooner than himself

which holds bodies together and is otherwise known as *ἔξις*.
Thus " walking " is said by Seneca to be a " spiritus a prin-
cipali usque ad pedes permissus " (Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*,
pp. 89, 250). See on *ἔξεως πνευματικῆς* (*De Aet.* 86). It
can hardly here mean " athletic spirit " in the sense that we
use the phrase, nor yet the " good wind " of the athlete,
though Leisegang perhaps took it so, when he couples this
passage with *Leg. All.* iii. 14 ἀθλητοῦ τρόπον διαπνέοντος καὶ
συλλεγομένου τὸ πνεῦμα.

- δράσαι τῶν παρὰ γνώμην. ἀλλ' ἄπιστον ἴσως τοῖς
 μὴ πεπονηθόσιν ἀρετῇ¹ τὸ λεγόμενον²—καὶ γὰρ
 ἐκεῖνο τοῖς τοῦς παγκρατιαστὰς οὐκ εἰδόσι—, γέγονε
 28 δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐπ' ἀληθείας. εἰς ταῦτα δ' ἀπιδὼν
 Ἀντισθένης δυσβάστακτον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν ἀστεῖον·
 ὡς γὰρ ἡ ἀφροσύνη κοῦφον καὶ φερόμενον, (οὕτως)³
 ἡ φρόνησις ἐπηρεισμένον καὶ ἀκλινὲς καὶ βάρος
 29 ἔχον ἀσάλευτον. ὁ δὲ δὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης
 [450] τὰς τοῦ σοφοῦ χεῖρας | βαρείας εἰσάγει, διὰ συμ-
 βόλων τὰς πράξεις αἰνιττόμενος οὐκ ἐπιπολαίως
 ἀλλὰ παγίως ἐρηρεισμένας ἀπὸ διανοίας ἀρρεπουῖς.
 30 πρὸς οὐδενὸς οὖν ἀναγκάζεται, ἅτε καταπεφρονη-
 κῶς μὲν ἀλγηδόνων, καταπεφρονηκῶς δὲ θανάτου,
 νόμῳ δὲ φύσεως ὑπηκόους ἔχων ἅπαντας ἄφρονας·
 ὅνπερ γὰρ τρόπον αἰγῶν μὲν καὶ βοῶν καὶ προ-
 βάτων αἰπόλοι καὶ βουκόλοι καὶ νομεῖς ἀφηγοῦνται,
 τὰς δ' ἀγέλας ἀμήχανον ἐπιτάξαι ποιμέσι, τὸν
 αὐτὸν τρόπον οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ θρέμμασιν ἐοικότες
 ἐπιστάτου καὶ ἄρχοντος δέονται, ἡγεμόνες δ' εἰσὶν
 οἱ ἀστεῖοι τὴν τῶν ἀγελαρχῶν τεταγμένοι τάξιν.
 31 Ὁμηρος μὲν οὖν “ποιμένας λαῶν” εἴωθε καλεῖν
 τοὺς βασιλέας, ἡ δὲ φύσις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς κυριώτερον

¹ See note *a*. The correction *προσπεπονηθόσιν ἀρετῇ* is possible, particularly as M has *ἀρετῇ* (= -ῇ) = “devoted to virtue.” I suggest for consideration *πεπονηθόσιν ἀρετῇ* or *πεπονηκόσιν ἀρετῇ*.

² Cohn punctuates with a colon after *λεγόμενον*, and comma after *εἰδόσι*, thus making the case of the pancratiast to be the subject of *γέγονε* instead of the moral victory of the *ἀστεῖος*.

³ On the insertion of *οὕτως* see App. p. 511.

^a *i.e.* in themselves, but *πάσχειν ἀρετῇ* in this sense, or

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 27-31

submit to do anything contrary to his judgement. This statement may perhaps seem incredible to those who have had no experience of virtue^a (so would the other just mentioned to those who do not know the pancratiast), but none the less it is an actual fact. It 28 is this which Antisthenes had in view when he said that a virtuous man is heavy to carry,^b for as want of sense is a light thing, never stationary, so good sense is firmly based, never swerves and has a weight that cannot be shaken. The law-giver of the Jews de- 29 scribes the wise man's hands as heavy,^c indicating by this figure that his actions are not superficial but firmly based, the outcome of a mind that never wavers. No one then can compel him, since he has 30 come to despise both pain and death, and by the law of nature has all fools in subjection. For just as goats and oxen and sheep are led by goatherds and oxherds and shepherds, and flocks and herds cannot possibly give orders to herdsmen, so too the multitude, who are like cattle, require a master and a ruler and have for their leaders men of virtue, appointed to the office of governing the herd. Homer 31 often calls kings "shepherds of the people,"^d but nature more accurately applies the title to the good,

even in the sense of having experience of virtue in others is more than doubtful Greek. No satisfactory emendation however has been proposed. See note 1.

^b Zeller, *Socrates* (Eng. trans.), p. 334 takes the saying to mean that the virtuous man is hard to bear or makes himself a nuisance by telling unpleasant truths and quotes in support other similar sayings of the Cynics. Philo takes it in a quite different sense, though the last words of § 31 suggest something of the thought which Zeller assigns to it.

^c Ex. xvii. 12. The same interpretation is given with some additions in *Leg. All.* iii. 45.

^d e.g. *Il.* ii. 243.

τουτὶ τοῦνομα ἐπεφήμισεν, εἴ γε ἐκείνοι ποιμαίνονται τὸ πλεόν ἢ ποιμαίνουσιν—ἄκρατος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἄγει καὶ εὐμορφία πέμματα τέ καὶ ὄψα καὶ τὰ μαγεύρων καὶ σιτοποιῶν ἡδύσματα, ἵνα τὰς ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἐπιθυμίας παραλείπω—, τοῖς δ' ὑπ' οὐδενὸς συμβέβηκε δελεάζεσθαι, νουθετεῖν δὲ καὶ ὅσους ἂν αἰσθωνται πάγαις ἡδονῆς ἀλικομένους.

- 32 VI. "Ὅτι δ' οὐχ αἱ ὑπηρεσίαι μηνύματ' εἰσὶ δουλείας, ἐναργεστάτη πίστις οἱ πόλεμοι· τοὺς γὰρ στρατευομένους ἰδεῖν ἔστιν αὐτουργοὺς ἅπαντας, οὐ μόνον τὰς πανοπλίας κομίζοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν ὑποζυγίων τρόπον ἐπηχθισμένους, εἴτ' ἐφ' ὕδρεϊαν ἐξιόντας καὶ φρυ-
- 33 γανισμὸν καὶ χιλὸν κτήνεσι. τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις τί δεῖ μακρηγορεῖν, τάφρους ἀνατεμνόντων ἢ τείχῃ κατασκευαζόντων ἢ τριήρεις ναυπηγουμένων ἢ ὅσα ὑπουργίας ἢ τέχνης πάντα χερσὶ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ σώματι ὑπηρε-
- 34 τούντων. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην πόλεμος τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις οὐκ ἀποδέων, ὃν ἀδοξία καὶ πενία καὶ δεινὴ σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων συγκροτοῦσιν, ὅφ' οὗ βιασθέντες ἐγχειρεῖν καὶ τοῖς δουλοπρεπεστάτοις ἀναγκάζονται, σκάπτοντες, γέωπονοῦντες, βαναύσους ἐπιτηδεύοντες τέχνας,

^a §§ 32-40. These sections, except in § 40, where the casual illustration from the lions leads Philo to revert to his main theme, do not seem to bear upon the argument that the good man alone is free. They may perhaps be regarded as arguing that, independently of the main philosophical contention, the common tests of slavery and freedom are not consistently held. So with *ὑπηρεσίαι*, which as Cohn points out has been stated in § 23 to be the ordinary test, no one

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 31-34

since kings are more often in the position of the sheep than of the shepherd. They are led by strong drink and good looks and by baked meats and savoury dishes and the dainties produced by cooks and confectioners, to say nothing of their craving for silver and gold and grander ambitions. But the good nothing can ensnare, and it is theirs also to admonish those whom they see caught in the toils of pleasure.

VI. ^aThat services rendered are no proof of enslave- 32
ment is very clearly shown in war-time. We see soldiers in the field all working on their own account, not only carrying all their weapons, but also laden like beasts with every necessary requirement, and then making expeditions to get water or firewood or fodder for the animals. As for labours required in 33
defence against the enemy, such as cutting trenches or building walls or constructing triremes, and all other skilled or subsidiary operations in which the hands and the rest of the body are employed, there is no need to recount them at length. On the other hand, 34
there is a peace-time war, no less grave than those fought with arms, a war set on foot by disrepute and poverty and dire lack of the necessities of life, a war by which men are forced under duress to undertake the most servile tasks, digging and toiling on the land and practising menial crafts, labouring un-

calls the soldier a slave, nor yet that other soldier, the freeman driven by poverty to do menial tasks. On the other hand (§ 34) persons who are admittedly slaves in the ordinary sense have functions which are not *ὑπηρεσίαι*. A second test (obedience) begins in § 36. This breaks down because children and pupils obey but are not slaves; a third test, purchase (§ 37), because ransomed captives are not slaves, and purchase also does not prevent the complete subjection of the purchaser to the purchased (§§ 38-39).

ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀόκνως ἕνεκα τοῦ παρατρέφεσθαι,
 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατὰ μέσσην ἀγορὰν ἀχθοφοροῦντες
 ἐν ἡλικιωτῶν καὶ συμφοιτητῶν καὶ συνεφήβων
 35 ὄψεσιν. ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶν ἐκ γένους δοῦλοι
 τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων εὐμοιρία τύχης μετιόντες· ἐπί-
 τροποι γὰρ οἰκιῶν καὶ κτημάτων καὶ μεγάλων
 οὐσιῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν ὁμοδούλων ἄρχοντες
 καθίστανται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας
 ὀρφανοὺς δεσποτῶν ἐπετράπησαν, φίλων καὶ συγ-
 γενῶν προκριθέντες εἰς πίστιν· ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰσὶ
 δοῦλοι, δανεῖζοντες, ὠνούμενοι, προσόδους ἐκλεγό-
 μενοι, θεραπευόμενοι. τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ καὶ
 [451] κατὰ τοῦναντίον ὀλίσθω τις εὐτυχίας | δουλικὰς
 36 χρείας ἐπιτελεῖ; τὸ δ' ὑπακούειν ἑτέρῳ τὴν ἐλευ-
 θερίαν ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ πῶς πατὴρ μὲν ἢ μητὴρ
 ἐπιταγμάτων παῖδες ἀνέχονται, γνώριμοι δὲ ὧν
 ὑφηγῆται¹ διακελεύονται; δοῦλος γὰρ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς.
 οἷ γε μὴν τοκέες οὐ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιδεί-
 ξονται ποτε μισοτεκνίας, ὥσθ' ἃ μόνῃ σύμβολα
 δουλείας ἐστί, τὰς ὑπηρεσίας, ἀναγκάσαι ἂν παῖδας
 37 τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ὑπομένειν. εἰ δέ τινας ὑπ' ἀνδραπο-
 δοκαπήλων ἐπευωνιζομένους ἰδὼν τις οἶεται δού-
 λους εὐθὺς εἶναι, πολὺ διαμαρτάνει τῆς ἀληθείας·
 οὐ γὰρ ἢ πρᾶσις ἢ κύριον ἀποφαίνει τὸν πριάμενον

¹ MSS. ὑφηγῶνται or ἀφηγοῦνται.

^a Stephanus says of παρατρέφεσθαι "Plutarchus dicitur usurpasse de pauperibus qui misere aluntur," but no examples are quoted, and the words may simply mean "get their rations," the point of the prefix being that like slaves they are dependent on others.

^b This may be taken in two ways, (1) as in the translation with what follows: the parents' interests are identical with those of the children, and they cannot wish them to be slaves;

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ceasingly to earn a meagre^a subsistence ; often too carrying burdens in the midst of the market place before the eyes of their fellows in age who were their associates in boyhood and in youth.

There are others born in slavery, who by a happy dispensation of fortune pursue the occupations of the free. 35 They receive the stewardship of houses and landed estates and great properties ; sometimes too they become the rulers of their fellow slaves. Many too have the wives and orphan children of their masters committed to their charge, being preferred for trustworthiness to friends and members of the family. Still all the same they are slaves though they lend, purchase, collect revenues and are much courted. Why then should we wonder when the opposite occurs and a man whose good luck has taken a bad turn performs the offices of a slave ? But you say, " by 36 obedience to another he loses his liberty." How then is it that children suffer the orders of their father or mother, and pupils the injunctions of their instructors ? For no one is willing to be a slave^b ; and surely parents will not show such an extreme hatred of their offspring as to compel their own children to submit to render services which according to you are the sole distinctive marks of slavery. Again, anyone who 37 thinks that people put up for sale^c by kidnappers thereby become slaves goes utterly astray from the truth. Selling does not make the purchaser a master,

(2) taking it with the previous sentence, no one who acts voluntarily is a slave, and the children do act voluntarily.

^a Perhaps " sold cheap " as apparently in § 121. On the other hand neither here nor in *Flaccus* 132 is there much point in cheapness. See my note on *De Cher.* 123, vol. ii. p. 486, where it is suggested that the word merely conveys some measure of contempt like our " peddling."

ἢ τὸν πραθέντα δοῦλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατέρες υἱῶν τιμὰς κατέθεσαν καὶ υἱοὶ πολλάκις πατέρων ἢ κατὰ ληστείας ἀπαχθέντων ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον αἰχμαλώτων γενομένων, οὓς οἱ τῆς φύσεως νόμοι τῶν κάτωθεν ὄντες βεβαιότεροι γράφουσιν ἐλευθέρους.

- 38 ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ προσυπερβάλλοντες εἰς τοῦναντίον περιήγαγον τὸ πρᾶγμα, δεσπότηαι γενόμενοι τῶν πριαμένων ἀντὶ δούλων· ἔγωγ' οὖν ἐθεασάμην πολλάκις εὐμορφα παιδισκάρια καὶ φύσει στωμύλα δυσὶν ὀρμητηρίοις, ὅψεως κάλλει καὶ τῇ περὶ λόγους χάριτι, πορθοῦντα τοὺς κεκτημένους· ἐλεπόλεις γὰρ ταῦτα ψυχῶν ἀνιδρύντων καὶ ἀνερματίστων, μηχανημάτων ἀπάντων ὅσα ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ τειχῶν κατασκευάζεται σθεναρώτερα.
- 39 σημεῖον δέ· θεραπεύουσιν, ἰκετεύουσιν, εὐμένειαν ὥς παρὰ τύχης καὶ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος αἰτεῖσθαι γλίσχονται, καὶ παρορώμενοι μὲν σφαδάζουσιν, εἰ δ' αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ βλέμμα ἴλεων θεάσαιντο, γε-
- 40 γηθότες ἀνορχοῦνται. εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν λέοντας ὠνησάμενον δεσπότην φατέον εἶναι λεόντων, ὅς, εἰ μόνον ἐπανατείναιντο τὰς ὀφεις, οἷους ἐπρίατο κυρίους ὁ δύστηνος, ὥς χαλεποὺς καὶ ὠμοθύμους, αὐτίκα παθὼν εἴσεται. τί οὖν; οὐκ οἴομεθα τὸν σοφὸν ἀδουλωτότερον εἶναι λεόντων, ἐλευθέρῳ καὶ ἀτρώτῳ ψυχῇ τὴν ἀλκὴν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ

^a εἰ μὴ refers back to § 37. Philo is no doubt thinking

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nor the purchased a slave. Fathers pay a price for their sons and sons often for their fathers if they have been carried off in raids or taken prisoners in war, and that such persons are free men is asserted by the laws of nature which have a more solid foundation than those of our lower world.

Indeed, some of those thus bought and sold reverse 38 the situation to such an extreme extent that they become the masters of their purchasers instead of their slaves. I have often myself seen pretty little slave girls with a natural gift for wheedling words, who with these two sources of strength, beauty of face and charm of speech, stormed the hearts of their owners. For these two are engines of attack against souls with no ballast or stability, engines mightier than all the machines constructed to demolish walls. This is shown by the way in which their owners court 39 them, supplicate them, eagerly beg their favours, as though they were praying to fortune or some good genius. If they are scouted they go into fits of despair and if they just see a kindly glance they dance for joy. If selling constitutes slavery we 40 should have to assert that a person who had bought some lions is master of the lions,^a whereas if the beasts do but turn menacing eyes upon him, the poor man will learn at once by experience the cruel and ferocious lordship of those whom he has purchased. Well then must we not suppose that if lions cannot, still less can the wise man be enslaved, who has in his free and unscathed soul a greater power of resistance of the story told of Diogenes (Diog. Laert. vi. 75): when his friends offered to ransom him from the pirates, he refused, "for lions are not slaves of those who keep them, but they are the slaves of the lions. For fear is the mark of the slave, but wild beasts make men fear them."

PHILO

σώματι φύσει δούλω καὶ εὐτονία κραταιοτάτῃ¹
 ἰσχύος ἀφηγιάζοι;

- 41 VII. Μάθοι δ' ἂν τις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,² ἥ περὶ τὸν
 σπουδαῖόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων· δούλος εὐδαίμων
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐδεὶς· τί γὰρ ἀθλιώτερον ἢ πάντων
 ἄκυρον εἶναι τινα καὶ ἑαυτοῦ; ὁ δέ γε σοφὸς
 εὐδαίμων, ἔρμα καὶ πλήρωμα καλοκαγαθίας ἐπι-
 φερόμενος, ἐν ἧ τὸ κῦρὸς ἐστὶν ἀπάντων· <ὥστ'>
 ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ σπουδαῖος ἐλεύ-
 42 θερὸς ἐστι. πρὸς τούτοις τίς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τοὺς
 φίλους τοῦ θεοῦ³ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι; εἰ μὴ τοῖς μὲν
 [452] τῶν βασιλέων ἐταίροις | ἄξιον οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίαν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχὴν ὁμολογεῖν⁴ συνεπιτροπεύουσι καὶ
 συνδιέπουσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τοῖς δὲ θεῶν τῶν
 ὀλυμπίων δουλείαν ἐπιφημιστέον, οἱ διὰ τὸ φιλό-
 θεον εὐθὺς γενόμενοι θεοφιλεῖς, ἴση ἀντιτιμηθέντες
 εὐνοίᾳ παρ' ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ, καθάπερ οἱ ποιηταί
 φασι, πανάρχοντές τε καὶ βασιλέες βασιλέων εἰσὶ.
 43 νεανικώτερον δ' ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης προσ-
 υπερβάλλων, ἅτε γυμνῆς ὡς λόγος ἀσκητῆς
 φιλοσοφίας, τὸν ἔρωτι θείῳ κατεσχημένον καὶ τὸ
 ὄν μόνον θεραπεύοντα οὐκέτ' ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ θεὸν

¹ "Suspectum propter hiatus," says Cohn. See App. p. 510 on § 15.

² mss. ἀλήθειαν.

³ So mss. Cohn τῶν θεῶν calling attention to the plural just below. But easy alternation between God and Gods is, I think, a common phenomenon in Stoicism. There is also the hiatus; see again App. p. 510.

⁴ mss. συνομολογεῖν.

^a See on § 128.

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to the yoke than any he could make with the naturally slavish body and all the vigour of its physical strength?

VII. The freedom of the good man may be learnt 41 in other ways. No slave is really happy. For what greater misery is there than to live with no power over anything, including oneself? But the wise man is happy, ballasted and freighted ^a by his high morality, which confers power over everything, and so beyond all doubt and of sheer necessity, the good man is free. Furthermore no one would deny that the friends 42 of God are free. Surely when we agree that the familiars of kings enjoy not only freedom but authority, because they take part in their management and administration as leaders, we must not give the name of slaves to those who stand in the same relation to the celestial gods, who are god-lovers and thereby necessarily god-beloved, rewarded with the same affection as they have shown, and in the judgement of truth are as the poets say, ^b rulers of all and kings of kings. The legislator of the Jews in a bolder spirit 43 went to a further extreme and in the practice of his "naked" philosophy, ^c as they call it, ventured to speak of him who was possessed by love of the divine and worshipped the Self-existent only, as having

^b No poetical reference is quoted either for the thought or the language, and I understand the reference to be to the word *πανάρχων*, which is not cited from elsewhere.

^c By "naked philosophy" he perhaps means "frank" or "outspoken." Cf. *γυμνοῖς ἡθεσι προσαγορεύοντες* "their manner of address was unreserved" *De Abr.* 117, and *γυμνοῖς ὀνόμασι Spec. Leg.* ii. 131. But this does not quite account for *ὡς λόγος*, and still less does the *γνησίας* which Mangey proposed. Possibly there may be some allusion to the gymnosophists (see § 93), but more probably to something which we cannot now recover.

ἀπετόλμησεν εἰπεῖν· ἀνθρώπων μέντοι θεόν, οὐ τῶν
 τῆς φύσεως μερῶν, ἵνα τῷ πάντων καταλήπῃ πατρὶ
 44 τὸ θεῶν εἶναι βασιλεῖ καὶ θεῷ. ἄρ' ἄξιον τὸν
 προνομίας τοσαύτης τετυχηκότα δούλον ἢ μόνον
 ἐλεύθερον εἶναι νομίζεις; ὃς εἰ καὶ θείας οὐκ
 ἡξίωται μοίρας καθ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τοι διὰ τὸ φίλῳ
 θεῷ χρῆσθαι πάντως ὥφειλεν εὐδαιμονεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ
 ἀσθενὴς ὁ ὑπέρμαχος οὔτε φιλικῶν ἀμελὴς δικαίων
 θεὸς ἑταιρείῃς ὢν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἑταίρους
 45 ἐφορῶν. ἔτι τοίνυν, ὥσπερ τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν
 ὀλιγαρχούμεναι καὶ τυραννούμεναι δουλείαν ὑπο-
 μένουσι χαλεποὺς καὶ βαρεῖς ἔχουσαι δεσπότας
 τοὺς ὑπαγομένους καὶ κρατοῦντας, αἱ δὲ νόμοις
 ἐπιμεληταῖς χρώμεναι καὶ προστάταις εἰσὶν ἐλεύ-
 θεραι, οὕτως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρ' οἷς μὲν ὀργὴ
 ἢ ἐπιθυμία ἢ τι ἄλλο πάθος ἢ καὶ ἐπίβουλος κακία
 δυναστεύει, πάντως εἰσὶ δούλοι, ὅσοι δὲ μετὰ νόμου
 46 ζῶσιν, ἐλεύθεροι. νόμος δὲ ἀψευδὴς ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος,
 οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δέινος ἢ τοῦ δαίμονος, θνητοῦ φθαρτός,
 ἐν χαρτιδίῳ ἢ στήλαις, ἄψυχος ἀψύχους, ἀλλ' ὑπ'
 ἀθανάτου φύσεως ἄφθαρτος ἐν ἀθανάτῳ διανοίᾳ
 47 τυπωθεὶς. διὸ καὶ θαυμάσαι ἄν τις τῆς ἀμβλυ-
 ωπίας τοὺς τρανὰς οὔτω πραγμάτων ιδιότητος μὴ
 συνορῶντας, οἱ μεγίστοις μὲν δήμοις Ἀθήναις καὶ
 Λακεδαιμόνι πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν αὐταρκεστάτους εἶναι
 φασὶ τοὺς Σόλωνος καὶ Λυκούργου νόμους κρα-
 τοῦντάς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας πειθαρχούντων αὐτοῖς
 τῶν πολιτευομένων, σοφοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσι τὸν ὀρθὸν
 λόγον, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐστὶ πηγὴ νόμοις, οὐχ

^a See Ex. vii. 1 "Behold I give thee as a god to Pharaoh";

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 43-47

passed from a man into a god, though, indeed, a god to men, not to the different parts of nature, thus leaving to the Father of all the place of King and God of gods.^a Does one who has obtained so great a 44 preferment deserve to be considered a slave and not rather the solely free? Though he was not deemed worthy of divine rank in his own right, yet because he had God for a friend, he was bound to have absolute felicity, for he had no feeble champion, nor one neglectful of the rights of friendship in Him who is the comrade's god and keeps watch over the claims of comradeship. Further again, just as with cities, 45 those which lie under an oligarchy or tyranny suffer enslavement, because they have cruel and severe masters, who keep them in subjection under their sway, while those which have laws to care for and protect them are free, so, too, with men. Those in whom anger or desire or any other passion, or again any insidious vice holds sway, are entirely enslaved, while all whose life is regulated by law are free. And right reason is an infallible law engraved not by 46 this mortal or that and, therefore, perishable as he, nor on parchment or slabs, and, therefore, soulless as they, but by immortal nature on the immortal mind, never to perish. So, one may well wonder at the 47 short-sightedness of those who ignore the characteristics which so clearly distinguish different things and declare that the laws of Solon and Lycurgus are all-sufficient to secure the freedom of the greatest of republics, Athens and Sparta, because their sovereign authority is loyally accepted by those who enjoy that citizenship, yet deny that right reason, which is the

a text cited elsewhere several times. Cf. in particular *Quod Det.* 161 ff.

ἱκανὸν εἶναι πρὸς μετουσίαν ἐλευθερίας ὑπακούουσι πάντων, ἅτ' ἂν ἢ προστάτῃ ἢ ἀπαγορεύῃ.

- 48 πρὸς τοίνυν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐναργεστάτῃ πίστις ἐλευθερίας ἰσηγορία, ἣν οἱ σπουδαῖοι πάντες ἄγουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ τρίμετρα φιλοσόφως ἐκεῖνά φασιν εἰρῆσθαι.

[453] | “οὐ γὰρ μετεῖναι τῶν νόμων δούλοις ἔφν.”

καὶ πάλιν·

“δοῦλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγου.”

- 49 καθάπερ οὖν ὁ μουσικὸς νόμος ἅπασι τοῖς ἐπιτετηδευκόσι μουσικὴν ἰσηγορίας τῆς ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ μεταδίδωσι καὶ ὁ γραμματικὸς ἢ ὁ γεωμετρικὸς γραμματικοῖς ἢ γεωμέτραις, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐν τῷ
50 βίῳ νόμος τοῖς ἐμπείροις τῶν βιωτικῶν. οἱ δὲ σπουδαῖοι πάντες ἔμπειροι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων εἰσίν, ὅποτε καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ φύσει· καὶ εἰσὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἐλεύθεροι, ὥστε καὶ ὅσοι τούτοις ἰσηγορίας μετέχουσιν. οὐδεὶς ἄρα τῶν σπουδαίων δοῦλος, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι πάντες.
51 VIII. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀφορμῆς καὶ ὅτι δοῦλος ὁ ἄφρων ἐστίν, ἐπιδειχθήσεται. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ κατὰ μουσικὴν νόμος οὐ δίδωσιν ἰσηγορίαν ἀμούσοις

^a The source of these two quotations is unknown. The second is quoted by Marcus Aurelius xi. 80.

^b The point of the words “some . . . free” is obscure both here and below and their expunction has been suggested. I think they are defensible here, but not below, where I suggest that they may have been inserted in mistaken analogy. The argument, as I understand it, is, ἰσηγορία between persons implies that they are of the same status, both free

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 47-51

fountain head of all other law, can impart freedom to the wise, who obey all that it prescribes or forbids.

Further, besides these just mentioned, 48 we have a very clear evidence of freedom in the equality recognized by all the good in addressing each other. Thus it is argued that the following iambic verses contain sound philosophy :

No part or lot in law has any slave
and again

A slave thou art, no right of speech hast thou.^a

Just as the laws of music put all adepts in music on 49 an equal footing in discussing that art and the laws of grammar and geometry do the same for their respective professionals, so, too, the laws of human life and conduct create a similar equality between those who are proficient in life-matters. But the 50 good are all proficient in such matters, because their proficiency embraces the whole of nature. Some of the good are admittedly free,^b and, therefore, all who enjoy the right to address them on an equal footing are free also. Consequently none of the good is a slave but all are free. VIII. By the same line of 51 argument it will appear that the fool is a slave. The laws of music, of grammar, of art in general, do not put the unmusical, the illiterate, the inartistic in

or both slaves. All good men, being proficient in the laws or art of conduct, have *ισηγ.* with each other, therefore they are all either free or slaves. And as no one denies that some good men are free, they must all be free.

The negative argument is, the bad man, being unproficient in the said laws or art, has no *ισηγ.* with the proficient, and as all free men have *ισηγ.* with each other the bad cannot be free. I do not see how one can fit "some of the good are free" into this.

PHILO

- πρὸς μεμουςωμένους οὐδ' ὁ κατὰ γραμματικὴν ἀγγραμμάτοις πρὸς γραμματικούς οὐδὲ συνόλως ὁ τεχνικός πρὸς τεχνίτας ἀτέχνους, οὕτως οὐδ' ὁ βιωτικός νόμος ἰσηγορίας μεταδίδωσι τοῖς κατὰ
- 52 τὸν βίον ἀπείροις πρὸς ἐμπείρους. τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις ἢ ἐκ νόμου πᾶσιν ἰσηγορία δίδοται· [καὶ εἰσὶ τινες τῶν σπουδαίων ἐλεύθεροι·] καὶ τῶν βιωτικῶν ἄπειροι μὲν οἱ φαῦλοι, ἐμπειρότατοι δ' οἱ σοφοί· οὐκ ἄρ' εἰσὶ τινες τῶν φαύλων ἐλεύθεροι, δοῦλοι
- 53 δὲ πάντες. ὁ δὲ Ζήνων, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἀχθείς, νεανικώτερον ἀποδείκνυσι περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τοῖς φαύλοις ἰσηγορίαν πρὸς ἀστείουσ-
φησὶ γάρ· “οὐκ οἰμώξεται μὲν ὁ φαῦλος, ἐὰν ἀντιλέγῃ τῷ σπουδαίῳ;” οὐκ ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἰσηγορία
- 54 τῷ φαύλῳ πρὸς σπουδαῖον. οἶδ' ὅτι πολλοὶ τοῦ λόγου κατακερτομήσουσιν ὥς αὐθαδεῖα τὸ πλεόν ἐρωτηθέντος ἢ συνέσει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν χλεύην παυσάμενοι τοῦ γέλωτος ἦν ἐθελήσωσι διακύψαι καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον σαφῶς ἐρευνῆσαι, καταπλαγέντες αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀψευδὲς εἶσονται, ὅτι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον
- 55 οἰμώξεται τις ἢ τῷ μὴ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ σοφῷ. ζημία γάρ χρημάτων ἢ ἀτιμία ἢ φυγαὶ ἢ αἱ διὰ πληγῶν ὕβρεις ἢ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα βραχέα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀντιτιθέμενα κακίαις καὶ ὧν αἱ κακίαι δημιουργοί. τοὺς δὲ πολλούς, οὐ συνορῶντας τὰς ψυχῆς βλάβας

^a Cohn and Arnim in *S.V.F.* i. 228 take this sentence as part of the quotation from Zeno. It seems to me better to take it as Philo's inference from Zeno's dictum. To include it in Zeno's words would imply that he made a point of

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general on an equal footing in discussion with the musical, the literary and the artistic. In the same way the laws of life and conduct do not put the unproficient in life matters on an equal footing in discussion with the proficient. But this right of equal 52 discussion, which these laws give, is given to all the free [and some of the good are free]. And in life-matters the bad are unproficient, while the wise are most proficient and consequently none of the bad is free but all are slaves. Zeno, who lived under the 53 direction of virtue to an unsurpassed degree, proves still more forcibly that the bad are not on equal terms in addressing the virtuous. "Shall not the bad rue it if he gainsay the good?" he says. The bad man, therefore, has no right to speak to a good man as his equal.^a I am aware that many people 54 will pour abuse on such words and hold that Zeno's question^b shows presumption rather than good sense. But when they have had their jeering and stopped laughing, if they are willing to look closely and seek for a clear understanding of the saying, they will to their utter confusion recognize its absolute truth and that nothing will a man rue more than refusal to 55 listen to the wise. For confiscation of money or disfranchisement or banishment or the cruel disgrace of the lash, or anything else of the same kind, are small things and of no account when set against vices and the results which vices produce. But the majority, who through the blindness of their reason do not discern the damages which the soul has sustained, *ισηγορία*, and one might expect to hear more of it, but the term does not appear elsewhere in *S.V.F.* Also § 54 deals entirely with Zeno's question and not with the inference drawn from it.

^b Or perhaps "the argument," see note on *De Aet.* 143.

- διὰ λογισμοῦ πῆρῳσιν, ἐπὶ μόναίς ταῖς ἐκτός συμ-
 βέβηκεν ἄχθεσθαι, τὸ κριτήριον ἀφηρημένους, ᾧ
 56 μόνῳ καταλαβεῖν ἔστι διανοίας ζημίαν. εἰ δὲ
 δυνηθεῖεν ἀναβλέψαι, θεασάμενοι τὰς δι' ἀφροσύνης
 [454] ἀπάτας καὶ τὰς ἐκ | δειλίας ἐπηρείας καὶ ὅσα
 ἀκολασία παρώνησεν ἢ ἀδικία παρηνόμησεν, ἐπὶ
 ταῖς τοῦ ἀρίστου συμφοραῖς λύπης ἀπαύστου γε-
 μισθέντες οὐδὲ παρηγορίας δι' ὑπερβολὰς κακῶν
 57 ἀνέξονται. ἔοικε δὲ ὁ Ζήνων ἀρύσασθαι
 τὸν λόγον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς Ἰουδαίων νομο-
 θεσίας, ἐν ᾗ δυοῖν ὄντοι ἀδελφοῖν, τοῦ μὲν σώ-
 φρονος, τοῦ δ' ἀκολάστου, λαβὼν οἶκτον ὁ κοινὸς
 ἀμφοῖν πατήρ τοῦ μὴ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἦκοντος εὐχεται,
 ἵνα δουλεύσῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, τὸ δοκοῦν μέγιστον
 εἶναι κακόν, δουλείαν, ἀγαθὸν τελεώτατον ὑπο-
 λαμβάνων ἄφρονι, τὸ μὲν αὐτεξούσιον ἀφηρη-
 μένῳ πρὸς τὸ μὴ σὺν ἀδείᾳ πλημμελεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
 τοῦ προεστῶτος προστασίας βελτιωθησομένῳ τὸ
 ἦθος.
- 58 IX. Τὰ μὲν οὖν λεχθέντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζητου-
 μένου διασύστασιν ἔμοιγε ἀποχρῶντα ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 τὰ ποικίλα τῶν νοσημάτων ἰατροῖς ἔθος ποικιλω-
 τέραις ἰᾶσθαι θεραπείαις, ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῖς παρα-
 δόξοις νομιζομένοις τῶν προβλημάτων διὰ τὸ ἄηθες
 ἐπάγειν πίστει ἐπαλλήλους προσεγυχρίοντας· μόλις
 γὰρ ἔνιοι συνεχεῖα πληττόμενοι τῶν ἀποδείξεων
 59 αἰσθάνονται. λέγεται τοίνυν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, ὅτι

^a Gen. xxvii. 40 "Thou shalt serve (δουλεύσεις) thy brother." Cf. *De Cong.* 176. For the idea that Zeno drew from Moses cf. the ascription of Heracleitus's doctrine of the opposites to him, *Quis Rerum* 214.

^b The word perhaps carries on the idea of medical treat-

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only feel the pain of external injuries, because the faculty of judgement, which alone can enable them to apprehend the damage to the mind, is taken from them. But if they could recover their sight, observing the delusions which folly brings and the outrages wrought by cowardice and all that the sottishness of incontinence and the lawlessness of injustice has done, they will be filled with ceaseless sorrow at the calamitous plight of the best thing they possess, and even refuse to listen to consolation, so vast are the evils which have befallen them. 56

We may 57 well suppose that the fountain from which Zeno drew this thought was the law-book of the Jews, which tells of two brothers, one wise and temperate, the other incontinent, how the father of them both prayed in pity for him who had not attained to virtue that he should be his brother's slave.^a He held that slavery, which men think the worst of evils, was the best possible boon to the fool, because the loss of independence would prevent him from transgressing without fear of punishment, and his character would be improved under the control of the authority set above him.

IX. I have now said all that appeared to me necessary to prove the proposition, but just as physicians regularly use a greater multiformity of treatment to cure multiform diseases, so when statements regarded as paradoxical are put forward, their unfamiliarity renders it necessary to apply ^b a succession of proofs to bear upon the subject. For some can only be brought to understand under the impact of a continued series of demonstrations. Thus the following 59

ment, *i.e.* ointment or liniment, but more probably, as suggested by *πληττόμενοι*, friction, "rubbing it in."

PHILO

ὁ φρονίμως πάντα ποιῶν εὖ ποιεῖ πάντα, ὁ δ' εὖ ποιῶν πάντα ὀρθῶς ποιεῖ πάντα, ὁ δ' ὀρθῶς πάντα ποιῶν καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως καὶ ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀνεπιλήπτως καὶ ἀνυπευθύνως καὶ ἀζημίως, ὥστ' ἐξουσίαν σχήσει πάντα δρᾶν καὶ ζῆν ὡς βούλεται· ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔξεστιν, ἐλεύθερος ἂν εἴη. ἀλλὰ μὴν πάντα φρονίμως ποιεῖ ὁ ἀστείος· μόνος ἄρα ἐστὶν ἐλεύθερος. καὶ μὴν ὃν μὴ ἐνδέχεται μήτ' ἀναγκάσαι μήτε κωλύσαι, ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἂν εἴη δοῦλος· τὸν δὲ σπουδαῖον οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτ' ἀναγκάσαι οὔτε κωλύσαι· οὐκ ἄρα δοῦλος ὁ σπουδαῖος. ὅτι δ' οὔτ' ἀναγκάζεται οὔτε κωλύεται, δῆλον· κωλύεται μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὴ τυγχάνων ὧν ὀρέγεται, ὀρέγεται δ' ὁ σοφὸς τῶν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς, ὧν ἀποτυγχάνειν οὐ πέφυκε. καὶ μὴν εἰ ἀναγκάζεται, δῆλον ὅτι ἄκων τι ποιεῖ· ἐν οἷς¹ δὲ αἱ πράξεις, ἧ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς εἰσι κατορθώματα ἢ ἀπὸ κακίας ἀμαρτήματα ἢ μέσα καὶ ἀδιάφορα.

61 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς οὐ βιασθεῖς ἀλλ' ἐκῶν—αἰρετὰ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῷ πάνθ' ἃ δρᾷ—, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ κακίας ἄτε· φευκτὰ οὐδ' ὄναρ πράττει· οὐδὲ μὴν τὰ ἀδιάφορα εἰκός, πρὸς ἃ καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος ἢ διάνοια ἰσορροπεῖ, δεδιδαγμένη μήτε ὡς ὀλκὸν ἔχουσι δύναμιν ἐνδιδόναι μήθ' ὡς ἀποστροφῆς ἀξίους δυσχεραίνειν. ἐξ ὧν ἐστι δῆλον, ὅτι οὐδὲν

¹ Perhaps ἀνθρώποις (written ἀνοῖς) δέ, see note *a*.

^a Literally “ things in which there are actions are righteous actions,” etc., which is hardly sense. Arnim's correction to ἀνθρώποις δέ (see note 1) is very probable.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 59-61

argument is well to the point. He who always acts sensibly, always acts well : he who always acts well, always acts rightly : he who always acts rightly, also acts impeccably, blamelessly, faultlessly, irreproachably, harmlessly, and, therefore, will have the power to do anything, and to live as he wishes, and he who has this power must be free. But the good man always acts sensibly, and, therefore, he alone is free. Again, one who cannot be compelled to do anything 60 or prevented from doing anything, cannot be a slave. But the good man cannot be compelled or prevented : the good man, therefore, cannot be a slave. That he is not compelled nor prevented is evident. One is prevented when he does not get what he desires, but the wise man desires things which have their origin in virtue, and these, being what he is, he cannot fail to obtain. Further, if one is compelled he clearly acts against his will. But where there are actions,^a they are either righteous actions born of virtue or wrong actions born of vice or neutral and indifferent. The virtuous actions he performs not under constraint 61 but willingly, since all that he does are what he holds to be desirable. The vicious are to be eschewed and therefore he never dreams of doing them. Naturally too in matters indifferent he does not act under compulsion.^b To these, as on a balance his mind preserves its equipoise, trained neither to surrender to them in acknowledgement of their superior weight, nor yet to regard them with hostility, as deserving aversion. Whence it is clear that he does nothing

^b Philo cannot of course mean "that he does not do indifferent actions," and we must understand *βιασθέντα πράττειν*. Ambrose's paraphrase "indifferentibus ita non movetur ut nullis momentis . . . inclinetur" looks as if he read something else (? *εἰκῆ*).

ἄκων ποιεῖ οὐδ' ἀναγκάζεται· δούλος δ' εἶπερ ἦν,
 ἥναγκάζεται ἄν' ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἂν εἴη ὁ ἀστεῖος.
 62 X. Ἐπεὶ δέ τινες τῶν | ἥκιστα κεχορευκόντων
 [455] Μούσαις λόγων ἀποδεικτικῶν οὐ συνιέντες, οἱ τὰς
 καθόλου τῶν πραγμάτων ἐμφάσεις παριστᾶσιν,
 εἰώθασι ἐρωτᾶν· τίνες οὖν ἢ πρότερον γεγόνασιν
 ἄνδρες ἢ νῦν εἰσιν, ὁποίους ἀναπλάττετε; καλόν
 γε ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι καὶ πάλαι τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τῶν
 καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀρετῇ διέφερον, ἡγεμόνι μόνῳ θεῷ
 χρώμενοι καὶ κατὰ νόμον, τὸν ὀρθὸν φύσεως λόγον,
 ζῶντες, οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζον-
 τας ἐλευθέρου φρονήματος ἀναπιμπλάντες, καὶ
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτ' εἰσὶν ὥσπερ εἰκόνες ἀπὸ
 ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν καλοκαγαθίας,
 63 τυπωθέντες. οὐ γάρ, εἰ αἱ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων
 ψυχαὶ κεχηρεύκασιν ἐλευθερίας, ὑπ' ἀφροσύνης καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν δουλαγωγηθεῖσαι, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. εἰ δὲ μὴ κατὰ στίφη
 μεγάλα προΐασιν ἀγελῆδόν, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· πρῶ-
 τον μὲν, ὅτι τὰ λίαν καλὰ σπάνια, εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ τὸν
 τῶν εἰκαιωτέρων ἐκτρεπόμενοι πολὺν ὄμιλον θεωρία
 τῶν τῆς φύσεως σχολάζουσιν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν, εἴ
 πως ἐνῆν, ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὸν βίον—κοινωφελὲς
 γὰρ ἡ ἀρετή,—τὸ δὲ ἀδυνατοῦντες, πλημμυρούντων
 κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλοκότων πραγμάτων, ἃ ψυχῆς πάθη
 <καὶ> κακίαι συνηύξησαν, ἀποδιδράσκουσιν, ὥς μὴ

^a Lit. "set forth the general appearances of things," meaning I suppose the impressions they produce as a whole when we do not examine them in detail.

^b ἀναπιμπλάντες perhaps has the common meaning of "infect," though here used in a good sense. Cf. *De Prov.* 71.

^c For this thought of the rarity and retiring nature of the

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unwillingly and is never compelled, whereas if he were a slave he would be compelled, and therefore the good man will be a free man.

X. But among those who have kept little company 62 with the Muses, there are some who have no understanding of the methods of logical deduction, but make general statements based on appearances.^a These people often ask "who have there been in the past, and who are there living now of the kind that you imagine?" An excellent answer is that in the past there have been those who surpassed their contemporaries in virtue, who took God for their sole guide and lived according to a law of nature's right reason, not only free themselves, but communicating^b to their neighbours the spirit of freedom: also in our own time there are still men formed as it were in the likeness of the original picture supplied by the high excellence of sages. For it does not 63 follow that if the souls of the gainsayers have been bereft of freedom, held in bondage to folly and the other vices, the same is true of the human race. Nor is it a matter for wonder that the good do not appear herded in great throngs. First because specimens of great goodness are rare, secondly, because they avoid the great crowd of the more thoughtless and keep themselves at leisure for the contemplation of what nature has to show.^c Their prayer is that if possible they may work a reformation in the lives of the others, for virtue serves the common weal. But as this is made impossible through the atrocious doings which flood the cities, gathering strength from the passions and vices of the soul, they flee right away good *cf. De Mut.* 34-38, where it is associated with the text "Enoch was not found."

τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς φορᾶς καθάπερ ἀπὸ χειμάρρου βίας
 64 κατασυρεῖεν. ἡμᾶς δέ, εἰ βελτιώσεως ζῆλός τις ᾔην,
 ἰχνηλατεῖν ἔδει τὰς τούτων καταδύσεις καὶ ἰκέ-
 τας καθεζομένους παρακαλεῖν, ἵνα τεθριωμένον τὸν
 βίον προσελθόντες ἐξημερώσωσιν, ἀντὶ πολέμου καὶ
 δουλείας καὶ κακῶν ἀμυθήτων εἰρήνην καὶ ἐλευ-
 θερίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίαν περιρ-
 65 ρομένην¹ καταγγείλαντες. νυνὶ δὲ χρημάτων μὲν
 ἕνεκα πάντας μυχοὺς ἐρευνῶμεν καὶ γῆς στρυφ-
 νὰς καὶ ἀποκρότους φλέβας ἀναστέλλομεν, καὶ
 μεταλλεύεται μὲν πολλὴ τῆς πεδιάδος, μεταλλεύεται
 δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγη τῆς ὄρεινῆς, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον,
 χαλκὸν τε καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὕλας ἀναζη-
 66 τούντων. θεοπλαστοῦσα δὲ ἡ κενὴ δόξα τὸν τύφον
 ἄχρι καὶ βυθοῦ κατέβη θαλάττης διερευνωμένη, μή
 τι τῶν πρὸς αἴσθησιν ἀφανὲς ἐναπόκειται· πού
 καλόν· καὶ λίθων ποικίλων καὶ πολυτελῶν ἀνευ-
 ροῦσα ἰδέας, τὰς μὲν πέτραις προσπεφυκυίας, τὰς
 δ' ὀστρέοις, αἱ καὶ τιμαλφέστεραι γεγόνασιν, ὅψεως
 67 ἀπάτην ἐξετίμησε. φρονήσεως δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνης
 ἡ ἀνδρείας ἡ δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκα γῇ μὲν ἀπόρευτός
 ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ βάσιμος, πελάγη δὲ ἀπλωτα τὰ καθ'
 ἐκάστην ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους ναυκλήροις ἐμπλεόμενα.
 68 καίτοι τίς ἡ μακρᾶς ὁδοιπορίας ἡ τοῦ θαλαττεύειν
 456] ἐστὶ | χρεῖα πρὸς ἔρευναν καὶ ζήτησιν ἀρετῆς, ἥς
 τὰς ρίζας ὁ ποιῶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀλλ' οὕτως πλῆσιόν
 ἐβάλετο; καθάπερ καὶ ὁ σοφὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 νομοθέτης φησὶν· “ ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ
 καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου,” αἰνιττόμενος

¹ So one ms. (S). The others either omit or have περιρ-

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lest they should be swept down by the force of their onrush, as by the violence of a torrent. But we, if we had any zeal for betterment should track them to their hiding places, and sitting as suppliants before them, exhort them to join us and humanize our bestial life, in place of war and slavery and a host of ills proclaiming peace, liberty and the overflowing abundance of all other blessings. As it is, for the sake of money we ransack every corner and open up rough and rocky veins of earth, and much of the low land and no small part of the high land is mined in the quest of gold and silver, copper and iron, and the other like substances. The empty-headed way of thinking, deifying vanity, dives to the depths of the sea, searching whether some fair treasure to delight the senses lies hidden there.^a And when it has found different kinds of many-coloured precious stones, some adhering to rocks, others, the more highly prized, to shells, it gives every honour to the beguiling spectacle. But for wisdom or temperance or courage or justice, no journey is taken by land, even though it gives easy travelling, no seas are navigated, though the skippers sail them every summer season. Yet what need is there of long journeying on the land or voyaging on the seas to seek and search for virtue, whose roots have been set by their Maker ever so near us, as the wise legislator of the Jews also says, "in thy mouth, in thy heart and in thy hand," thereby indicating in

^a Mangey translates "numquid pretiosum adhuc fugiens sensum ibi reponatur." But this, which is certainly simpler, would require the omission of τῶν.

ρεομένων which seems quite impossible, but the middle in the sense of "overflow" has no examples quoted.

- διὰ συμβόλων λόγους, βουλὰς, πράξεις, ἃ δὴ πάντα
 69 γεωργικῆς τέχνης δεῖται. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀργίαν πόνου
 προτιμήσαντες οὐ μόνον τὰς βλάστας ἐκώλυσαν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ρίζας ἀφανάναντες ἔφθειραν· οἱ δὲ
 σχολὴν μὲν βλαβερὸν ἡγούμενοι, πονεῖν δὲ ἐθέ-
 λοντες, ὥσπερ εὐγενῇ μοσχεύματα γεωργοῦντες,
 τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς ἐπιμελείας οὐρανομήκεις ἐστελέχω-
 σαν ἀρετάς, ἀειθαλῇ καὶ ἀθάνατα ἔρνη καρπὸν
 φέροντα εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδέποτε λήγοντα ἢ, ὥς τινες,
 οὐ φέροντα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὄντα εὐδαιμονίαν, ἃ Μωυσῆς
 ὀνόματι συνθέτω καλεῖν εἴωθεν ὀλοκαρπώματα.
 70 ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκ γῆς βλαστανόντων οὐθ' ὁ
 καρπὸς ἐστὶ δένδρα οὔτε τὰ δένδρα καρπός, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τῶν ἐν ψυχῇ φυομένων ὅλα δι' ὅλων εἰς καρποῦ
 φύσιν μεταβέβληκε τὰ ἔρνη, τὸ φρονήσεως, τὸ
 71 δικαιοσύνης, τὸ ἀνδρείας, τὸ σωφροσύνης. XI.
 ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτας παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀφορμὰς οὐκ
 ἐρυθριῶμεν ἔνδειαν σοφίας ἀνθρώπων γένει καταγ-
 γέλλοντες, ἣν δυνατὸν ἦν ἐκφυσῆσαντας καθάπερ
 ἐν ὕλῃ σπινθῆρα τυφόμενον ζωπυρῆσαι; ἀλλὰ γὰρ
 πρὸς ἃ μὲν σπεύδειν ἐχρῆν ὥς συγγενέστατα καὶ
 οἰκειότατα, πολὺς ὄκνος καὶ ῥαθυμία συνεχῆς, ὑφ'
 ὧν τὰ καλοκάγαθίας σπέρματα διαφθείρεται, ὧν
 δὲ εἰκὸς ἦν ὑπερίζειν, ἥμερος καὶ πόθος ἀπληστος.
 72 διὰ τοῦτο πλουσίων μὲν καὶ ἐνδόξων καὶ ταῖς ἡδο-
 ναῖς χρωμένων μεστὴ γῇ καὶ θάλαττα, φρονίμων
 δὲ καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀστείων ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς· τὸ δὲ

^a The whole section is founded on Deut. xxx. 11-14, part

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a figure, words, thoughts and actions? ^a All these, indeed, need the cultivator's skill. Those who prefer idleness to labour, not only prevent the growths but also wither and destroy the roots. But those who consider inaction mischievous and are willing to labour, do as the husbandman does with fine young shoots. By constant care they rear the virtues into stems rising up to heaven, saplings everblooming and immortal, bearing and never ceasing to bear the fruits of happiness, or as some hold, not so much bearing as being in themselves that happiness. These Moses often calls by the compound name of wholefruits. ^b In the case of growths which spring from the earth, neither are the trees the fruit nor the fruit the trees, but in the soul's plantation the saplings of wisdom, of justice, of temperance, have their whole being transformed completely into fruits. XI. Having then in us such potentialities, should we not blush to denounce the human race as lacking in wisdom, wisdom which the bellows could kindle into a blaze like the spark which smoulders in the firewood? And yet these things for which we should strive eagerly, things so closely akin to ourselves, so truly our own, we treat with great slackness and constant indifference and thus destroy the germs of excellence, while those things in which deficiency were a merit we desire with an insatiable yearning. Consequently land and sea are full of the rich, the distinguished and the men of pleasure, but of the wise and just and virtuous, the number is small. But this small body though scanty

of which is actually quoted, a passage often used by Philo, e.g. *De Virt.* 183, and with the same interpretation of v. 14.

^b See App. p. 511.

73 ὀλίγον, εἰ καὶ σπάνιον, οὐκ ἀνύπαρκτον. μάρτυς δὲ ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ ἡ βάρβαρος· ἐν τῇ μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐτύμως ἐπὶ σοφοὶ προσονομασθέντες ἤνθησαν, καὶ ἄλλων πρότερον καὶ αὖθις ὡς εἰκὸς ἀκμασάντων, ὧν ἡ μνήμη παλαιότερων μὲν ὄντων μήκει χρόνων ἠφανίσθη, νεαζόντων δὲ ἔτι διὰ τὴν ἐπιπολάζουσαν τῶν συνόντων ὀλιγωρίαν ἐξαμαυροῦται.

74 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν βάρβαρον, ἐν ᾗ πρεσβευταὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων,¹ πολυανθρωπότατα στίφη καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν· ἐν Πέρσαις μὲν τὸ μάγων, οἳ τὰ φύσεως ἔργα διερευνώμενοι πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὰς θείας ἀρετὰς τρανοτέrais ἐμφάσεσιν ἱεροφαντοῦνται τε καὶ ἱεροφαντοῦσιν· ἐν Ἰνδοῖς δὲ τὸ γυμνοσοφιστῶν, οἳ πρὸς τῇ [457] φυσικῇ καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν | διαπονούντες ὅλον ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς πεποιήνται τὸν βίον.

75 XII. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Παλαιστίνη Συρία καλοκά-

¹ So one ms. (F). Of the others three have πρεσβευταὶ λόγων ἔργων, three πρεσβευταὶ λόγων ἔργω, and one (M) προσέταξε λόγων ἔργα. The characteristic common to these seven is the omission of καὶ after λόγων. I suggest with considerable confidence ἐν ᾗ πρεσβεύεται λόγων ἔργα "in which deeds are held in higher esteem than words." The use of πρεσβεύομαι with the genitive is quoted from Plato, *Legg.* 879 b and need cause no difficulty, though πρεσβεύω is perhaps more common. I submit that it is quite supported by what Philo goes on to say of the "barbarians." The Magi search into the words of nature καθ' ἡσυχίαν. The Essenes (cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 1) representing the practical life, avoid the περιεργία Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων, § 88, and the gymnosophists, as exemplified by Calanus, do not practise λόγους εἰς πανήγυριν, § 96. See also App. p. 513.

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is not absolutely non-existent.^a For this we have 73 the testimony, both of Greece and the world outside Greece. In Greece there flourished the sages known also by the appropriate ^b name of the Seven, and we might expect that both before them and after them, others had their day, though the memory of the more ancient has vanished in the lapse of many years, and is dimmed in the case of those whose lives are still recent through the widespread neglect of their contemporaries.

In the outside world where are those who spread 74 the message by words and deeds,^c we find large associations of men of the highest excellence. Among the Persians there is the order of the Magi, who silently make research into the facts of nature to gain knowledge of the truth and through visions clearer than speech, give and receive the revelations of divine excellency.^d In India, too, there is the order of the Gymnosophists, who study ethical as well as physical philosophy and make the whole of their lives an exhibition of virtue.^e

XII. Palestinian Syria, too, has not 75

^a So too in *De Mut.* 35-37, though some say that σοφία and ὁ σοφός are ἀνύπαρκτος, the conclusion is that each of them is ὑπαρκτὸν πρᾶγμα.

^b "Appropriate," because ἐπτά is supposed to be derived from σεμνός and σεβασμός, cf. *De Op.* 127. But see App. p. 512.

^c This translation of the only translatable reading found in any one ms. is given in despair, for I do not believe that "ambassadors of words and deeds" is a possible expression. Cohn, *Hermes*, 1916, p. 174, thinks that πρεσβευταί here = "cultores." But no example for such a sense of the noun is cited. For what I believe to be the true reading see note 1.

^d Cf. the very similar remarks in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 100 and note vol. vii. pp. 635 f.

^e On the Gymnosophists see App. p. 513.

γαθίας οὐκ ἄγονος, ἣν πολυανθρωποτάτου ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα νέμεται. λέγονται τινες παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄνομα Ἑσσαῖοι, πλήθος ὑπερ-
 τετρακισχίλιοι, κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν—οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τύ-
 πῳ διαλέκτου Ἑλληνικῆς—παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος,
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γεγό-
 νοσιν, οὐ ζῶα καταθύνοντες, ἀλλ' ἱεροπρεπεῖς τὰς
 76 ἐαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἀξιοῦντες. οὗτοι
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ-
 τρεπόμενοι διὰ τὰς τῶν πολιτευομένων χειροθήεις
 ἀνομίας, εἰδότες ἐκ τῶν συνόντων ὡς ἀπ' αἴρος
 φθοροποιοῦ νόσον ἐγγινομένην προσβολὴν ψυχαῖς
 ἀνίατον· ὧν οἱ μὲν γεωπονοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τέχνας
 μετιόντες ὅσαι συνεργάτιδες εἰρήνης, ἑαυτοὺς τε
 καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὠφελοῦσιν, οὐκ ἄργυρον καὶ
 χρυσὸν θησαυροφυλακοῦντες οὐδ' ἀποτομὰς γῆς
 μεγάλας κτῶμενοι δι' ἐπιθυμίαν προσόδων, ἀλλ'
 ὅσα πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας τοῦ βίου χρείας ἐκπορί-
 77 ζοντες. μόνοι γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπων
 ἀχρήματοι καὶ ἀκτήμονες γεγονότες ἐπιτηδεύσει
 τὸ πλεον ἢ ἐνδεΐα εὐτυχίας πλουσιώτατοι νομί-
 ζονται, τὴν ὀλιγοδεΐαν καὶ εὐκολίαν, ὅπερ ἐστί,
 78 κρίνοντες περιουσίαν. βελῶν ἢ ἀκόντων ἢ ξιφι-
 δίων ἢ κράνους ἢ θώρακος ἢ ἀσπίδος οὐδένα παρ'
 αὐτοῖς ἂν εὗροις δημιουργὸν οὐδὲ συνόλως ὅπλο-
 ποιὸν ἢ μηχανοποιὸν ἢ τι τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον
 ἐπιτηδεύοντα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅσα τῶν κατ' εἰρήνην
 εὐόλισθα εἰς κακίαν· ἐμπορίας γὰρ ἢ καπηλείας ἢ

* For observations on the relation of this description of the Essenes (§§ 75-91) to those in the *Hypothetica* (pp. 437 ff. of this volume) and in Josephus see App. p. 514.

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failed to produce high moral excellence. In this country live a considerable part of the very populous nation of the Jews, including as it is said, certain persons, more than four thousand in number, called Essenes.^a Their name which is, I think, a variation, though the form of the Greek is inexact, of ὁσιότης (holiness), is given them, because they have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds. The first thing about these 76 people is that they live in villages and avoid the cities because of the iniquities which have become inveterate among city dwellers, for they know that their company would have a deadly effect upon their own souls, like a disease brought by a pestilential atmosphere. Some of them labour on the land and others pursue such crafts as co-operate with peace and so benefit themselves and their neighbours. They do not hoard gold and silver or acquire great slices of land because they desire the revenues therefrom, but provide what is needed for the necessary requirements of life. For while they stand almost alone in 77 the whole of mankind in that they have become moneyless and landless by deliberate action rather than by lack of good fortune, they are esteemed exceedingly rich, because they judge frugality with contentment to be, as indeed it is, an abundance of wealth. As for darts, javelins, daggers, or the helmet, 78 breastplate or shield, you could not find a single manufacturer of them, nor, in general, any person making weapons or engines or plying any industry concerned with war, nor, indeed, any of the peaceful kind, which easily lapse into vice, for they have not the vaguest idea of commerce either wholesale or

ναυκληρίας οὐδ' ὄναρ ἴσασι, τὰς εἰς πλεονεξίαν
 79 ἀφορμὰς ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι. δοῦλός τε παρ'
 αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἰς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι πάντες ἀνθ-
 υπουργοῦντες ἀλλήλοις· καταγινώσκουσί τε τῶν
 δεσποτῶν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀδίκων, ἰσότητα λυμαινο-
 μένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀσεβῶν, θεσμὸν φύσεως
 ἀναιρουντων, ἥ πάντας ὁμοίως γεννήσασα καὶ
 θρεψαμένη μητρὸς δίκην ἀδελφούς γνησίους, οὐ
 [158] λεγομένους ἀλλ' ὄντας ὄντως, | ἀπειργάσατο· ὦν
 τὴν συγγένειαν ἥ ἐπίβουλος πλεονεξία παρενη-
 μερήσασα διέσεισεν, ἀντ' οἰκειότητος ἄλλοτριότητα
 80 καὶ ἀντὶ φιλίας ἔχθραν ἐργασαμένη. φιλοσοφίας
 τε τὸ μὲν λογικὸν ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἰς κτῆσιν
 ἀρετῆς λογοθῆραις, τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν ὡς μείζον ἢ
 κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν μετεωρολέσχαις ἀπολιπόν-
 τες, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτοῦ περὶ ὑπάρξεως θεοῦ καὶ τῆς
 τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεως φιλοσοφεῖται, τὸ ἠθικὸν εὖ
 μάλα διαπονοῦσιν ἀλείπταις χρώμενοι τοῖς πατρίοις
 νόμοις, οὓς ἀμήχανον ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπινοῆσαι ψυχὴν
 81 ἄνευ κατοκωχῆς ἐνθέου. τούτους ἀνα-
 διδάσκονται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ἐν δὲ
 ταῖς ἐβδόμαις διαφερόντως. ἱερὰ γὰρ ἡ ἐβδόμη
 νενόμισται, καθ' ἣν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέχοντες ἔργων,
 εἰς ἱεροὺς ἀφικνούμενοι τόπους, οἱ καλοῦνται συν-
 αγωγαί, καθ' ἡλικίας ἐν τάξεσιν ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέροις
 νέοι καθέζονται, μετὰ κόσμου τοῦ προσήκοντος
 82 ἔχοντες ἀκροατικῶς. εἴθ' εἰς μὲν τις τὰς βίβλους
 ἀναγινώσκει λαβών, ἕτερος δὲ τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων

^a The triple division of philosophy has been frequently mentioned by Philo. For the fullest account of it see *De* 56

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retail or marine, but pack the inducements to covetousness off in disgrace. Not a single slave is to be 79 found among them, but all are free, exchanging services with each other, and they denounce the owners of slaves, not merely for their injustice in outraging the law of equality, but also for their impiety in annulling the statute of Nature, who mother-like has born and reared all men alike, and created them genuine brothers, not in mere name, but in very reality, though this kinship has been put to confusion by the triumph of malignant covetousness, which has wrought estrangement instead of 80 affinity and enmity instead of friendship. As for philosophy they abandon the logical part to quibbling verbalists as unnecessary for the acquisition of virtue, and the physical to visionary praters as beyond the grasp of human nature, only retaining that part which treats philosophically of the existence of God and the creation of the universe.^a But the ethical part they study very industriously, taking for their trainers the laws of their fathers, which could not possibly have been conceived by the human soul without divine inspiration.

In these they are instructed 81 at all other times, but particularly on the seventh days. For that day has been set apart to be kept holy and on it they abstain from all other work and proceed to sacred spots which they call synagogues. There, arranged in rows according to their ages, the younger below the elder, they sit decorously as befits the occasion with attentive ears. Then one takes the 82 books and reads aloud and another of especial pro-

Agr. 14 ff. For the Stoic view by which natural theology is included in physic see notes on *De Abr.* 99 (vol. vi. pp. 52 and 597).

- ὅσα μὴ γνώριμα παρελθὼν ἀναδιδάσκει· τὰ γὰρ
 πλείστα διὰ συμβόλων ἀρχαιοτρόπῳ ζηλώσει παρ'
 83 αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφεῖται. παιδεύονται δὲ εὐσέβειαν,
 ὁσιότητα, δικαιοσύνην, οἰκονομίαν, πολιτείαν, ἐπι-
 στήμην τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν καὶ
 ἀδιαφόρων, αἵρέσεις ὧν χρή καὶ φυγὰς τῶν ἐναν-
 τίων, ὅροις καὶ κανόσι τριτοῖς χρώμενοι, τῷ τε
 84 φιλοθέῳ καὶ φιλαρέτῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ. τοῦ μὲν
 οὖν φιλοθέου δείγματα παρέχονται μυρία· τὴν παρ'
 ὅλον τὸν βίον συνεχῇ καὶ ἐπάλληλον ἀγνείαν, τὸ
 ἀνώμοτον, τὸ ἄψευδές, τὸ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν
 αἴτιον, κακοῦ δὲ μηδενὸς νομίζειν εἶναι τὸ θεῖον·
 τοῦ δὲ φιλαρέτου τὸ ἀφιλοχρήματον, τὸ ἀφιλόδοξον,
 τὸ ἀφιλήδονον, τὸ ἐγκρατές, τὸ καρτερικόν, ἔτι δὲ
 ὀλιγοδεῖαν, ἀφέλειαν, εὐκολίαν, τὸ ἄτυφον, τὸ νό-
 μιμον, τὸ εὐσταθές, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὁμοίότροπα·
 τοῦ δὲ φιλανθρώπου εὐνοίαν, ἰσότητα, τὴν παντὸς
 λόγου κρείττονα κοινωνίαν, περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἄκαιρον
 85 βραχέα εἰπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν οὐδενὸς οἰκία
 τίς ἐστιν ἰδία, ἣν οὐχὶ πάντων εἶναι κοινὴν συμ-
 βέβηκε· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατὰ θιάσους συνοικεῖν
 ἀναπέπταται καὶ τοῖς ἐτέρωθεν ἀφικνουμένοις τῶν
 86 ὁμοζήλων. εἰτ' ἐστὶ ταμεῖον ἐν πάντων
 καὶ δαπάναι (κοιναί), καὶ κοιναὶ μὲν ἐσθῆτες,
 κοιναὶ δὲ τροφαὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένων· τὸ γὰρ
 ὁμωρόφιον ἢ ὁμοδίαιτον ἢ ὁμοτράπεζον οὐκ ἂν τις

^a Or "with ardour worthy of the men of old." The same phrase occurs in *De Plant.* 158 and *De Mig.* 201, where also the exact meaning is somewhat uncertain.

^b i.e. ceremonial purity and avoidance of defilement. So rather than general purity of life, which would come under τὸ φιλάρετον. For this use of ἀγνεία cf. Plato, *Legg.*

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ficiency comes forward and expounds what is not understood. For most of their philosophical study takes the form of allegory, and in this they emulate the tradition of the past.^a They are trained in 83 piety, holiness, justice, domestic and civic conduct, knowledge of what is truly good, or evil, or indifferent, and how to choose what they should and avoid the opposite, taking for their defining standards these three, love of God, love of virtue, love of men. Their love of God they show by 84 a multitude of proofs, by religious purity^b constant and unbroken throughout their lives, by abstinence from oaths, by veracity, by their belief that the Godhead is the cause of all good things and nothing bad; their love of virtue, by their freedom from the love of either money or reputation or pleasure, by self-mastery and endurance, again by frugality, simple living, contentment, humility, respect for law, steadiness and all similar qualities; their love of men by benevolence and sense of equality, and their spirit of fellowship, which defies description, though a few words on it will not be out of place. First of all then no one's house is his own 85 in the sense that it is not shared by all, for besides the fact that they dwell together in communities, the door is open to visitors from elsewhere who share their convictions. Again they all have 86 a single treasury and common disbursements; their clothes are held in common and also their food through their institution of public meals. In no other community can we find the custom of sharing

917 *Β καθαρότητός τε καὶ ἀγνείας τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς.* Though this kind of purity is not mentioned elsewhere in this narrative, it is in other accounts, see App. p. 514.

- [459] εὔροι παρ' ἑτέροις μᾶλλον ἔργῳ βεβαιούμενον· | καὶ
 μήποτ' εἰκότως· ὅσα γὰρ ἂν μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐργασά-
 μενοι λάβωσιν ἐπὶ μισθῷ, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἴδια φυλάτ-
 τουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον προτιθέντες κοινὴν τοῖς
 ἐθέλουσι χρῆσθαι τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν παρασκευάζουσιν
 87 ὠφέλειαν. οἳ τε νοσοῦντες οὐχ ὅτι πορίζειν ἀδυ-
 νατοῦσιν ἀμελοῦνται, τὰ πρὸς τὰς νοσηλείας ἐκ τῶν
 κοινῶν ἔχοντες ἐν ἐτοιμίῳ, ὡς μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας
 ἐξ ἀφθονωτέρων ἀναλίσκειν. αἰδῶς δ' ἐστὶ πρε-
 σβυτέρων καὶ φροντίς, οἷα γονέων ὑπὸ γνησίων
 παίδων χερσὶ καὶ διανοίαις μυρίαὶ ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῇ
 88 πάσῃ γηροτροφουμένων. XIII. τοιού-
 τους ἢ δίχα περιεργίας Ἑλληνικῶν ὀνομάτων ἀθ-
 λητὰς ἀρετῆς ἀπεργάζεται φιλοσοφία, γυμνάσματα
 προτιθεῖσα τὰς ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις, ἐξ ὧν ἡ ἀδούλω-
 89 τος ἐλευθερία βεβαιοῦται. σημεῖον δέ· πολλῶν
 κατὰ καιροὺς ἐπαναστάντων τῇ χώρᾳ δυναστῶν καὶ
 φύσεσι καὶ προαιρέσεσι χρησαμένων διαφερούσαις
 —οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ἀτίθασον ἀγριότητα θηρίων
 ἐκνικῆσαι σπουδάσαντες, οὐδὲν παραλιπόντες τῶν
 εἰς ὠμότητα, τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἀγγεληδὸν ἱερεύοντες
 ἢ καὶ ζῶντας ἔτι μαγεύρων τρόπον κατὰ μέρη καὶ
 μέλη κρεουργοῦντες ἄχρι τοῦ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑπομείναι
 συμφορὰς ὑπὸ τῆς τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐφορώσης δίκης
 90 οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο· οἱ δὲ τὸ παρακεκινημένον καὶ
 λελυττηκὸς εἰς ἑτέρας εἶδος κακίας μεθαρμοσά-

^a γνήσιος is here used of children, not as usual in antithesis to νόθος, but in the literal as opposed to the figurative sense. So too in *Legatio* 62, 71, the behaviour of a father-in-law to his son-in-law is as good as if he were the γνήσιος πατήρ. So

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roof, life and board more firmly established in actual practice. And that is no more than one would expect. For all the wages which they earn in the day's work they do not keep as their private property, but throw them into the common stock and allow the benefit thus accruing to be shared by those who wish to use it. The sick are not neglected because 87 they cannot provide anything, but have the cost of their treatment lying ready in the common stock, so that they can meet expenses out of the greater wealth in full security. To the elder men too is given the respect and care which real^a children give to their parents, and they receive from countless hands and minds a full and generous maintenance for their latter years.

XIII. Such are the athletes 88 of virtue produced by a philosophy free from the pedantry of Greek wordiness, a philosophy which sets its pupils to practise themselves in laudable actions, by which the liberty which can never be enslaved is firmly established. Here we have a proof. 89 Many are the potentates who at various occasions have raised themselves to power over the country. They differed both in nature and the line of conduct which they followed. Some of them carried their zest for outdoing wild beasts in ferocity to the point of savagery. They left no form of cruelty untried. They slaughtered their subjects wholesale, or like cooks carved them piecemeal and limb by limb whilst still alive, and did not stay their hands till justice who surveys human affairs visited them with the same calamities. Others transformed this wild frenzy into 90 another kind of viciousness. Their conduct showed

too in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 184 of the behaviour of a ruler to his subjects.

- μενοι, πικρίαν ἄλεκτον ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἡσυχῇ δια-
 λαλοῦντες, ἡρεμαιοτέρας φωνῆς ὑποκρίσει βαρύνῃ
 ἦθος ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, κυνῶν ἰοβόλων τρόπον προσ-
 σαίνοντες, ἀνιάτων γενόμενοι κακῶν αἰτιοί, κατὰ
 πόλεις μνημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσεβείας καὶ μισαν-
 θρωπίας ἀπέλιπον τὰς τῶν πεπονθότων ἀλήστους
 91 συμφοράς—, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν σφόδρα
 ὤμοθύμων οὔτε τῶν πάνυ δολερῶν καὶ ὑπούλων
 ἴσχυσε τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν Ἑσσαίων ἢ ὀσίων ὄμιλον
 αἰτιάσασθαι, πάντες δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι τῆς τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν καλοκαγαθίας γενόμενοι καθάπερ αὐτονό-
 μοις καὶ ἐλευθέροις οὖσιν ἐκ φύσεως προσηνέχθη-
 σαν, ἄδοντες αὐτῶν τὰ συσσίτια καὶ τὴν παντὸς
 λόγου κρείττονα κοινωνίαν, ἣ βίου τελείου καὶ
 σφόδρα εὐδαίμονός ἐστι σαφέστατον δεῖγμα.
- 92 XIV. Χρὴ δ', ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀρετὰς
 οὐκ οἶονταί τινες εἶναι τελείας, ἀλλ' ἄχρι συναυξή-
 σεως καὶ ἐπιδόσεως αὐτὸ μόνον ἵστασθαι, μάρτυρας
 βίους τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν παραγαγεῖν,
 93 οἱ σαφέσταται πίστεις ἐλευθερίας εἰσὶ. Κάλανος
 ἦν Ἰνδὸς γένος τῶν γυμνοσοφιστῶν· οὗτος καρτε-
 [460] ρικώτατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων | νομισθεὶς οὐ
 μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλοφύλων,
 ὃ δὴ σπανιώτατόν ἐστιν, ἐχθρῶν βασιλέων ἐθαυ-
 μάσθη, λόγοις ἐπαινετοῖς σπουδαῖα ἔργα συνυφήνας.
- 94 Ἀλέξανδρος γοῦν ὁ Μακεδὼν βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξα-
 σθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὴν ἐν τῇ βαρβάρῳ σοφίαν,
 καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γραφῆς ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ
 μίμημα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρεκάλει Κάλανον συν-
 αποδημήσαι, μέγιστον περιποιήσοντα κλέος (ἐν)
 95 ὅλῃ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ὅλῃ Εὐρώπῃ. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν,

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intense bitterness, but they talked with calmness, though the mask of their milder language failed to conceal their rancorous disposition. They fawned like venomous hounds yet wrought evils irremediable and left behind them throughout the cities the unforgettable sufferings of their victims as monuments of their impiety and inhumanity. Yet none of these, 91 neither the extremely ferocious nor the deep-dyed treacherous dissemblers, were able to lay a charge against this congregation of Essenes or holy ones here described. Unable to resist the high excellence of these people, they all treated them as self-governing and freemen by nature and extolled their communal meals and that ineffable sense of fellowship, which is the clearest evidence of a perfect and supremely happy life.^a

XIV. But since some consider that the virtues of 92 large bodies are never perfect, but merely grow and improve and then come to a halt, we must cite as evidence the lives of good individual men, which are the clearest proof of the existence of liberty. Calanus 93 was an Indian by birth of the school of the gymnosophists. Regarded as possessed of endurance more than any of his contemporaries, by combining virtuous actions with laudable words he gained the admiration, not only of his fellow countrymen, but of men of other races, and, what is most singular of all, of enemy sovereigns. Thus Alexander of Macedon, wishing to 94 exhibit to the Grecian world a specimen of the barbarians' wisdom, like a copy reproducing the original picture, began by urging Calanus to travel with him from India with the prospect of winning high fame in the whole of Asia and the whole of Europe ; and 95

^a On §§ 89-91 see App. p. 515.

ἀναγκάσειν ἔφη συνακολουθεῖν· ὁ δὲ εὐθυβόλως πάνυ καὶ εὐγενῶς “ τίνος οὖν ” εἶπεν “ ἄξιόν με τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπιδείξεις, Ἀλέξανδρε, εἴ γε ἀναγκασθήσομαι ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ βούλομαι; ” ἄρ’ οὐ γέμων μὲν παρρησίας ὁ λόγος, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐλευθερίας¹ ὁ νοῦς; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βεβαιότεροις φωνῶν γράμμασιν ἥθους ἀδουλώτου τύπους 96 ἐστηλίτευσεν ἀριδήλους. μηνύει δὲ ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ἐπιστολὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ·

“ Κάλανος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

Φίλοι πείθουσί σε χεῖρας καὶ ἀνάγκην προσφέρειν Ἰνδῶν φιλοσόφοις οὐδ’ ἐν ὕπνοις ἑωρακότες ἡμέτερα ἔργα. σώματα μὲν γὰρ μετοίσεις ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ψυχὰς δὲ οὐκ ἀναγκάσεις ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ βούλονται μᾶλλον ἢ πλίνθους καὶ ξύλα φωνὴν ἀφεῖναι. πῦρ μεγίστους τοῖς ζῶσι σώμασι πόνους καὶ φθορὰν ἐργάζεται· τούτου ὑπεράνω ἡμεῖς γινόμεθα, ζῶντες καίόμεθα. οὐκ ἔστι βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἄρχων, ὃς ἀναγκάσει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν ἃ μὴ προαιρούμεθα. Ἑλλήνων δὲ φιλοσόφοις οὐκ ἐξομοιούμεθα, ὅσοι αὐτῶν εἰς πανήγυριν λόγους ἐμελέτησαν, ἀλλὰ λόγοις ἔργα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἔργοις λόγοι βραχεῖαν² ἔχουσι δύναμιν καὶ μακαριότητα

¹ MSS. παρρησίας.

² M has βραχεῖς ἄλλην. The evidently defective text of this sentence must be judged in the light of Ambrose’s paraphrase. Ambrose, whose version of the letter in *Ep.* 37 is very close till the end, closes with “ nobis res sociae verbis et verba rebus: res celeres et sermones breves: in virtute nobis libertas beata est.” From this Cohn suggests after ἔργοις λόγοι, (ἔργα μὲν ταχέα καὶ λόγοι) βραχεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἔχουσι δύναμιν, κτλ. The difficulty I find in this is that it ignores

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when he failed to persuade him declared that he would compel him to follow him. Calanus's reply was as noble as it was apposite. "What shall I be worth to you, Alexander, for exhibiting to the Greeks if I am compelled to do what I do not wish to do?" What a wealth of frankness there is in the words and far more of freedom in the thought. But more durable than his spoken are his written words and in these he set on record clear signs of a spirit which could not be enslaved. The letter he sent to Alexander runs thus:—

"Calanus to Alexander"

Your friends urge you to apply violence and compulsion to the philosophers of India. These friends, however, have never even in their dreams seen what we do. Bodies you will transport from place to place, but souls you will not compel to do what they will not do, any more than force bricks or sticks to talk. Fire causes the greatest trouble and ruin to living bodies: we are superior to this: we burn ourselves alive.^a There is no king, no ruler, who will compel us to do what we do not freely wish to do. We are not like those philosophers of the Greeks, who practise words for a festal assembly. With us deeds accord with words and words with deeds. Deeds pass swiftly and words have short-lived power:

^a Cf. *De Abr.* 182, where it is stated that the gymnosophists burn themselves at the outset of old age. Calanus is said to have ended his life in this way. See App. p. 516.

Ambrose's "in virtute." I tentatively suggest and have translated (ἔργα μὲν ταχέα καὶ λόγοι) βραχείαν ἔχουσι δύναμιν (ἀρεταὶ ἡμῶν) καὶ μακαριότητα καὶ ἐλευθερίαν περιποιῶνται (this

97 καὶ ἐλευθερίαν περιποιούντες.” ἐπὶ δὴ
τοιαύταις ἀποφάσεσι καὶ γνώμαις ἄρ’ οὐκ ἄξιον
τὸ Ζηνώνειον ἐπιφωνῆσαι, ὅτι “ θάττον ἂν ἀσκὸν
βαπτίσαι τις πλήρη πνεύματος ἢ βιάσαιτο τῶν
σπουδαίων ὄντινούν ἄκοντα δρᾶσαί τι τῶν ἀβουλή-
των”; ἀνένδοτος γὰρ ψυχὴ καὶ ἀήττητος, ἣν ὁ
ὀρθὸς λόγος δόγμασι παγίοις ἐνεύρωσε.

98 XV. Τῆς δὲ σπουδαίων ἐλευθερίας μάρτυρές
εἰσι ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς, ὧν ταῖς γνώμαις
“Ἕλληνες ὁμοῦ καὶ βάρβαροι σχεδὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν
σπαργάνων ἐντρεφόμενοι βελτιοῦνται τὰ ἥθη, πᾶν
ὅσον ἐξ ὑπαιτίου τροφῆς καὶ διαίτης ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς
κεκιβδήλευτα μεταχαρᾶττόμενοι πρὸς τὸ δόκιμον.

99 ἴδε γοῦν οἶα παρ’ Εὐριπίδῃ φησὶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς·

[461] | “ πῖμπρα, κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλήσθητί μου
πίνων κελαινὸν αἷμα· πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω
γῆς εἰσιν ἄστρα γῇ τ’ ἄνεισ’ εἰς αἰθέρα,
πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σοι θῶπ’ ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.”

τῷ γὰρ ὄντι θωπεία μὲν καὶ κολακεία καὶ ὑπό-
κρισις, ἐν οἷς λόγοι γνώμαις διαμάχονται, δουλο-
πρεπέστατα, τὸ δὲ ἀνόθως καὶ γνησίως ἐκ καθαροῦ
τοῦ συνειδότης ἐλευθεροστομεῖν εὐγενέσιν ἀρμόττον.

100 πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν σπουδαῖον οὐχ ὀρᾶς,
ὅτι οὐδὲ πωλούμενος θεράπων εἶναι δοκεῖ, κατα-
πλήττων τοὺς ὀρώντας, ὥς οὐ μόνον ἐλεύθερος ὢν

last is read by two mss. for περιποιούντες). The similar
ending of δύναμιν and ἡμῖν would facilitate the loss of ἀρεταὶ
ἡμῖν. At the same time it is true that the βραχεῖς of M fits
better with Ambrose’s “ breves.” See also App. p. 516.

^a Or if Cohn’s reconstruction (see note 2, pp. 64-66) is pre-
66

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virtues secure to us blessedness and freedom.”^a

Protestations and judgements like these 97 may well bring to our lips the saying of Zeno : “ Sooner will you sink an inflated bladder than compel any virtuous man to do against his will anything that he does not wish.” For never will that soul surrender or suffer defeat which right reason has braced with principles firmly held.

XV. The freedom of the virtuous is also vouched 98 for by the poets and prose writers, in whose thoughts Greeks and barbarians alike are reared almost from the cradle, and so gain improvement of character and restamp into sterling coin every bit of metal in their souls which has been debased by a faulty upbringing and mode of life. See, for instance, what Heracles 99 says in Euripides :

Burn me, consume my flesh, and drink thy fill
Of my dark blood ; for sooner shall the stars
Go 'neath the earth and earth go up to sky
Ere thou shalt from my lips meet fawning word.^b

For in very truth, fawning and flattery and dissembling, in which the words are at war with the thought, are utterly slavish. But freedom of speech, genuine without taint of bastardy, and proceeding from a pure conscience, befits the nobly born.

Again, observe how this same man of 100 worth, even when put up for sale, seems to be no menial, but strikes awe into the beholders, who feel

ferred, “ Our deeds are swift and our words short ; but they have power, securing for us blessedness and freedom.” For the suggested reconstruction translated above see same note.

^b This is the fourth time that this passage is quoted by Philo, the other three being *Leg. All.* iii. 202, *De Ios.* 78, and § 25 above. On the source of the quotation see App. p. 516.

PHILO

101 ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπότης ἐσόμενος τοῦ πριαμένου; ὁ
 γοῦν Ἑρμῆς πυνθανομένῳ μὲν, εἰ φαῦλός ἐστιν,
 ἀποκρίνεται·

“ ἥκιστα φαῦλος, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦναντίον
 πρὸς σχῆμα σεμνὸς κοῦ ταπεινὸς οὐδ’ ἄγαν
 εὖογκος ὡς ἂν δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ στολὴν
 ἰδόντι λαμπρὸς καὶ ξύλῳ δραστήριος.

οὐδείς δ’ ἐς οἴκους δεσπότης ἀμείνονας
 αὐτοῦ πρίασθαι βούλεται· σὲ δ’ εἰσορῶν
 πᾶς τις δέδοικεν. ὄμμα γὰρ πυρὸς γέμεις,
 ταῦρος λέοντος ὡς βλέπων πρὸς ἐμβολήν.”

εἴτ’ ἐπιλέγει·

“ τό γ’ εἶδος αὐτό σου¹ κατηγορεῖ
 σιγῶντος, ὡς εἴης ἂν οὐχ ὑπήκοος,
 τάσσειν δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ᾧ πιτάσσεσθαι θέλοις.”

102 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πριαμένου Συλέως εἰς ἀγρὸν ἐπέμφθη,
 διέδειξεν ἔργοις τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀδούλωτον· τὸν μὲν
 γὰρ ἄριστον τῶν ἐκεῖ ταύρων καταθύσας Διὶ
 πρόφασιν εὐωχεῖτο, πολὺν δ’ οἶνον ἐκφορήσας
 103 ἀθρόον εὖ μάλα κατακλιθεὶς ἡκρατίζετο. Συλεῖ
 δὲ ἀφικομένῳ καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντι ἐπὶ τε τῇ
 βλάβῃ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεράποντος ῥαθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ

¹ MSS. τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ οὐ (or οὐδ). Cohn prints the last two words as above, but leaves the equally unmetrical τὸ εἶδος though he expresses high approval of the correction (Elmsley's) to τό γ’.

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that he is not only free, but will become the master of his purchaser. ^a Hermes, for example, in answer 101 to the question whether Heracles is worthless says :

Worthless ? far from it, quite the contrary :
His bearing's dignified, no meanness here,
Not slave-like overstocked with fat, and look
How smart his dress—and he can wield a club.

To which the other replies :

Who wants to buy a stronger than himself,
And bring him home as master of the house ?
It fairly frightens one to look at you,
Eyes full of fire—you look just like a bull
Watching a lion's onset.

Then he continues :

Your looks alone are evidence enough,
Though you say nothing, that you won't obey—
Giving, not taking, orders is your line.

And when Syleus after buying him, sent him into his 102 estate, he showed by his actions that there was nothing of the slave in his nature. For he killed the finest bull in the stud, nominally as a sacrifice to Zeus, and feasted on it, and then brought out a great quantity of wine and lying there very comfortably drank it in huge draughts. When Syleus arrived, 103 very indignant both at the loss of his property, and at his servant's easy-going and excessively disdainful

^a This passage from a Satyric drama of Euripides evidently gives a different version from that in Apollodorus ii. 6. 2, in which Heracles having murdered Iphitus has to expiate his crime by three years servitude and accordingly is sold by Hermes to Omphale. During this servitude he kills Syleus, who used to compel strangers to dig in his vineyard. See further App. p. 516.

περιττῇ καταφρονήσει μηδὲν μήτε τῆς χροᾶς μήτε ὧν ἔπραττε μεταβαλὼν εὐτολμώτατά φησι·

“ κλίθητι καὶ πῶμεν, ἐν τούτῳ δέ μου τὴν πείραν εὐθὺς λάμβαν’, εἰ κρείσσων ἔσῃ.”

104 τοῦτον οὖν πότερον δοῦλον ἢ κύριον ἀποφαντέον τοῦ δεσπότου, μὴ μόνον ἀπελευθεριάζειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιτάττειν τῷ κτησαμένῳ καὶ εἰ ἀφηνιάζοι τύπτειν καὶ προπηλακίζειν, εἰ δὲ καὶ βοηθοὺς ἐπάγοιτο, πάντας ἄρδην ἀπολλύναι τολμῶντα; γέλως οὖν ἂν εἴη καὶ φλυαρία πολλή τὰ κατὰ τὰς λεγομένας ὠνάς γράμματα, ἐπειδὰν τῇ καθ’ ὧν γράφεται παρευημερηθῇ σθεναρωτέρα δυνάμει, χαρτιδίων ἀγράφων ἀκρότερα, ὑπὸ σέων ἢ χρόνου ἢ εὐρώτος εἰς ἅπαν διαφθαρησόμενα.

[462] XVI. | Ἄλλ’ οὐ χρή, φήσει τις, τὰς τῶν ἡρώων
105 παράγειν εἰς πίστιν ἀρετάς· μείζους γὰρ ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν γενομένους Ὀλυμπίοις ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, μικτῆς γενέσεως, ἀθανάτων καὶ θνητῶν ἀνακραθέντων σπερμάτων, ἐπιλαχόντας, ἡμιθέους εἰκότως προσαγορευθέντας, τοῦ θνητοῦ μίγματος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφθάρτου μερίδος κατακρατηθέντος, ὥς μηδὲν εἶναι παράδοξον, εἰ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δουλείαν

106 τεχναζόντων ὠλιγώρουν. ἔστω ταῦτα. μὴ καὶ Ἀνάξαρχος ἢ Ζήνων ὁ Ἐλεάτης ἥρωες ἢ ἐκ θεῶν; ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὑπὸ τυράννων ὠμοθύμων καὶ τὴν φύσιν πικρῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκθηριωθέντων στρεβλούμενοι κεκαινουργημέναις αἰκίαις, ὥσπερ ἀλλότρια ἢ ἐχθρῶν ἐπιφερόμενοι σώματα, μάλα
107 καταφρονητικῶς ἡλόγουν τῶν φοβερῶν. τὴν γὰρ

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behaviour, Heracles did not change colour a whit, nor make any difference in what he was doing, but said with the utmost boldness :

Lie down and let us drink and have a try
At once, who'll do it better, you or I.

How then must we describe his standing with his 104 master ? Is he slave or lord, he who dares not only to take these liberties, but even to issue orders to his owner, ready to beat him and knock him about if he shows resistance, or if he calls others to his aid to annihilate them altogether ! Surely then these title-deeds, which record the so-called purchases, are just a laughing-stock and a mass of nonsense, when they are put out of court by the superior force of those against whom they are drawn up, less valid even than blank sheets of paper and destined to perish utterly, through moths, or time, or mildew.

XVI. But it is not fair, an objector will say, to cite 105 the achievements of the heroes as evidence. They have a greatness above human nature ; they vie with the Olympians and as inheritors of a mixed parentage, a blend of mortal and immortal seed, are rightly called demigods, because the mortal ingredient is overpowered by the immortal part, so that there is nothing extraordinary in their contempt for those who plan to enslave them. Be it so ! But what of 106 Anaxarchus or Zeno the Eleatic ? Are they heroes or the offspring of gods ? Nevertheless in the hands of cruel-hearted tyrants, naturally bitter and stirred to still greater ferocity by anger with them, though racked with strange and ingeniously invented tortures, they behaved as though the bodies in which they lay belonged to strangers or enemies, and with high disdain set the terrors of the tormentors at

- ψυχὴν ἐθίσαντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς δι' ἐπιστήμης ἔρωτα τῆς
 μὲν πρὸς τὰ πάθη κοινωνίας ἀφίστασθαι, παιδείας
 δὲ καὶ σοφίας περιέχεσθαι, μετανάστιν μὲν σώματος
 εἰργάσαντο, φρονήσει δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ ταῖς ἄλ-
 108 λαις ἑρεταῖς σύνοικον ἀπέφηναν. τοιγαροῦν ὁ μὲν
 κρεμάμενος¹ καὶ κατατεινόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ τι τῶν
 ἀρρήτων ἐκλαλῆσαι, πυρὸς καὶ σιδήρου, τῶν ἐν τῇ
 φύσει κραταιοτάτων, φανεῖς δυνατώτερος, ἀποτρα-
 γῶν τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τὴν γλῶτταν εἰς τὸν βασανιστὴν
 ἠκόντισεν, ἵνα μηδ' ἄκων ἃ καλὸν ἡσυχάζειν
 109 φθέγγηται βιασθεῖς. ὁ δὲ τλητικώτατα εἶπε·
 “ πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου ἀσκόν· Ἀναξάρχον γὰρ
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιο.” αὐταὶ γέμουσαι θράσους αἱ
 εὐτολμῖαι τὴν ἡρωϊκὴν εὐγένειαν οὐ μετρίως
 ὑπερβάλλουσι,² διότι τοῖς μὲν τὸ κλέος ἐν τοῖς
 φυτεύσασιν ἀκούσιον, τῶν δ' ἐν ἐκουσίοις ἀρεταῖς,
 αἱ τοὺς ἀδόλως χρωμένους ἀθανατίζειν πεφύκασιν.
 110 XVII. Παλαιστὰς οἶδα καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς πολ-
 λάκις ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν σπουδῆς,
 ἀπαγορευόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν σωμάτων, μόνη ψυχῇ
 διαπνέοντας ἔτι καὶ διαθλοῦντας, ἣν ἐθίσαντες
 καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν τῶν φοβερῶν ἐγκαρτεροῦσιν
 111 ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς. εἴτ' οἰόμεθα τοὺς μὲν
 ἀσκητὰς τῆς ἐν σώματι εὐτονίας ἐπιβεβηκέναι
 φόβῳ θανάτου ἢ δι' ἐλπίδα νίκης ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ

¹ So mss. except M which has κρινόμενος (so Cohn).

² mss. ὑπερβάλλουσαι.

^a The same story is told of Zeno in Diogenes Laertius ix. 27, and also of Anaxarchus, *ibid.* 59.

^b For this story see Diogenes Laertius ix. 59, where the word for the thing pounded is θύλακος (“bag” or “pouch”). By this is meant the body as being the bag containing the

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 107-111

nought. For having inured the soul from the first to 107
hold aloof through love of knowledge from association
with the passions, and to cleave to culture and
wisdom, they set it wandering away from the body
and brought it to make its home with wisdom and
courage and the other virtues. So it was that Zeno 108
when suspended and stretched on the wheel, to make
him tell something which should not be disclosed,
showed himself mightier than the strongest things in
nature, fire and iron. He gnawed off his tongue and
shot it at the torturer, lest under violence he should
involuntarily utter what honour would leave un-
spoken.^a Anaxarchus's speech showed the staunchest 109
endurance. "Pound Anaxarchus's skin," he said,
"Anaxarchus you cannot pound."^b These examples
of true courage, full of the spirit of defiance, have a
value far exceeding the inherited nobleness of the
heroes. Their glory belongs to their parentage and
is not of their own volition. The glory of the philo-
sophers rests upon achievements of virtue, freely
willed by themselves, and these being what they are,
immortalize those who practise them in sincerity.

XVII. I know many cases of wrestlers and pan- 110
cratiasts so full of ambition and eagerness for victory
that though their bodies have lost their strength, they
renew their vigour and continue their athletic efforts
with nothing to help them but the soul, which they
have inured to despise terrors, and in this they per-
severe to their last gasp. Then, if those who exercise 111
their bodily vigour have surmounted the fear of death
whether in the hope of victory or to avoid seeing
themselves defeated, can we suppose that those

soul and *ἄσκός* here may mean the same rather than the skin
in the literal sense.

PHILO

τὴν ἰδίαν ἦτταν ἐπιδεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τὸν ἀόρατον νοῦν
 γυμνάζοντας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ὃς ἀψευδῶς ἀνθρωπὸς
 ἐστὶν οἶκον ἐπιφερόμενος τὸ αἰσθητὸν εἶδος, καὶ |
 [463] λόγοις μὲν τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἔργοις δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς
 ἀλείφοντας οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἐθελήσειν ἀπο-
 θνήσκειν, ἢ ἐν ἀδουλώτῳ φρονήματι τὴν εἰμαρ-
 112 μένην ἀνύσωσι πορείαν; ἐν ἀγῶνί φασιν ἱερῷ δύο
 ἀθλητὰς ἰσορρόπῳ κεκρημένους ἀλκῇ, τὰ αὐτὰ
 ἀντιδρῶντάς τε καὶ ἀντιπάσχοντας, μὴ πρότερον
 ἀπειπεῖν ἢ ἐκάτερον τελευτῆσαι.

“ δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος,”

113 εἴποι τις ἂν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὖν
 κοτίνων μὲν χάριν καὶ σελίνων εὐκλεῆς ἀγωνισταῖς
 ἢ τελευτῇ, σοφοῖς δὲ οὐ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐλευθερίας,
 ἥς ὁ πόθος ταῖς ψυχαῖς μόνον, εἰ δεῖ τὰ ληθῆς εἰπεῖν,
 ἐνίδρυνται καθάπερ τι μέρος ἡνωμένον οὐ τῶν ἐπι-
 τυχόντων, οὗ διακοπέντος ἅπασαν τὴν κοινωνίαν
 114 φθείρεσθαι συμβέβηκε; Λακωνικοῦ παιδὸς ἄδεται
 παρ’ οἷς ἔθος ἰχνηλατεῖν ἀρετὰς τὸ ἐκ γένους ἢ
 φύσεως ἀδουλώτων· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αἰχμάλωτος ἀπαχ-
 θεὶς ὑπὸ τινος τῶν Ἀντιγόνου τὰς μὲν ἐλευθέρως
 χρειὰς ὑπέμενε, ταῖς δὲ δουλικαῖς ἡναντιοῦτο φά-
 σκων οὐχὶ δουλεύσειν, καίτοι μήπω τοῖς Λυκούργου
 νόμοις παγίως ἐντραφῆναι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν δυνη-
 θεὶς, ὅτι μόνον αὐτῶν ἐγεύσατο, τοῦ παρόντος
 ἀβιώτου βίου θάνατον εὐτυχέστερον κρίνας, ἀπο-
 γνοὺς ἀπολύτρωσιν, ἄσμενος ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

^a *Il.* vi. 407.

^b *i.e.* Antigonus Doson, who conquered Sparta 221 B.C.

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 111-115

who drill the invisible mind within them, the veritable man, housed within the form which the senses perceive,—those who train it with words of philosophy and deeds of virtue will not be willing to die for their freedom and so complete their appointed pilgrimage with a spirit that defies enslavement! It is told of 112 two athletes in a sacred contest how possessed of equal strength, each offensive taken by the one returned in equal measure by the other, they never flagged until both fell dead. “Ah! then thy own prowess will destroy thee,”^a are words which will apply to such as these. Surely then if to die for a 113 garland of wild olive or parsley is a glory to the rivals in the arena, a far greater glory is it to the wise to die for freedom, the love of which stands in very truth implanted in the soul like nothing else, not as a casual adjunct but an essential part of its unity, and cannot be amputated without the whole system being 114 destroyed as the result. Students who investigate examples of high excellence sing the praises of the Laconian boy, to whom race or his own nature gave a spirit which would not brook enslavement. Carried into captivity by one of Antigonus’s^b people, he submitted to such tasks as became a freeman, but stood out against those of a slavish kind, declaring that he would not be a slave. And although by reason of his tender years he had not received the solid nutrition of the laws of Lyncurgus, yet from his mere taste of them, he judged that death was a happier lot than his present valueless life, and despairing of ransom gladly put an end to himself.^c There is also the story 115

^c The same story is told by Sen. *Ep.* 77 with the same moral. According to Seneca he killed himself by knocking his head against the wall.

- 115 λέγεται δὲ καὶ πρὸς Μακεδόνων ἀλούσας Δαρ-
 δανίδας γυναικας αἰσχιστον κακὸν δουλείαν
 ὑπολαβούσας οὗς ἐκουροτρόφουν παῖδας εἰς τὸ
 βαθύτατον τοῦ ποταμοῦ ρίπτειν ἐπιφωνούσας·
 “ ἄλλ’ ὑμεῖς γε οὐ δουλεύετε, πρὶν δ’ ἄρξασθαι
 βίου βαρυνδαίμονος, τὸ χρεῶν ἐπιτεμόντες ἐλεύ-
 θεροι τὴν ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πανυστάτην ὁδὸν περαιώ-
 116 σεσθε.” Πολυξένην δὲ ὁ τραγικὸς Εὐριπίδης
 ἀλογοῦσαν μὲν θανάτου φροντίζουσιν δὲ ἐλευθερίας
 εἰσάγει δι’ ὧν φησιν·

“ ἐκοῦσα θνήσκω, μή τις ἄψηται χρὸς
 τοῦμοι· παρέξω γὰρ δέρην εὐκαρδίως,
 ἐλευθέραν δέ μ’, ὡς ἐλευθέρα θάνω,
 πρὸς θεῶν μεθέντες κτεínaτε.”

- 117 XVIII. εἶπ’ οἰόμεθα γυναίοις μὲν καὶ
 μειρακίοις, ὧν τὰ μὲν φύσει ὀλιγόφρονα τὰ δὲ
 ἡλικία εὐολίσθω χρώμενα, τοσοῦτον ἐλευθερίας
 ἔρωτα ἐντήκεσθαι, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἀφαιρε-
 θῆναι πρὸς θάνατον ὡς ἐπ’ ἀθανασίαν ὁρμᾶν, τοὺς
 δὲ σοφίας ἀκράτου σπάσαντας οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐλευθέρους
 [464] εἶναι, | πηγὴν τινα εὐδαιμονίας τὴν ἀρετὴν (ἐν)
 ἑαυτοῖς περιφέροντας, ἣν ἐπίβουλος οὐδεμία πώ-
 ποτε δύναμις κατέξευξε τὸν ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας
 118 ἔχουσιν αἰώνιον κλῆρον; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ
 δήμους ὅλους ἀκούομεν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἅμα καὶ
 πίστεως τῆς πρὸς ἀποθανόντας εὐεργέτας αὐθαί-
 ρετον πανωλεθρίαν ὑποστάντας, ὥσπερ φασὶν οὐ
 πρὸ πολλοῦ Ξανθίου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς τῶν ἐπι-
 θεμένων Ἰουλίῳ Καίσαρι, Βροῦτος, ἐπιὼν ἐπ’

^a No reference is given for this story. Dardania is

of the Dardanian women taken prisoners by the Macedonians, how holding slavery to be the worst disgrace they threw the children which they were nurturing into the deepest part of the river, exclaiming, "You at least shall not be slaves but ere you have begun your life of misery shall cut short your destined span and pass still free along the final road which all must tread."^a Polyxena, too, is described 116 by the tragedian Euripides as thinking little of death but much of her freedom when she says :

Willing I die, that none may touch my flesh—
For I will give my throat with all my heart.
In heaven's name let me go free, then slay me
That I may die still free.^b

XVIII. Then can we suppose that while 117 women and lads, the former endowed by nature with little sense, the latter at so insecure an age, are imbued with so profound a love of liberty, that to save themselves from losing it they seek death as eagerly as if it were immortality—can we suppose, I say, that those who have drunk deep of wisdom undiluted can be anything but free—those who bear within them a well-spring of happiness in the high courage which no malignant force has ever yet subdued because sovereignty and kingship is its everlasting heritage?

Indeed we hear of whole populations 118 voluntarily suffering annihilation to safeguard their liberty and at the same time their good faith to dead benefactors. Such is the story told of the Xanthians in recent years. When one of the assassins of Julius Caesar, namely Brutus, marched with an army

apparently a vague term for part of Mysia (*Dictionary of Geography*).

^b *Hecuba* 548 ff.

- αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσε, δεδιότες οὐ πόρθησιν ἀλλὰ
 <δουλείαν> τὴν ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνου κτείναντος ἡγεμόνα
 καὶ εὐεργέτην—ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ Καῖσαρ—
 ἀπεμάχοντο μὲν ἐφ' ὅσον οἰοί τε ἦσαν δυνατῶς τὸ
 πρῶτον, ὑπαναλούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἔτ'
 119 ἀντείχον. ὥς δὲ ἅπασαν τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐδαπάνησαν,
 γύναια καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τέκνα συνελάσαντες εἰς τὰς
 σφῶν οἰκίας ἕκαστοι καθιέρενον· καὶ σωρηδὸν τὰ
 σφάγια νήσαντες, πῦρ ἐνέντες καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπι-
 κατασφάζαντες, ἐλεύθεροι τὸ πεπρωμένον ἀπ' ἐλευ-
 120 θέρου καὶ εὐγενοῦς φρονήματος ἐξέπλησαν. ἀλλ'
 οὗτοι μὲν πικρίαν ἀμείλικτον τυραννικῶν ἐχθρῶν
 ἀποδιδράσκοντες πρὸ ἀδόξου βίου τὸν μετ' εὐκλείας
 θάνατον ἠροῦντο. οἷς δὲ ἐπέτρεπε ζῆν τὰ πράγ-
 ματα τὰ τυχερά, τλητικῶς ὑπέμενον τὴν Ἡρά-
 κλειον εὐτολμίαν ἀπομιμούμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
 τῶν Εὐρυσθέως ἐπιταγμάτων διεφάνη κρείττων.
 121 ὁ γοῦν κυνικὸς φιλόσοφος Διογένης
 ὕψει καὶ μεγέθει τοσούτῳ φρονήματος ἐχρήσατο,
 ὥσθ' ἄλους ὑπὸ ληστῶν, ἐπεὶ γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις
 τὰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῷ παρείχον τροφάς, οὐθ' ὑπὸ
 τῆς παρούσης τύχης γναμφθεὶς οὔτε τὴν ὠμότητα
 τῶν ὑπηγμένων δείσας “ἀτοπώτατον οὖν” ἔφη
 “γίνεται, δελφάκια μὲν ἢ προβάτια, ὁπότε μέλλοι
 πιπράσκεσθαι, τροφαῖς ἐπιμελεστέραις πιαίνειν εἰς
 εὐσαρκίαν, ζώων δὲ τὸ ἄριστον, ἄνθρωπον, ἀσιτίαις

^a The story is told at length by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iv. 76-80.

^b The first of these stories about Diogenes, §§ 121 and 122, does not appear to be referred to elsewhere. Of the re-

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against them, what they feared was not the sack of their city, but enslavement to a murderer, who had killed his own leader and benefactor, for Caesar had been both to him. As long as they could they fought 119 on and at first made a powerful defence, and while their numbers were gradually wasting away they still held out. But when their whole strength was spent, they drove their women and parents and children each to their several homes and there slaughtered them, and after piling the bodies in a heap fired it and slew themselves upon it, thus completing their allotted term as free men inspired by a free and noble resolution.^a Now these to escape the merciless cruelty of 120 tyrannical enemies chose death with honour in preference to an inglorious life, but others whom the circumstances of their lot permitted to live, endured in patience, imitating the courage of Heracles, who proved himself superior to the tasks imposed by Eurystheus. ^b Thus it was with the cynic 121 philosopher Diogenes. So great and lofty was his spirit, that when captured by robbers, who grudgingly provided him with the barest minimum of food, still remained unmoved by his present position and had no fear of the cruelty of those who held him in their power. "It is surely very preposterous," he said, "that while sucking pigs and sheep when they are going to be sold are fed up with greater care to make them fat and well favoured, man the best of animals should be reduced to a skeleton by want of food and

partees in § 123 the first is given in Diogenes Laertius vi. 29 and in another setting *ibid.* 74. The second repartee seems to be another form of that recorded in Diogenes Laertius vi. 74, where speaking of a certain Xenias (elsewhere described as a profligate), he said to the auctioneer "sell me to him, for he needs a master."

κατασκελετευθέντα καὶ συνεχέσιν ἐνδείαις ἐπευωνί-
 122 ζεσθαι.” λαβὼν δὲ τροφὰς διαρκεῖς, ἐπειδὴ μεθ’
 ἐτέρων αἰχμαλώτων ἔμελλεν ἀπεμπολεῖσθαι, καθ-
 ίσας πρότερον ἡρίστα μαλ’ εὐθαρσῶς, ἐπιδιδούς
 καὶ τοῖς πλησίον. ἐνὸς δὲ οὐχ ὑπομένοντος,¹ ἀλλὰ
 καὶ σφόδρα κατηφοῦντος, “οὐ παύσῃ τῆς συννοίας;
 χρῶ τοῖς παροῦσιν” ἔφη.

“καὶ γάρ τ’ ἡύκομος Νιόβη ἐμνήσατο σίτου,
 τῇ περ δώδεκα παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ὄλοντο,
 ἕξ μὲν θυγατέρες, ἕξ δ’ υἱέες ἡβύοντες.”

123 | εἴτ’ ἐπινεανιεύομενος πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τῶν
 [465] ὠνητικῶς ἐχόντων “τί οἶδας;” “ἄρχειν” εἶπεν
 “ἀνθρώπων,” ἔνδοθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ
 ἐλεύθερον καὶ εὐγενὲς καὶ φύσει βασιλικὸν ὑπη-
 χούσης. ἤδη δὲ καὶ πρὸς χαριεντισμὸν ὑπὸ τῆς
 συνήθους ἐκεχειρίας,² ἐφ’ οἷς οἱ ἄλλοι συννοίας γέ-
 124 μοντες κατήφουν, ἐτράπετο. λέγεται γοῦν, ὅτι
 θεασάμενός τινα τῶν ὠνουμένων, ὃν θήλεια νόσος
 εἶχεν, ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως οὐκ ἄρρενα προσελθὼν ἔφη.

¹ So Cohn with M. The other mss. vary between οὐ λυπου-
 μένου ὄντος, οὐ μόνον λυπουμένου ὄντος and οὐ μόνον λυπουμένου.
 Cohn’s theory that the first form of these arose by mistaking
 the χ of οὐχ for λ, and that the others were later developed
 out of it, is probably right.

² Cohn, who prints ἐφ’ ἧ for ἐφ’ οἷς, regards the passage or
 at least ἐκεχειρίας to be corrupt. I do not feel sure of this.
 The word is used coupled with ἀδεια and ἀνεσις in *De Cher.*
 92 and *De Sac.* 23 and below, § 148. In *De Conf.* 165,
 where see note, we have ἡ τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν ἐκεχειρία. The
 extension of the word from a situation where restraint is
 removed to unrestrainedness as a quality in a man is not
 great. It would be difficult however to fit it in with ἐφ’ ἧ,
 unless it meant that the others were frightened at his cheeki-
 80

EVERY GOOD MAN IS FREE, 122-124

constant privations and so fetch a lower price.”^a He 122 then received adequate allowances of food and when he was about to be brought to market with the other captives, he first sat down and took his dinner in the highest spirits, and gave some of it to those near him. To one of them who could not resign himself,^b and, indeed, was exceedingly dejected, he said, “ Stop this repining and make the best of things, for

E'en fair-haired Niobe took thought for food
Though she had lost twelve children in the halls—
Six daughters and six sons in prime of youth.”^c

Then when one of the prospective purchasers asked 123 him what he was skilled at, he said with all boldness “ at ruling men,” a reply which, showing freedom, nobility, and natural kingliness, was clearly dictated by the soul within him. Again we find him with his wonted licence making witticisms out of a situation which filled the others with melancholy and dejection. It is said, for instance, that looking at one of 124 the purchasers, an addict to effeminacy, whose face showed that he had nothing of the male about him, he went up to him and said, “ You should buy me, for

^a See on § 37.

^b Or perhaps “ could not bring himself to accept the food,” which fits in better with the Homeric quotation. Cf. οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τὰς δωρεάς “ they scorned to accept the gifts” (quoted by L. & S. rev. from Isoc. iv. 94).

^c *Il.* xxiv. 602 ff.

ness, and I have adopted ἐφ’ οἷς (M) which has at least as good authority. We might expect τὰ ἐφ’ οἷς, but compare τῇ καθ’ ὣν γράφεται δυνάμει, § 104. The most questionable thing about the interpretation which I have given is that it assumes that the middle ἐτρέπετο can be used transitively, and though τρέπειν and τρέπεσθαι are in some ways interchangeable, I have not found any exact parallel.

PHILO

“ σύ με πρίω· σὺ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς χρεῖαν ἔχειν μοι δοκεῖς,” ὥς τὸν μὲν δυσωπηθέντα ἐφ’ οἷς ἑαυτῷ συνήδει καταδῦναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τὸ σὺν εὐτολμία εὐθυβόλον ἐκπλήττεσθαι. ἄρά γε τῷ τοιούτῳ δουλείαν, ἀλλ’ οὐ μόνον ἐλευθερίαν δίχα ἀνυπευ-
 125 θύνου ἡγεμονίας ἐπιφημιστέον; ζηλω-
 τῆς δὲ τῆς τούτου παρρησίας ἐγένετό τις Χαιρέας τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας. Ἀλεξάνδρειαν γὰρ οἰκῶν τὴν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, δυσχεράναντός ποτε Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος οὐ μετρίως, τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας οὐδὲν ἐλάττονα τὴν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει νομίσας ἐλευθερίαν, ἀντέλεξεν·

“ Αἰγυπτίοισιν ἄνασσε, σέθεν δ’ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω οὐδ’ ὀθομαι κοτέοντος.”

126 ἔχουσι γάρ τι βασιλικὸν αἱ εὐγενεῖς ψυχαί, τὸ λαμπρὸν πλεονεξία τύχης οὐκ ἁμαυρούμεναι, ὃ προτρέπει καὶ τοῖς τᾶξίωμα ὑπερόγκοις ἐξ ἴσου διαφέρεσθαι, ἀλαζονείᾳ παρρησίαν ἀντιτάττον.

127 Θεόδωρον λόγος ἔχει τὸν ἐπικληθέντα ἄθεον ἐκπεσόντα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πρὸς Λυσίμαχον ἐλθόντα, ἐπειδὴ τις τῶν ἐν τέλει τὸν δρασμὸν ὠνείδισεν, ἅμα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπιλέγων, ὅτι ἐπὶ ἀθεότητι καὶ διαφθορᾷ τῶν νέων καταγνωσθεῖς

^a This phrase is difficult. The sense given to δίχα in the translation, by which “without” is extended to mean “not

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you seem to me to need a husband," whereat the person concerned conscience-stricken into shame subsided, and the others were amazed at the courage and the aptness of the sally. Must we apply the term slavery to such as him, or any other word but liberty, over which irresponsible domination has no power? ^a

His freedom of speech was emulated by 125
Chaereas, a man of culture. When he was living in Alexandria by Egypt, he once incurred the anger of Ptolemy, who threatened him in no mild terms. Chaereas considering that his own natural freedom was not a whit inferior to the other's kingship replied:

Be King of Egypt; I care not for you—
A fig for all your anger.^b

For noble souls, whose brightness the greed of fortune 126
cannot dim, have a kingly something, which urges them to contend on an equal footing with persons of the most massive dignity and pits freedom of speech against arrogance.

A story is told of 127
Theodorus ^c surnamed the atheist, that when he had been banished from Athens and had joined Lysimachus, his flight was brought up against him by a person of authority, who recited the circumstances which caused it and declared that he had been ejected after being condemned as an atheist and corrupter of

subject to," is not natural. *δίχα* is often used by Philo to introduce some additional statement and possibly that may be the meaning here, *i.e.* "not to say absolute sovereignty," referring of course to the sovereignty of the sage described by Diogenes Laertius vii. 122 as *ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος*. The natural translation "freedom but not irresponsible sovereignty" (so Mangey "nudam libertatem imperio pleno destitutam") seems impossibly pointless.

^b *Il.* i. 180 f. (*Μυρμιδόνεσσιν* for *Αἰγυπτιόισιν* in the original).

^c For Theodorus see App. p. 517.

- ἐξέπεσεν, "[οὐκ] ἐξέπεσον"¹ φάναι, "τὸ δ' αὐτὸ
 128 ἔπαθον τῷ Διὸς Ἡρακλεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἐξ-
 ετέθη πρὸς τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, οὐκ ἀδικῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι
 μόνος πλήρωμα καὶ ἔρμα καθ' αὐτὸν ὦν ἐναυβάρει,
 δέος παρασχὼν τοῖς συμπλέουσι, μὴ τὸ σκάφος
 ὑπέραντλον γένηται. καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο μετανέστην,
 ὕψει καὶ μεγέθει τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας τῶν πολιτευο-
 μένων Ἀθηναίων οὐ δυνηθέντων συνδραμεῖν, ἅμα
 129 καὶ φθονηθεῖς." προσανερομένου δὲ Λυσιμάχου·
 "μὴ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέπεσες φθόνῳ;" πάλιν
 ἀποκρίνασθαι· "φθόνῳ μὲν οὐ, φύσεως δὲ ὑπερ-
 130 βολαῖς, ἃς ἡ πατρίς οὐκ ἐχώρει. καθάπερ γὰρ
 Σεμέλης, ἥνικα Διόνυσον ἐκύει, τὸν ὠρισμένον ἄχρι
 [466] τῆς | ἀποτέξεως χρόνον ἐνεγκεῖν οὐ δυνηθείσης,
 καταπλαγεὶς Ζεὺς τὴν τοῦ κατὰ γαστρὸς φύσιν
 ἡλιτόμηνον ἐξελκύσας ἰσότιμον τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἀπ-
 ἐέφηγε θεοῖς, οὕτω καὶ ἐμὴ, τῆς πατρίδος βραχυτέρας
 οὔσης ἢ ὥστε δέξασθαι φιλοσόφου φρονήματος
 ὄγκον τοσοῦτον, δαίμων τις ἢ θεὸς ἀναστήσας εἰς
 εὐτυχέστερον τόπον Ἀθηναίων² ἀποικίσαι διενόηθη."
 131 XIX. Τῆς δὲ ἐν σοφοῖς ἐλευθερίας, ὥσπερ καὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀλόγοις

¹ Cohn and Mangey are no doubt right in expunging the negative. For though it would make sense as "I was not banished, but removed by divine agency" (see end of § 130), the comparison with Heracles who was ejected and the versions of the story given by Diogenes Laertius ii. 102 and Plutarch (*De Exil.* 16), both of whom make him answer the question "Were you banished?" in the affirmative, show that οὐκ should be omitted.

² So three mss. The others Ἀθήνας, which Cohn prints. Whether he intended to insert ἢ and omitted it by inadvertence I do not know. As it stands, it seems to me quite impossible.

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youth. "I was ejected," he answered, "but I shared that fortune with the son of Zeus Heracles, for he was thrown overboard by the Argonauts, not 128 for any wrongdoing, but because he himself alone was freight^a and ballast enough to overload the vessel, and made his fellow sailors afraid that it would be water-logged. And I, too, changed my residence^b for this reason, because the politicians at Athens were unable to keep pace with the loftiness and magnitude of my intellect; also I was the object of envy." When 129 Lysimachus put the further question, "Was it then for envy that you were ejected?" he answered, "No, not through envy but because of the transcendence of my natural gifts which the country could not hold. For just as when Semele, while carrying Dionysus, 130 was unable to bear the weight till the time appointed for her delivery, and Zeus in consternation pulled out the fruit of her womb in a premature stage of being and made it rank equal to the celestial gods, so it was with me: my country was too small to hold such a mass of philosophical thinking, and some lower or higher deity dislodged me and resolved to transplant me to a place more favoured by fortune than Athens."

XIX. The freedom of the wise like all other human 131 good gifts may be seen exemplified also in the irra-

^a Cf. § 41. The general meaning of *πλήρωμα* as a nautical term is "the crew," *i.e.* not a dead-weight, but the human "complement" as in § 142, but this does not suit the context here, and not very well in § 41, and as the two passages cannot be dissociated, it seems better to assume that in both cases the meaning is "freight" or "cargo."

^b Or perhaps "was made to leave my home," *μετανέστην* having the passive sense which the uncompounded verb often has.

- ζώοις παραδείγματα σκοπῶν ἂν τις εὖροι. οἱ γοῦν ἀλεκτρυόνες οὕτως εἰώθασι φιλοκινδύνως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὥστε ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ εἶξαι καὶ παραχωρῆσαι, καὶ ἡττῶνται ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, οὐχ ἡττώμενοι ταῖς
- 132 εὐτολμίαις ἄχρι θανάτου παραμένουσιν. ὁ συνιδὼν Μιλτιάδης ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, ἡνίκα βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἅπασαν τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναστήσας μυριάσι πολλαῖς διέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, ὡς ἀναρπάσων αὐτοβοεῖ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, συναγαγὼν ἐν τῷ παναθηναϊκῷ τοὺς συμμάχους ὀρνίθων ἀγῶνας ἐπέδειξε, λόγου παντὸς δυνατωτέρα ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσεσθαι τὴν διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ὀψεως παρακέλευσιν· καὶ γνώμης οὐχ ἡμαρτε.
- 133 θεασάμενοι γὰρ τὸ τλητικὸν καὶ φιλότιμον ἄχρι τελευτῆς ἐν ἀλόγοις ἀήττητον, ἀρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὤρμησαν, ὡς ἐχθρῶν ἀγωνιούμενοι σώμασι, τραυμάτων καὶ σφαγῶν ἀλογοῦντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ ἀποθανόντες ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ γοῦν τῷ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδάφει ταφῆναι. προτροπῆς γὰρ εἰς βελτίωσιν οὐδὲν οὕτως αἷτιον, ὥς ἡ τῶν ἀφανέ-
- 134 στέρων ἐλπίδος μείζων κατόρθωσις. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ὀρνίθας ἐναγωνίου μέμνηται καὶ ὁ τραγικὸς Ἴων διὰ τούτων·

“ οὐδ’ ὃ γε σῶμα τυπεῖς διφυεῖς τε κόρας ἐπιλάθεται ἀλκᾶς,
ἀλλ’ ὀλιγοδρανέων φθογγάζεται·
θάνατον δ’ ὃ γε δουλοσύνας προβέβουλε.”

- 135 τοὺς οὖν σοφοὺς τί οἰόμεθα οὐκ ἀσμενέστατα δουλείας ἀντικαταλλάξεσθαι τελευτήν; τὰς δὲ τῶν νέων καὶ εὐφυῶν ψυχὰς ἄρ’ οὐκ ἄτοπον λέγειν

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tional animals. Thus cocks are wont to fight with such intrepidity that rather than yield and withdraw, though outdone in strength yet not outdone in courage they continue fighting until they die. This 132 Miltiades, the general of the Athenians, had observed, and when the Persian king having pressed into the ranks all the flower of Asia crossed into Europe with many myriads, thinking to seize Greece without a struggle, Miltiades collected his fellow soldiers at the Panathenaea and showed them some cocks fighting, holding that the spectacle would speak with a persuasion which no words could have. His judgement did not err, for when they saw this invincible 133 gallantry and endurance asserting itself even to death in irrational creatures, they seized their arms and rushed to war, where the rivals against whom they were matched would be the bodies of the foes, and recked not of the wounds nor of the slaughter in their hope to secure that if they fell at least their native soil in which they lay would still be free. For nothing so creates an impulse to do better, as that those of less repute than ourselves should rise to heights of achievement beyond our expectation. Cock-fighting is also mentioned by the Tragedian Ion^a 134 in these words :

Battered his body and blind each eye
He rallies his courage, and faint, still crows,
For death he prefers to slavery.

Why then should we suppose that the wise would not 135 most gladly choose death rather than slavery ? Is it not against all reason that the souls of the young and highly gifted should be worsted in the contests of

^a See App. p. 517.

ἐν ἄθλοις ἀρετῆς ὀρνίθων ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ μόλις
φέρεισθαι τὰ δευτερεῖα;

- 136 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό τις τῶν ἐπὶ βραχὺ παιδείας
ἀψαμένων ἀγνοεῖ, ὅτι καλὸν μὲν πρᾶγμα ἐλευθερία,
αἰσχρὸν δὲ δουλεία, καὶ ὅτι τὰ μὲν καλὰ πρόσεστι
τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ τοῖς φαύλοις. ἐξ
ᾧ ἐναργέστατα παρίσταται τὸ μήτε τινὰ τῶν
σπουδαίων δοῦλον εἶναι, κἂν μυρίοι τὰ δεσποτῶν
σύμβολα προφέροντες ἐπανατείνωνται, μήτε τῶν
137 ἀφρόνων ἐλεύθερον, κἂν Κροῖσος ἢ Μίδας ἢ ὁ μέγας
[467] βασιλεὺς ᾧν τυγχάνη. XX. | τὸ δὲ
ἐλευθερίας μὲν αἰοίδιμον κάλλος δουλείας δὲ ἐπά-
ρατον αἰσχος ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιότερων καὶ πολυχρο-
νιωτέρων καὶ ὡς ἐν θνητοῖς ἀθανάτων, οἷς θέμις
138 ἀψευδεῖν, πόλεων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν μαρτυρεῖται. βουλαί
τε γὰρ καὶ ἐκκλησίαι καθ' ἑκάστην σχεδὸν ἡμέραν
ἀθροίζονται περὶ τίνος μᾶλλον ἢ ἐλευθερίας παρ-
ούσης μὲν βεβαιώσεως, εἰ δ' ἀπείη, κτήσεως; ἢ
δ' Ἑλλὰς καὶ βάρβαρος κατὰ ἔθνη στασιάζουσι καὶ
πολεμοῦσιν αἰεὶ τί βουλόμεναι ὅ τι μὴ δουλείαν μὲν
139 ἀποδιδράσκειν, ἐλευθερίαν δὲ περιποιεῖσθαι; διὸ
κἂν ταῖς μάχαις ἢ λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ
στρατηγῶν μεγίστη παρακέλευσις ἥδ' ἐστί. “κα-
κῶν τὸ βαρύτερον, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, δουλείαν
ἐπιφερομένην ἀπωσώμεθα· τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν

^a §§ 137-143. In these sections Philo seems to abandon his theory and to accept the common conception of freedom and slavery. The slavery which the generals declare to be the worst of evils, which incapacitated for admission to the religious functions at Athens, and for service on the *Argo*, is according to the doctrine which the treatise preaches not slavery to the wise. It may perhaps be said that if freedom is admitted to be excellent, freedom in the philosophical sense

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virtue by birds and take only the second place and that barely?

This too is a truth well known to everyone who 136 has taken even a slight hold of culture, that freedom is an honourable thing, and slavery a disgraceful thing, and that honourable things are associated with good men and disgraceful things with bad men. Hence, it clearly follows that no person of true worth is a slave, though threatened by a host of claimants who produce contracts to prove their ownership, nor is any fool a free man, even though he be a Croesus or a Midas or the Great King himself.

XX. " And this doctrine that freedom is glorious and 137 honourable, slavery execrable and disgraceful, is attested by cities and nations, which are more ancient, more permanent, and, as far as mortals may be, immortal, and for immortals it is a law of their being that their every word is true. The senates and 138 national assemblies meet almost every day to discuss more than anything else how to confirm their freedom if they have it, or to acquire it if they have it not. The Greek and the outside world are perpetually engaged in feuds and wars, nation against nation, and with what object save to escape from slavery and to win freedom? And so on the battle- 139 field, the commanders of armies and regiments and companies couch their exhortations to their men mainly in this form. " Fellow soldiers, slavery is the most grievous of evils. Let us repel its assault.

is still more excellent—that the exclusion of slaves in the ordinary sense from the Athenian celebrations and from the *Argo* did incidentally teach the lesson that the " free " might carry out menial duties without loss of true freedom. But those ideas are only just hinted at. The real argument is resumed in § 144.

- ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ἐλευθερίας, μὴ περιίδωμεν.
 ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἀφ' ἧς
 140 αἱ κατὰ μέρος ρέουσιν ὠφέλειαι.” διό
 μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀξυδερκέστατοι διά-
 νοιαν Ἀθηναῖοι—ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ κόρη ἢ ἐν
 ψυχῇ λογισμός, τοῦτ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι Ἀθῆναι—τὴν ἐπὶ
 ταῖς Σεμναῖς Θεαῖς πομπὴν ὅταν στέλλωσι, δοῦλον
 μηδένα προσπαραλαμβάνειν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ δι'
 ἐλευθέρων ἕκαστα τῶν νενομισμένων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ
 γυναικῶν ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ οὐχ οἷων ἂν τύχη, ἀλλὰ
 βίον ἐξηλωκότων ἀνεπίληπτον· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ πρὸς
 τὴν ἐορτὴν πέμματα τῶν ἐφήβων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι
 σιτοπονοῦσι, πρὸς εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς, ὅπερ ἐστί,
 141 τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τιθέμενοι. πρῶν ὑποκριτῶν τρα-
 γωδίαν ἐπιδεικνυμένων καὶ τὰ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ
 τρίμετρα διεξιόντων ἐκεῖνα

“ τοῦλεύθερον γὰρ ὄνομα παντὸς ἄξιον,
 καὶν σμίκρ' ἔχη τις, μεγάλ' ἔχειν νομιζέτω,”

- τοὺς θεατὰς ἅπαντας εἶδον ἐπ' ἄκρων ποδῶν ὑπ'
 ἐκπλήξεως ἀναστάντας καὶ φωναῖς μείζουσι καὶ
 ἐκβοήσεσιν ἐπαλλήλοις ἔπαινον μὲν τῆς γνώμης,
 ἔπαινον δὲ καὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ συνεύροντας, ὃς οὐ
 μόνον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἔργοις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομα
 142 αὐτῆς ἐσέμνυνεν. ἄγαμαι καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν,
 οἳ σύμπαν ἀπέφηναν ἐλεύθερον τὸ πλήρωμα μηδένα
 μηδὲ τῶν εἰς ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας προσέμενοι δοῦ-
 λον, ἀδελφὴν ἐλευθερίας αὐτουργίαν ἐν τῷ τότε

^a According to Cohn, Demeter and Persephone, but see App. p. 517.

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Freedom is the noblest of human blessings ; let us not suffer it to be lost. Freedom is the source and fountain of happiness and from it flow all particular benefits.” This I think is the reason why ¹⁴⁰ the Athenians, the keenest in intelligence among the Greeks—for Athens is in Greece what the pupil is in the eye and the reason in the soul—when they celebrate the procession in honour of the Venerable Goddesses,^a admit no slave to the company, but employ free men and women to carry out all the solemnities, and these not chosen at haphazard, but such as have earnestly pursued a blameless life. On the same principle, the cakes for the feast are made by the youths who have best passed their test, and they consider this service to be an honour and glory as indeed it is. A short time ago, when some players ¹⁴¹ were acting a tragedy, and reciting those lines of Euripides,

The name of freedom is worth all the world ;
If one has little, let him think that much,^b

I saw the whole audience so carried away by enthusiasm that they stood upright to their full height, and raising their voices above the actors, burst into shout after shout of applause, combining praise of the maxim with praise of the poet, who glorified not only freedom for what it does, but even its name. I also admire the Argonauts, who ¹⁴² made their crew consist entirely of the free and admitted no slave, not even those who would do the necessary menial labours, welcoming personal service in these circumstances as the sister of

^b Part of four lines quoted by Stobaeus from the *Auge* of Euripides.

143 ἀσπασαμένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ ποιηταῖς προσέχειν ἄξιον
—διὰ τί δὲ οὐ μέλλομεν; παιδευταὶ γὰρ οὗτοί γε
τοῦ σύμπαντος βίου, καθάπερ ἰδία γονεῖς παῖδας
καὶ οὗτοι δημοσίᾳ τὰς πόλεις σωφρονίζοντες—, οὐδ'
ἢ Ἀργὼ ναυαρχοῦντος Ἰάσονος ἐπέτρεπεν ἐπι-
[468] βαίνειν οἰκέταις, μεμοιραμένη | ψυχῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ,
φύσις οὕσα φιλελεύθερος. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Αἰσχύλος ἐπ'
αὐτῆς εἶπε·

“ ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν Ἀργοῦς ἱερόν, αὔδασον,¹ ξύλον; ”

- 144 Ἐπανατάσεων δὲ καὶ ἀπειλῶν, ἃς σοφοῖς ἀν-
δράσιν ἐπανατείνονται καὶ ἀπειλοῦσί τινες, ἥκιστα
φροντιστέον καὶ τὰ ὅμοια λεκτέον Ἀντιγενίδα τῷ
αὐλητῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν φασιν, ἐπειδὴ τις τῶν
ἀντιτέχνων ὀργισθεὶς εἶπεν “ ὠνήσομαί σε, ” βαθεῖ
ἦθει φάναι· “ κἀγὼ τοιγαροῦν διδάξω σε αὐλεῖν.”
- 145 ἄξιον οὖν καὶ τῷ σπουδαίῳ πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἔχοντα
ὠνητικῶς λέγειν· “ σωφροσύνην ἄρα ἀναδίδαχ-
θήσῃ, ” πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀπειλοῦντα φυγῇ· “ πᾶσα γῆ
146 μοι πατρίς, ” πρὸς δὲ τὸν χρημάτων ζημίαν· “ ἀρκεῖ
μετρία βιοτά μοι, ” πρὸς δὲ τὸν πληγὰς ἢ θάνατον

¹ MSS. αὔδασαι or αὔδασε or (M) δαπέν (sic). For the sug-
gestion αὐδῆεν see note a.

^a This refers to the legend that Athena fitted into the prow of the *Argo* a speaking (φωνῆεν) timber from the oak at Dodona. See Apollodorus i. 9. 19 who mentions two of its utterances, one being the complaint that Heracles overloaded it referred to in § 128. The quotation from Aeschylus, at any rate as punctuated by Cohn and translated above, does not seem very apposite. As αὔδασον has no MS. authority (see note 1), the correction αὐδῆεν or αὐδᾶεν seems probable

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freedom. And if we are justified in listening to 143
the poets,—and why should we not, since they are
our educators through all our days, and as parents in
private life teach wisdom to their children, so do they
in public life to their cities—if I say we believe them,
even the *Argo*, which captained by Jason was endowed
with soul and reason, a sentient being filled with love
of freedom, would not let bond servants board her.
So Aeschylus says of her :

Where is the sacred bark of *Argo*? Speak.^a

The menacing gestures and speeches with which 144
some people threaten the wise should be treated
with little respect and meet with a reply like that
of Antigenidas, the flute-player. When a rival pro-
fessional said to him in anger, “I’ll buy you,” he
answered him with great irony,^b “Then I’ll teach you
to play.” So then, too, the man of worth may say 145
to his prospective purchaser, “Then you will have
lessons in self-control.” If one threatens him with
banishment, he can say, “Every land is my native
country”^c; if with loss of money, “A moderate 146
livelihood suffices me”^d; if the threat takes the

unless Nauck’s objection that the word would not be used
in iambs precludes it. If *αὔδασον* is retained I should
prefer to translate “Where is it (or he)? Speak, holy bark
of *Argo*.”

^b Or “very wittily” or “very good-naturedly.” I have
discussed the meaning of this phrase in a note on *De Ios*.
168, vol. vi. p. 602. Antigenidas was a famous Theban
musician, about the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

^c Perhaps a reminiscence of the line by an unknown author

τῷ γὰρ καλῶς πράσσοντι πᾶσα γῆ πατρίς,

though the meaning of this is not what is intended here.

^d A fragment of Euripides (lyrical, whence the form *βιοτά*
for *-ή*), and continuing *σώφρονος τραπέζης*.

ἐπανατεινόμενον· “ οὐ μορμολύττεται με ταῦτα, οὐδ’ εἰμι πυκτῶν ἢ παγκρατιαστῶν ἐλάττων, οἷτινες ἀμαυρὰ εἶδωλα ἀρετῆς ὀρώντες, ἅτε σωμάτων αὐτὸ μόνον εὐεξίαν διαπονήσαντες, ἐκάτερα τλητικῶς ὑπομένουσιν· ὁ γὰρ ἡγεμὼν σώματος ἐν ἐμοὶ νοῦς ἀνδρεία τονωθείς οὕτω σφόδρα νενεύρωται, ὥς ἐπάνω πάσης ἀλγηδόνης ἴστασθαι δύνασθαι.”

147 XXI. [Φυλακτέον οὖν τὸν τοιοῦτον θῆρα συλλαμβάνειν, ὃς οὐκ ἀλκὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄψιν φοβερὸς ὢν τὸ δυσάλωτον καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταφρόνητον δείκνυται.]

148 Ἀσυλία τόπων πολλάκις οἰκετῶν τοῖς καταφεύγουσιν ἄδειαν καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν ὥς ἰσοτίμοις καὶ ἰσοτελέσι παρέσχετο· καὶ τοὺς ἐκ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἄνω προγόνων κατὰ τινα συγγενικὴν διαδοχὴν παλαιοδούλους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ὅταν ἐν ἱεροῖς ἰκέται καθέζωνται, μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἐλευθεροστομοῦν-
149 τας. εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ τοῖς κτησαμένοις οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος εὐτόνως ἅμα καὶ καταφρονητικῶς διαφέρονται περὶ τῶν δικαίων· οὓς μὲν γὰρ ὁ τοῦ συνειδότος ἔλεγχος, κἂν ὦσιν εὐπατρίδαι, πέφυκε δουλοῦσθαι, οἱ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἄδειαν ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀσυλίας πεπορισμένοι ψυχῆς, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ πάντων ἀχείρωτον ἐδημιούργησεν, ἐλεύθερα καὶ εὐγενῆ σφόδρα

* That this section makes impossible nonsense here is obvious. Massebieau propounded the theory that §§ 32-40 should be transferred to after § 146 and followed by § 147. While the relevance of §§ 32-40 as it stands is not very clear, it seems to me they would be still more intrusive here. And what connexion has § 147 with § 40? In § 40 lions are said to be really the masters of their owners and the moral deduced is that still more is the wise man master in the true

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form of blows or death, he can say, "These bugbears do not scare me; I am not inferior to boxers or pancratiasts, who though they see but dim shadows of true excellence, since they only cultivate robustness of body, yet endure both bravely. For the mind within me which rules the body is by courage so well-braced and nerved, that it can stand superior to any kind of pain."

XXI. [We must be careful, therefore, not to take a wild 147
beast of this kind, which displays not only strength, but by
the terrors of its appearance, its invincible and formidable
nature.]^a

Places which serve as sanctuaries often provide the 148
bond servants who take refuge in them with the same
security and licence of speech as if they enjoyed
equal rights and privileges with the rest. And one
may see those whose servitude is immemorial handed
down from their great-grandfathers and earlier
ancestors by a kind of family succession, talking freely
with complete fearlessness, when sitting in temples as
suppliants. Some even show not mere equality but 149
great superiority in the energy and disdain with which
they dispute questions of justice with their owners.
For while the owners however highly born may well
become as slaves through the conscience which con-
victs them, the suppliants, who are provided with
bodily security by the inviolability of the place,
exhibit in the soul, which God created proof against
all that could subdue it, characteristics of freedom
sense. To follow by a warning against buying lions would
be utterly inept. By what accident it got inserted here, it
is useless guessing. But probably it belongs to some dis-
quisition in which harbouring passions is compared to
keeping wild beasts (*cf. De Praem.* 88). Such a disquisition
might well have found a place in the twin treatise "that every
fool is a slave."

- 150 ἀναφαίνουσιν ἥθη· εἰ μὴ λίαν οὕτω τίς ἐστιν ἀλό-
γιστος, ὡς χωρία μὲν θάρσους αἴτια καὶ παρρησίας
ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὄντων θεοειδέστατον,
[469] ἀρετὴν, μηκέτι, δι' ἣν καὶ τοῖς | χωρίοις καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις ὅσα φρονήσεως μετέχει τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς ἐγ-
151 γίνεται. καὶ μὴν τοῖς μὲν εἰς ἀσύλους τόπους
καταφεύγουσιν, ἐκ μόνων τῶν τόπων περιπεποιη-
μένοις ἀσφάλειαν, ἐκ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀγωγίμοις
συμβέβηκε γίνεσθαι, δώρων γυναικός, ἀδοξίας τέκ-
νων, ἔρωτος ἀπάτης, τοῖς δὲ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὥσπερ εἰς
ἀκαθαίρετον καὶ ἐρυμνότατον τείχος ἀλογεῖν βλη-
μάτων, ὧν αἱ ἐφεδρεῖαι τῶν παθῶν βάλλουσι καὶ
152 τοξεύουσι. ταύτῃ τις πεφραγμένος τῇ δυνάμει
μετὰ παρρησίας ἂν εἴποι, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πρὸς
τῶν τυχόντων ἀλίσκονται,

“ ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαντοῦ ” κατὰ τὸν τραγικὸν “ καὶ
κλύειν ἐπίσταμαι,
ἄρχειν θ' ὁμοίως, τὰρετῇ σταθμώμενος
τὰ πάντα.”

- 153 λέγεται γοῦν ὁ Πριηνεὺς Βίας ἀπειλοῦντι Κροίσῳ
μᾶλα καταφρονητικῶς ἀνταπειλῆσαι ἐπεσθίειν τῶν
κρομμύων, αἰνιττόμενος τὸ κλαίειν, ἐπεὶ δάκρυα
154 κινεῖ ἢ κρομμύων βρῶσις. οὕτως οἱ σοφοὶ βασι-
λικώτερον οὐδὲν ἀρετῆς νομίζοντες, ἢ τοῦ βίου

^a The argument seems to be “bodily immunity may put the philosophical slave on an equal footing, but only spiritual freedom would give the superiority in discussion.” It would be clearer if πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐλευθεροστομήσει ὁ σοφὸς (a suggestion mentioned by Cohn) was inserted before εἰ μὴ, but it is not necessary.

^b φρονήσεως has not been questioned, but seems to me

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and high nobility.^a It must be so, for who could be 150
so exceedingly unreasonable as to think that while
places produce courage and free speaking, this does
not extend to the most God-like thing existing,
virtue, through which both places and everything
else which participates in wisdom ^b acquires sanctity?
And indeed those who take refuge in sacrosanct 151
localities and owe their security to the localities only,
turn out to be in bondage to numberless other con-
siderations, such as a wife seduced by gifts,^c children
fallen into disgrace, betrayal in love matters. But
those who take refuge in virtue, as in an indestruct-
ible and impregnable fortress, disregard the darts
and arrows aimed at them by the passions which
stalk them. Fortified by this power, a man may say 152
freely and boldly, "While all others are the victims
of chance circumstances, I can say with the tragic
poet :

Myself I can obey and can command.
I measure all things by the rule of virtue."^d

Thus Bias of Priene is said to have retorted very dis- 153
dainfully to the threats of Croesus,^e by bidding him
eat onions, a phrase which means "go weep," because
eating onions sets the tears running. In this spirit 154
the wise who hold that nothing is more royal than
virtue, the captain whom they serve as soldiers

hardly possible, at any rate if *τοῖς ἄλλοις* is retained. What
is wanted is something to indicate the sacrosanctity which
altars, vessels and the like share with sanctuaries (? *δο' ἀφ-
ερούσεως*).

^c If this is the meaning. So Mangey "uxore corrupta,"
but the phrase seems strange.

^d Source unknown, thought by Nauck to be Euripides.

^e According to Diog. Laert. i. 83 it was said to Halyattes
the father of Croesus.

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παντὸς αὐτοῖς ταξιαρχεῖ, τὰς ἄλλων ἡγεμονίας ὡς
 ὑπηκόων οὐ δεδίασι. παρ' ὃ τοὺς διχόνους καὶ
 δολερούς ἅπασιν ὀνομάζειν ἔθος ἀνελευθέρους τε
 155 καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖς. ὅθεν κακέῖνα εὖ πεφώνηται·

“ οὐποτε δουλείῃ κεφαλὴ εὐθεία πέφυκεν,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σκολιή, καυχένα λοξὸν ἔχει.”

τὸ γὰρ πλάγιον καὶ ποικίλον καὶ ἀπατηλὸν ἦθος
 ἀγενέστατον, ὥσπερ <εὐγενές> τὸ εὐθὺ καὶ ἀπλα-
 στον καὶ ἀνύπουλον, λόγων βουλευμασι καὶ βουλευ-
 156 μάτων λόγοις συναδόντων. ἄξιον δὲ
 καταγελαῦν τῶν ἐπειδὰν ἀπαλλαγῶσι δεσποτικῆς
 κτήσεως ἐλευθερωθῆναι νομιζόντων· οἰκέται μὲν
 γὰρ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως <ἄν> εἶεν οἳ γε ἀφειμένοι,
 δούλοι δὲ καὶ μαστιγίαί πάντες, ὑπακούοντες οὐκ
 ἀνθρώπων—ἦττον γὰρ ἂν ἦν τὸ δεινόν—, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῶν ἐν ἀψύχοις ἀτιμοτάτων, ἀκράτου, λαχάνων,¹
 πεμμάτων,² ὅσα ἄλλα σιτοπόνων τε καὶ ὀψαρτυτῶν
 περιεργίαι κατὰ γαστρὸς τῆς ταλαίνης δημιουργ-
 157 γούσιν. ὁ γοῦν Διογένης ἰδὼν τινα τῶν λεγομένων
 ἀπελευθέρων ἀβρυνόμενον καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῷ συν-
 ηδομένους, θαυμάσας τὸ ἄλογον καὶ ἄκριτον,
 “ ὅμοιον ” εἶπεν “ ὡς εἴ τις ἀνακηρύξειε τινα τῶν
 οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας εἶναι γραμματικὸν
 [470] ἢ γεωμέτρην ἢ μουσικόν, οὐδ' | ὄναρ τῶν τεχνῶν

¹ Though Cohn does not notice it, something may be said for Mangey's suggestion of λαγάνων. λάχανα elsewhere, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 20, *De Prov.* 70, are associated with the frugal life.

² mss. σπερμάτων. The manuscripts here appear to be confused. In the same line where σιτοπόνων is printed, M has πεμμάτων, the others πομάτων or σπερμάτων repeated.

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throughout their lives, do not fear the orders of others whom they regard as subordinates.^a And so double-faced and shifty people are universally called servile and slavish. This same thought is well 155 expressed in another couplet :

A slave's head ne'er sits straight upon his shoulder
But always crooked on a twisted neck.^b

For the crooked, artificial, deceitful character is utterly ignoble, while the straight, simple and ingenuous, in which thoughts agree with words and words with thoughts, is noble. We may 156 well deride the folly of those who think that when they are released from the ownership of their masters they become free. Servants, indeed, they are no longer now that they have been dismissed, but slaves they are and of the vilest kind, not to men, which would not be so grievous, but to the least reputable of inanimate things, to strong drink, to pot-herbs, to baked meats and all the other preparations made by the elaborate skill of cooks and confectioners, to afflict the miserable belly. Thus Diogenes the cynic, 157 seeing one of the so-called freedmen pluming himself, while many heartily congratulated him, marvelled at the absence of reason and discernment. "A man might as well," he said, "proclaim that one of his servants became from this day a grammarian, a geometrician, or musician, when he has no idea whatever of the art." For as the proclamation cannot

^a The logical connexion demanded by *παρ' ὃ* is not clear and Mangey may be right in supposing that something has been lost before this sentence. ^b Theognis, *El.* v. 535 f.

The correction *αὐτοπόνων* is based on its frequent conjunction with *ὀφραπυτής*, e.g. *De Vit. Cont.* 53.

ἐπησθημένον.” ὥς γὰρ ἐπιστήμονας οὐ ποιεῖ τὸ κήρυγμα, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρους—ἐπεὶ μακάριον ἦν τι—, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ οἰκέτας.

- 158 XXII. Ἀνελόντες οὖν τὴν κενὴν δόξαν, ἧς ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων ἀπηώρηται, καὶ ἀληθείας ἱερωτάτου κτήματος ἐρασθέντες μήτε τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀστοῖς πολιτείαν ἢ ἐλευθερίαν μήτε τοῖς οἰκότρυφιν ἢ ἀργυρωνήτοις δουλείαν ἐπιφημίσωμεν, ἀλλὰ γένη καὶ δεσποτικὰ γράμματα καὶ συνόλως
159 σώματα παρελθόντες ψυχῆς φύσιν ἐρευνῶμεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαύνεται ἢ ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς δελεάζεται ἢ φόβῳ ἐκκλίνει ἢ λύπῃ στέλλεται¹ ἢ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς τραχηλίζεται, δουλοῖ μὲν αὐτήν, δούλον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα μυρίων δεσποτῶν ἀπεργάζεται· εἰ δὲ φρονήσει μὲν ἀμαθίαν, σωφροσύνη δ’ ἀκολασίαν, δειλίαν δὲ ἀνδρείαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν δικαιοσύνη κατηγωνίσαστο, τῷ ἀδουλώτῳ καὶ τὸ ἀρχικὸν προσείλη-
160 φεν. ὅσαι δὲ μηδετέρας ἰδέας πῶ μετεσχέκασι, μήτε τῆς καταδουλουμένης μήτε δι’ ἧς ἐλευθερία βεβαιούται, γυμναὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἔτι, καθάπερ αἱ τῶν κομιδῇ νηπίων, ταύτας τιθηνοκομητέον, ἐνστάζοντας² τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντὶ γάλακτος ἀπαλὰς τροφάς, τὰς διὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων ὑψηλήσεις, εἰτ’ αὖθις κραταιοτέρας ὧν φιλοσοφία δημιουργός, ἐξ ὧν ἀνδρωθεῖσαι καὶ εὐεκτήσασαι πρὸς τέλος αἴσιον, οὐ Ζηνώνειον μᾶλλον ἢ πυθόχρηστον, ἀφίξονται, τὸ ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν.

¹ Perhaps with some mss. *συστέλλεται*. For the regular Stoic definition of *λύπη* as *ἄλογος συστολή* see *S. V. F.* iii. 391, 394. The same applies to *Mos.* ii. 139, where again the mss. are divided between *στελλούσης* and *συστελλούσης*.

² mss. *ἐντάττοντας* (M *προτάττων τὰς*).

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make them men of knowledge, so neither can it make them free, for that is a state of blessedness. It can only make them no longer servants.

XXII. Let us then do away with the idle fancy, to 158 which the great mass of men feebly cling, and fixing our affections on that holiest of possessions, truth, refuse to ascribe citizenship or freedom to possessors of so-called civic rights, or slavery to servants, whether homebred or purchased, but dismissing questions of race and certificates of ownership and bodily matters in general, study the nature of the soul. For if the 159 soul is driven by desire, or enticed by pleasure, or diverted^a from its course by fear, or shrunk by grief, or helpless in the grip of anger, it enslaves itself and makes him whose soul it is a slave to a host of masters. But if it vanquishes ignorance with good sense, incontinence with self-control, cowardice with courage and covetousness with justice, it gains not only freedom from slavery but the gift of ruling as well. But souls 160 which have as yet got nothing of either kind, neither that which enslaves, nor that which establishes freedom, souls still naked like those of mere infants, must be tended and nursed by instilling first, in place of milk, the soft food of instruction given in the school subjects, later, the harder, stronger meat, which philosophy produces.^b Reared by these to manhood and robustness, they will reach the happy consummation which Zeno, or rather an oracle higher than Zeno, bids us seek, a life led agreeably to nature.

^a This again like *στέλλεται* (see note 1) is a Stoic definition, *φóβος áλογος éκκλίσις S.V.F.* iii. 391, 393.

^b For this view of the part played by the Encycelia and Philosophy in education see *De Congressu, passim* and Gen. Introd. to vol. i. pp. xvi f.

ON THE CONTEMPLATIVE
LIFE OR SUPPLIANTS
(DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA)

INTRODUCTION TO *DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA*

This treatise is except for a few digressions a highly eulogistic account of an ascetic community known to Philo and settled near Alexandria. It is introduced as a counterpart to his description of the Essenes, whether that in *Quod Omnis Probus* 75-91 or perhaps more probably that in the *Hypothetica*, 11. 1-18, or possibly some third which has not survived. The Therapeutae are differentiated from the others in that while the Essenes exemplify the practical they represent the contemplative life. They do not have any active occupation or any custom of sharing houses or garments, nor do they even mess together except on special occasions. Another difference is that while the Essenes are exclusively male the Therapeutae admit women freely to such communal life as they have. On the other hand while the Essenes of course observe frugality there is no suggestion that they practised abstinence like the Therapeutae, who carried it to an extreme.

The treatise does not seem to me to rank high among the works of Philo; the subject is slight and gives little scope to the richness of thought which marks so much of the commentary and in a less degree the exposition of the Law. Historically it is perhaps of some importance as giving an account of

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an institution with some of the marks of later monasticism for which we have no parallel either without or within the Judaism of the times. And the importance would be much greater if we could suppose that this Alexandrian community was of a type widespread through the world outside. The opening words of section 21 may at first suggest that this was so and the argument of Lucius who maintained that the treatise was spurious was primarily based on this assumption. The Therapeutae, he argued, are said by the author to have been found in many places; if it were so we must have heard of them from other sources, and as we do not hear of them the whole thing must be a fiction. But I do not think that section 21 bears this meaning. This kind he says is found in many parts of the world, particularly in Egypt, and the best of them find a home in a certain spot which he proceeds to describe. But when we look back to find who this kind are it appears that they are religious enthusiasts who give up their property and family ties and go and live in solitude. That this type of character existed in Philo's time we might take for granted even if we did not have, abundant evidence in his own writings,^a and it would not be surprising to find them occasionally organizing themselves into communities which would not necessarily attract much attention. Philo however does not assert that they ever did so except in the body which he glorifies in this treatise. Nor

^a The natural tendency of the religious philosopher to cultivate solitude and avoid cities is several times referred to. See above in *Quod Omn. Prob.* 63, also *De Abr.* 22 f., *Spec. Leg.* ii. 44. So too the translators of the LXX "avoided the city," *Mos.* ii. 34. For the renunciation of property cf. *De Mut.* 32.

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does he tell us how numerous they were or how long they maintained themselves. If any inference is to be drawn from the absence of mention elsewhere it would be that this settlement was small and ephemeral.^a

In fact it is neither the literary nor the philosophical value nor its historical importance which has made this treatise better known and more discussed than any other work of Philo. It owes its fame to the controversies which have raged round it since the fourth century. The thing began when Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17 discovered in the *Therapeutae* a picture of the first Christian converts. After noting the traditional evangelization of Alexandria by St. Mark, he declares that no one could possibly doubt that Philo was referring to the first generation of his converts.

^a I venture to put forth a conjectural picture of what the situation may have been. The point which the critics ignore is that this account unlike anything else in Philo's works outside the historical treatises is an account of people who were or may well have been known to him personally. I suggest that this is the second half of a tract on a favourite antithesis of the practical and the contemplative life. The first half is neither the account of the Essenes given in the *Quod Omn. Prob.* nor that in the *Hypothetica*, but a third account which insisted on the practical aspect of the Essene community more strongly than either of the extant narratives. He wanted a counterpart showing the contemplative life and he had one ready to hand in a little settlement near his own home. This community was well known to him and he had for it a sincere admiration which made him shut his eyes to the considerations in *De Fuga* 36, that the contemplative life should begin when the aspirant has been thoroughly schooled in the practical. It was a pleasure to him to glorify in this way the friends whom Alexandrian society ignored. Naturally he did not foresee the use to which his narrative would be put by a Eusebius and a Lucius.

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In the renunciation of their property, their severe fasting, in the virginity of the women members, in their study of the scriptures including the writings of men of old which are clearly the gospels and apostolic writings and commentaries on the Old Testament such as Paul used—in their festal meetings which are a description of Easter celebrations, and the officials who manage these meetings in whom we may see bishops, priests and deacons, no one can possibly fail to see the first Christians. Nowadays it seems needless to argue that the theory has no foundation whatever. But it is easy to understand that the idea of finding in this Jewish philosopher an account of the life and worship of the early church, particularly in the great city whose evangelization is unnoticed in the New Testament, was very fascinating, and it is not surprising that it was strongly maintained by orthodox churchmen down to the 18th century. Hardly had it died out in the form sketched by Eusebius when it was revived in another form by two German scholars, Grätz and (more elaborately) Lucius in 1880. Eusebius had believed that Philo himself was in good faith describing the actual Christians of his time. Lucius supposed that some unknown writer at the end of the third century A.D. drew up an imaginary account of the monasticism of his own time which he put forth in Philo's name in order to commend it to readers, who impressed by the authority thus given to it would believe that it was a genuine picture of the primitive church. Somehow Lucius secured the approval not only of such distinguished historians as Schürer and Zeller but a formidable number of other distinguished scholars. But I find it difficult to understand how anyone who reads

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Conybeare's and Wendland's refutations side by side with Lucius's dissertation can believe it. I will not attempt to give more than a few main points. Lucius's strongest argument was the absolute silence elsewhere about the Therapeutae, and this might have weight if we understood the author to assert that communities like that of the Mareotic Lake were to be found everywhere through the Roman world. But as I have said above I see no need to make such a deduction. Lucius also declared that various practices mentioned had Christian parallels, a claim in some cases obviously absurd, in others I daresay justified. But it was necessary to his argument to show that these customs or practices were not only Christian but also non-Jewish and this, if the two writers I have mentioned are to be believed, is rarely if ever the case. (But the one great source of evidence on which a student of Philo not expert in Christian antiquities is entitled to give his opinion is the style and language. Here the evidence as shown not merely in thought but in vocabulary and phrasing seems to me quite beyond dispute.) The Testimonia printed by Conybeare at the foot of each page are overwhelming and with the additions made by Wendland demand at any rate a forger of extraordinary skill. They prove also that Lucius's study of Philo, as shown in what he considers to be an approximately correct list of the parallels in the treatise with the rest of Philo, was exceedingly inadequate. Whatever was the case when Lucius's argument was put forward sixty years ago, the tide of opinion has turned against it and rightly so far as I can judge.

The following is an analysis of the treatise :

He opens with saying that as a counterpart to the

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practical type represented by the Essenes he will describe the contemplative type which he calls Therapeutic. The name may originally mean healing but also worshipping, and this is the sense in which he further develops it (1-2). He compares this worship to the honour paid to other objects; the elements, the heavenly bodies and images are each reviewed and their inadequacy exposed (3-7), and this discussion ends with a scathing denunciation of the worst of all these false religions the Egyptian animal worship (8-9).

We now return to the Therapeutic type; their most essential characteristic is their mystical aspiration to reach the vision of the one God and this leads them to renounce all thoughts of private property (10-13). Philo praises them because in contrast to Anaxagoras and Democritus they do not let their property run to waste but give it over to friends and kinsmen while at the same time they gain leisure to devote themselves to the higher life (14-17). Free from these cares they leave behind them all family ties and seek solitude away from the corrupting influence of cities (18-20).

While the Therapeutic type in this wider sense is to be found in many parts of the Greek and Barbarian world, and particularly in Egypt, Philo declares that the best of them (in Egypt?) resort from every quarter to a particular spot near the Mareotic Lake, the climate and position of which he describes (21-23). The simple houses of these settlers each of them contain a room set apart for their meditations in which they study the Scriptures and devotional works from sunrise to sunset (24-26). At both times they pray and also compose hymns (27-29). This solitary life is

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relaxed somewhat on the Sabbath, when they meet in the synagogue where men and women sit in separate partitions and listen to a sermon (30-33). As to their diet, during the six days they eat nothing till sunset and even in some cases fast for three whole days or more, but on the Sabbath it is more generous, though then the food and drink are little more than bread and water (34-37) and this asceticism extends to their dress (38-39).

The ordinary Sabbath meeting does not seem to include a Symposium, but they have such a thing on occasions. But before giving an account of it Philo makes a digression which takes up about a quarter of the whole treatise, describing the pagan feasts with which he will contrast it. First he notes the savage violence and drunkenness which disfigure such feasts (40-47), secondly the extravagant luxury shown in the appurtenances, couches and drinking vessels and still more in the number, finery and beauty of the attendants (48-52), and the number and variety of the dishes with which the guests gorge themselves (53-56). Greek literature does include two Symposia of a more refined kind, those described by Xenophon and Plato. Yet even these are full of folly, and Philo can see little more in Plato's than the exaltation of pederasty which he takes the occasion to denounce (57-63). The rest of the treatise (64-90) describes in contrast to the above the festal meeting of the Therapeutae. First the date and occasion ^a (65); then the preliminaries and prayers, the seating in order of seniority in the community, with the sexes separate (66-69); then the nature of the couches used and the qualifications of the attendants who are

^a See notes on § 65, p. 152.

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not slaves but young freemen^a (69-72); the simplicity of the meal provided (73-74). After they have taken their places on the couches there follows a discourse by the President on some scriptural point bringing out the spiritual lessons that the literal text provides, which is received with all attention followed by applause at the end (75-79). The discourse is followed by hymns, the first sung by the President, the others by the congregation each in turn, while all join in the refrain at the end (80-81). Then at last the meal itself is served (82). After this the vigil begins, the men and women each form a choir, the two choirs sing and dance in turn and then join together (83-85), thus resembling the songs of Moses and Miriam after the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, which is once more told in some detail (85-87). This is continued till dawn when they stand up and face the east and at sunrise after prayer return each to their own prayer room (88-89). The concluding section sums up the virtues and blessedness of the Therapeutae (90).

^a Or perhaps novices in the community.

ΠΕΡΙ ΒΙΟΥ ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΥ Ἡ ΙΚΕΤΩΝ

(ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ)

[471] I. | Ἐσσαίων πέρι διαλεχθείς, οἱ τὸν πρακτικὸν
¹ ἐξήλωσαν καὶ διεπόνησαν βίον ἐν ᾧ πασιν ἡ—τὸ
 γοῦν φορητότερον¹ εἰπεῖν—τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσι
 διενεγκόντες, αὐτίκα καὶ περὶ τῶν θεωρίαν ἀσπα-
 σαμένων ἀκολουθία τῆς πραγματείας ἐπόμενος τὰ
 προσήκοντα λέξω, μηδὲν οἰκοθεν ἔνεκα τοῦ βελ-
 τιῶσαι προστιθείς, ὃ δρᾶν ἔθος ἐν σπάνει καλῶν
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων ᾧ πασι τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ λογο-
 γράφοις, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς αὐτῆς περιεχόμενος τῆς
 ἀληθείας, πρὸς ἣν οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν
 ἀπαγορεύσει. διαβλητέον δὲ ὅμως καὶ διαγω-
 νιστέον· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 ἀρετῆς αἴτιον ἀφωνίας γενέσθαι τοῖς μηδὲν καλὸν
² ἡσυχάζεσθαι δικαιουῖν. ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις
 τῶν φιλοσόφων εὐθὺς ἐμφαίνεται διὰ τῆς προσρή-

¹ So Cohn with some mss. Conybeare with others ἀφορη-
 τότερον, which he says is certainly the true reading. The
 weight of authority is perhaps in its favour, but the explana-
 tion which he gives, viz. that the Essenes were so highly
 esteemed that the suggestion that they were not necessarily
 superior in every way would be unpalatable, does not seem
 natural.

ON THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE OR SUPPLIANTS

(THE FOURTH PART CONCERNING THE VIRTUES)^a

I. I have discussed the Essenes, who persistently pursued the active life and excelled in all or, to put it more moderately, in most of its departments. I will now proceed at once in accordance with the sequence required by the subject to say what is needed about those who embraced the life of contemplation. In doing so I will not add anything of my own procuring to improve upon the facts as is constantly done by poets and historians through lack of excellence in the lives and practices which they record, but shall adhere absolutely to the actual truth. Though I know that in this case it is such as to unnerve the greatest master of oratory, still we must persevere and not decline the conflict, for the magnitude of virtue shown by these men must not be allowed to tie the tongues of those who hold that nothing excellent should be passed over in silence.

The vocation^b of these philosophers is at once made clear from their title of

^a On the title and subtitle see App. p. 518.

^b On *προαίρεσις* see App. p. 518.

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σεως· θεραπευταὶ γὰρ καὶ θεραπευτρίδες ἐτύμως
καλοῦνται, ἥτοι παρόσον ἰατρικὴν ἐπαγγέλλονται
κρείσσονα τῆς κατὰ πόλεις—ἡ μὲν γὰρ σώματα
θεραπεύει μόνον, ἐκείνη δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς νόσοις κε-
κρατημένας χαλεπαῖς τε καὶ δυσιάτοις, ἃς ἐγκατ-
έσκηψαν¹ ἡδοναὶ καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι καὶ λῦπαι καὶ φόβοι
πλεονεξίαι τε καὶ ἀφροσύναι καὶ ἀδικίαι καὶ τὸ τῶν
ἄλλων παθῶν καὶ κακιῶν ἀνήνυτον πλήθος—ἡ
[472] παρόσον ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων | ἐπαι-
δεύθησαν θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν, ὃ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ κρείττον
ἐστὶ καὶ ἐνὸς εἰλικρινέστερον καὶ μονάδος ἀρχε-
3 γονώτερον. οἷς τίνας συγκρίνειν ἄξιον τῶν ἐπαγ-
γελλομένων εὐσέβειαν; ἄρα γε τοὺς τὰ
στοιχεῖα τιμῶντας, γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, πῦρ; οἷς
καὶ ἐπωνυμίας ἔθεντο ἑτέρας ἑτεροί, τὸ μὲν πῦρ
"Ἡφαιστον παρὰ τὴν ἑξαψιν, οἶμαι, καλοῦντες,
"Ἡραν δὲ τὸν ἀέρα παρὰ τὸ αἶρεσθαι καὶ μετεωρί-
ζεσθαι πρὸς ὕψος, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ Ποσειδῶνα τάχα
που διὰ τὸ ποτόν, τὴν δὲ γῆν Δήμητραν, παρόσον
μήτηρ εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων φυτῶν τε καὶ ζώων.
4 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα σοφιστῶν ἐστὶν εὐρήματα,
τὰ δὲ στοιχεῖα ἄψυχος ὕλη καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀκίνητος,
ὑποβεβλημένη τῷ τεχνίτῃ πρὸς ἀπάσας σχημάτων
5 καὶ ποιότητων ιδέας. ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ

¹ MSS. κατέσκηψαν, which Conybeare retains, and attempts to justify. But the other examples of the simple verb in the index and almost all cited in Stephanus are intransitive.

^a ἐτύμως = "in accordance with the meaning of the word from which the name is derived," in this case *θεραπεύω*. See on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73 (App. p. 512).

^b For the distinction between the Monad and the One in Pythagoreanism see Zeller, *Presocratics* (Eng. trans.), vol. i.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 2-5

Therapeutae and Therapeutrides, a name derived ^a from *θεραπεύω*, either in the sense of "cure" because they profess an art of healing better than that current in the cities which cures only the bodies, while theirs treats also souls oppressed with grievous and well-nigh incurable diseases, inflicted by pleasures and desires and griefs and fears, by acts of covetousness, folly and injustice and the countless host of the other passions and vices : or else in the sense of "worship," because nature and the sacred laws have schooled them to worship the Self-existent who is better than the good, purer than the One and more primordial than the Monad.^b Who among those who ³ profess piety deserve to be compared with these ?

Can we compare those who revere the elements, earth, water, air, fire, which have received different names from different peoples who call fire Hephaestus because it is kindled (*ἐξάπτω*), air Hera because it is lifted up (*αἴρω*) and exalted on high, water Poseidon perhaps because it is drunk (*ποτός*), and earth Demeter because it appears to be the mother of all plants and animals ? ^c Sophists have invented ⁴ these names for the elements but the elements themselves are lifeless matter incapable of movement of itself and laid by the Artificer as a substratum for every kind of shape and quality.

What of the worshippers of the bodies ⁵

pp. 309 f. The upshot seems to be that generally speaking, while the Monad is opposed to the Dyad, being the "father" of numbers as the Dyad is the "mother," the One stands above all as representing Deity. Others however rank the Monad above the One, as perhaps Philo does here and in *De Praem.* 40, where he uses identical language.

^c See note on *De Dec.* 54, vol. vii. p. 610, and further App. p. 519.

ἀποτελέσματα, ἥλιον, σελήνην ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἀστέρας πλάνητας ἢ ἀπλανεῖς ἢ τὸν σύμπαντα
 οὐρανὸν τε καὶ κόσμον; ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐξ
 ἑαυτῶν γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τινος δημιουργοῦ τελειο-
 6 τάτου τὴν ἐπιστήμην. ἀλλὰ τοὺς¹ ἡμι-
 θεούς; ἢ τοῦτό γε καὶ χλεύης ἄξιον· πῶς γὰρ ἂν
 ὁ αὐτὸς ἀθάνατός τε καὶ θνητὸς εἴη; δῖχα τοῦ
 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τούτων γενέσεως ἐπίληπτον
 εἶναι, μεираκιώδους ἀκρασίας ἀνάπλεων, ἣν πολ-
 μῶσιν οὐκ εὐαγῶς προσάπτειν ταῖς μακαρίαις
 καὶ θεαῖς δυνάμεσιν, εἰ γυναιξὶ θνηταῖς ἐπιμανέντες
 ὠμίλησαν οἱ παντὸς πάθους ἀμέτοχοι καὶ τρισ-
 7 ευδαίμονες. ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ ξόανα καὶ
 ἀγάλματα; ὧν αἱ οὐσίαι λίθοι καὶ ξύλα, τὰ μεχρι
 πρὸ μικροῦ τελείως ἄμορφα, λιθοτόμων καὶ δρυο-
 τόμων τῆς συμφυῖας αὐτὰ διακοψάντων, ὧν τὰ
 ἀδελφὰ μέρη καὶ συγγενῇ λουτροφόροι γεγόνασι
 καὶ ποδόνηπτρα καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα τῶν ἀτιμοτέρων,
 ἃ πρὸς τὰς ἐν σκότῳ χρείας ὑπηρετεῖ μάλλον ἢ
 8 τὰς ἐν φωτί. τῶν μὲν γὰρ παρ' Αἰγυ-
 πτίοις οὐδὲ μεμνησθαι καλόν, οἱ ζῶα ἄλογα καὶ
 οὐχ ἡμερα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίων τὰ ἀγριώτατα
 παραγνῶχασιν εἰς θεῶν τιμὰς ἐξ ἐκάστου τῶν κάτω
 σελήνης, χερσαίων μὲν λέοντα, ἐνύδρων δὲ τὸν
 ἐγχώριον κροκόδειλον, ἀεροπόρων δὲ ἴκτινον καὶ

¹ As the construction with *τιμῶντας* understood is continued in the next sentence, and in all the other examples the object of worship has the article prefixed, I should be inclined to read τοὺς <τοὺς> ἡμιθέους, unless we are to suppose that Philo would refuse such a collocation.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 5-8

framed from the elements,^a sun, moon or the other stars fixed or wandering, or the whole heaven and universe? But these too were not brought into being self-made, but through an architect of most perfect knowledge. What of the worship of the 6 demi-gods? Surely this is quite ridiculous. How could one and the same person be both mortal and immortal, to say nothing of the reproach attaching to the original source of their birth, tainted as it is with the licentiousness of wanton youth which they impiously dare to ascribe to the blissful and divine powers by supposing that the thrice blessed and exempt from every passion in their infatuation had intercourse with mortal women.

What 7 of the worshippers of the different kinds of images? Their substance is wood and stone, till a short time ago completely shapeless, hewn away from their congenital structure by quarrymen and woodcutters while their brethren, pieces from the same original source, have become urns and foot-basins or some others of the less honourable vessels which serve the purposes of darkness rather than of light.

For as for the gods of the Egyptians 8 it is hardly decent even to mention them. The Egyptians have promoted to divine honours irrational animals, not only of the tame sort but also beasts of the utmost savagery, drawn from each of the kinds found below the moon, from the creatures of the land the lion, from those of the water their indigenous crocodile, from the rangers of the air

^a For the antithesis between the *στοιχεῖα* and *ἀποτελέσματα* cf. *Quis Rerum* 209 (among a series of opposite pairs *στοιχεῖα ἀποτελέσματα*), so also *ibid.* 226 and *Mos.* i. 96 τὰ στοιχεῖα . . . οἷς ἀπετελέσθη ὁ κόσμος.

- 9 τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν ἴβιν. καὶ ταῦτα ὀρώντες γεννώ-
 μενα καὶ τροφῆς χρεῖαν ἔχοντα καὶ περὶ ἐδωδὴν
 ἄπληστα καὶ μεστὰ περιττωμάτων ἰοβόλα τε καὶ
 ἀνθρωποβόρα καὶ νόσοις ἀλωτὰ παντοίαις καὶ οὐ
 μόνον θανάτῳ τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ βιαίῳ
 πολλάκις διαφθειρόμενα προσκυνοῦσιν, οἱ ἡμεροὶ
 τὰ ἀνήμερα καὶ ἀτίθασα καὶ οἱ λογικοὶ τὰ ἄλογα
 καὶ οἱ συγγένειαν ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸ θεῖον τὰ μηδ'
 [473] ἂν Θερσίτησι¹ | συγκριθέντα, οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ
 δεσπόται τὰ ὑπήκοα φύσει καὶ δοῦλα.
- 10 II. Ἄλλ' οὗτοι μὲν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους
 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀναπιμπλάσι
 φλυαρίας, ἀθεράπευτοι διατελείτωσαν ὄψιν, τὴν
 ἀναγκαιοτάτην τῶν αἰσθήσεων, πεπηρωμένοι· λέγω
 δὲ οὐ τὴν σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχῆς, ἥ τὸ ἀληθές
- 11 καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος μόνῃ γνωρίζεται. τὸ δὲ θεραπευ-
 τικὸν γένος βλέπειν αἰεὶ προδιδασκόμενον² τῆς τοῦ
 ὄντος θεάς ἐφίεσθω καὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν ἥλιον ὑπερ-
 βαίνετω καὶ μηδέποτε τὴν τάξιν ταύτην λειπέτω
- 12 πρὸς τελείαν ἄγουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ
 θεραπείαν ἰόντες οὔτε ἐξ ἔθους οὔτε ἐκ παραι-
 νέσεως ἢ παρακλήσεώς τινων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος
 ἀρπασθέντες οὐρανίου, καθάπερ οἱ βακχεύομενοι
 καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες, ἐνθουσιάζουσι μέχρις ἂν τὸ
- 13 ποθοῦμενον ἴδωσιν. εἶτα διὰ τὸν τῆς
 ἀθανάτου καὶ μακαρίας ζωῆς ἡμερον τετελευτηκέναι

¹ So one mss. and the Armenian. The others *θηροί τισι*.
 The use of the Ionic form of the dat. plur. is strange.

² MSS. *προσδιδασκόμενον*.

^a See note on "Egyptian animal worship" to *De Dec.* 77
 (vol. vii. p. 610).

^b *Il.* ii. 216 ff. Other examples of Thersites as a type of

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 9-13

the hawk and the Egyptian ibis.^a And though they 9 see these creatures brought to their birth, requiring food, eating voraciously, full of ordure, venomous too and man-eating, the prey of every sort of disease, and perishing not only by a natural but often by a violent death, they render worship to them, they the civilized to the uncivilized and untamed, the reasonable to the irrational, the kinsfolk of the God-head to ugliness unmatched even by a Thersites,^b the rulers and masters to the naturally subservient and slavish.

II. These indeed, since they infect not only their 10 own compatriots but the peoples in their neighbourhood with their folly, must remain incurable, for they have lost the use of the most vital of the senses, sight. And by this I do not mean the sight of the body but of the soul, the sight which alone gives a knowledge of truth and falsehood. But it is well 11 that the Therapeutae, a people always taught from the first to use their sight, should desire the vision of the Existent and soar above the sun of our senses and never leave their place in this company which carries them on to perfect happiness.^c And those 12 who set themselves to this service, not just following custom nor on the advice and admonition of others but carried away by a heaven-sent passion of love, remain rapt and possessed like bacchanals or corybants until they see the object of their yearning.

Then such is their longing for the death- 13

ugliness are cited by Conybeare and Cohn from Plutarch, Clement and Hippocrates.

^c *τάξις* here seems to combine the common meaning of the post which the soldier holds with the idea of the company which he makes. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 46 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμείνωνος ἀγόμενον τάξεις.

- νομίζοντες ἤδη τὸν θνητὸν βίον ἀπολείπουν τὰς οὐσίας υἱοῖς ἢ θυγατράσιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλοις συγγενέσιν, ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ προκληρονομούμενοι,¹ οἷς δὲ μὴ συγγενεῖς εἰσιν, ἐταίροις καὶ φίλοις· ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς τὸν βλέποντα πλουτοῦν ἐξ ἐτοίμου λαβόντας τὸν τυφλὸν παραχωρῆσαι τοῖς ἔτι τὰς διανοίας
- 14 τυφλώττουσιν. Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον Ἑλλήνες ἄδουσιν, ὅτι φιλοσοφίας ἡμέρῳ πληχθέντες μελοβότους εἶασαν γενέσθαι τὰς οὐσίας· ἄγαμαι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ αὐτὸς γενομένους χρημάτων κρείττονας. ἀλλὰ πόσῳ βελτίονες οἱ μὴ θρέμμασιν ἐμβόσκεσθαι τὰς κτήσεις ἀνέντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνθρώπων ἐνδείας, συγγενῶν ἢ φίλων, ἐπανορθωσάμενοι καὶ ἐξ ἀπόρων εὐπόρους ἀποφῆναντες; ἐκείνο μὲν γὰρ ἀπερίσκεπτον—ἵνα μὴ μανιώδες ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν, οὗς ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐθαύμασεν, εἶπω τὸ ἔργον—, τοῦτο δὲ νηφάλιον καὶ μετὰ φρονήσεως ἡκρι-
- 15 βωμένον περιττῆς. οἱ πολέμιοι τί πλέον δρῶσιν ἢ κείρουσι καὶ δενδροτομοῦσι τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν, ἵνα σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεσθέντες ἐνδῶσι; τοῦτο οἱ περὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς ἀφ' αἵματος εἰργάσαντο χειροποιήτον ἐνδειαν καὶ πενίαν αὐτοῖς κατασκευάσαντες, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἴσως, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ προιδέσθαι καὶ περιαθρῆσαι τὸ τοῖς
- 16 ἄλλοις συμφέρον. πόσῳ δὴ κρείττους οὗτοι καὶ

¹ MSS. προσκληρονομούμενοι.

^a The same story is told of Anaxagoras by Philo, *De Prov.*, Aucher, p. 52, and so Plut. *Pericles* 16 (τὴν χώραν ἀφήκεν ἄργον καὶ μελόβοτον). Plato more vaguely says (*Hipp. Mai.* 283 A) that he wasted all his property. Diogenes Laertius on the other hand (ii. 6) that he gave it all over to his relations. Democritus is coupled with Anaxagoras in Cic.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 13-16

less and blessed life that thinking their mortal life already ended they abandon their property to their sons or daughters or to other kinsfolk, thus voluntarily advancing the time of their inheritance, while those who have no kinsfolk give them to comrades and friends. For it was right that those who have received ready to their hand the wealth that has eyes to see should surrender the blind wealth to those who are still blind in mind. The Greeks extol 14 Anaxagoras and Democritus because smitten with the desire for philosophy they left their fields to be devoured by sheep.^a I too myself admire them for showing themselves superior to wealth, but how much better are these who did not let their estates serve as feeding-ground for cattle but made good the needs of men, their kinsfolk and friends, and so turned their indigence into affluence. Of the two actions the first was thoughtless, I might say mad, but that the persons concerned have the admiration of Greece, the second showed soberness and careful consideration and remarkable good sense. What 15 more does a hostile army do than cut the crops and hew the trees of their opponents' country to force them to surrender through lack of necessities? This is what a Democritus did to his own blood-relations, inflicting on them poverty and indigence artificially created, not perhaps with mischievous intent but through lack of foresight and consideration for the interest of the others. How much better and 16

Tusc. Disp. v. 114 as abandoning his lands and patrimony, and so *Hor. Ep.* i. 12. 12 (*pecus edit agellos*). *μηλόβοτος* does not mean that they turned their cornland into pasturage, but that they allowed it to be overrun. In fact *μηλ.* is almost a synonym for *ἀργός*, with which it is coupled in the passage of Plutarch quoted here.

PHILO

θαυμασιώτεροι, χρησάμενοι μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττοσι ταῖς
 πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὁρμαῖς, μεγαλόνοιαν δὲ ὀλιγωρίας
 προτιμήσαντες καὶ χαρισάμενοι τὰς οὐσίας, ἀλλὰ
 μὴ διαφθείραντες, ἵνα καὶ ἑτέρους καὶ ἑαυτοὺς
 [474] ὠφελήσωσι, | τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις περιουσίαις,
 ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν; αἱ γὰρ χρημάτων
 καὶ κτημάτων ἐπιμέλεια τοὺς χρόνους¹ ἀναλίσκουσι·
 χρόνου δὲ φείδεσθαι καλόν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν ἱατρὸν
 Ἰπποκράτην “ὁ μὲν βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη
 17 μακρή.” τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ Ὀμηρος αἰνίζασθαι
 ἐν Ἰλιάδι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης
 ῥαψωδίας διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐπῶν·

“Μυσῶν τ’ ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἰππημολγῶν,
 γλακτοφάγων ἀβίων τε, δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων,”
 ὡς τῆς μὲν περὶ βίον σπουδῆς καὶ χρηματισμὸν
 ἀδικίαν γεννώσης διὰ τὸ ἄνισον, δικαιοσύνην δὲ
 τῆς ἐναντίας προαιρέσεως ἕνεκα ἰσότητος, καθ’
 ἣν ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος ὥρισται καὶ παρεννήμερεῖ
 18 τὸν ἐν ταῖς κεναῖς δόξαις. ὅταν οὖν

¹ Some mss. *χρωμένους*, which Conybeare adopts.

^a *ἵνα* here is perhaps as often in Philo consecutive rather than final.

^b The well-known opening aphorism of Hippocrates, though there *ἡ τέχνη* is *the art*, i.e. of medicine.

^c It is certainly strange to find this exact reference. In the great majority of his references to Homer (of which the index, probably not exhaustively, gives over fifty) he does not indicate the source at all. Sometimes the quotation is definitely ascribed to *ὁ δοκιμώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν*, and thrice at least elsewhere (*De Conf.* 4, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 31, *Legatio* 80) he mentions him by name. Perhaps this departure from the usual course is due to the nature of the quotation. It is not like most of them a notable or familiar phrase, but comes

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 16-17

more admirable are these who with no less ardour for the study of wisdom preferred magnanimity to negligence and gave away their possessions instead of wasting them, in this way^a benefiting both others and themselves, others through supplying them with abundant resources, themselves through furthering the study of philosophy? For taking care of wealth and possessions consumes time and to economize time is an excellent thing since according to the physician Hippocrates "life is short but art is long."^b The 17 same idea is suggested I think by Homer in the *Iliad* at the beginning of the thirteenth book in the lines^c

The Mysians fighting hand to hand, and noble Mare's-milk-drinkers—
Nought else but milk sustains their life,^d these men of perfect justice.

The idea conveyed is that injustice is bred by anxious thought for the means of life and for money-making, justice by holding and following the opposite creed. The first entails inequality, the second equality, the principle by which nature's wealth is regulated and so stands superior to the wealth of vain opinion.^e

from a passage which would not in itself attract attention, and only serves to bring out a connexion (*ἄβιος* with *δίκαιος*) which would not occur to most people. On the use of *ῥαψωδία* see App. p. 519.

^a *Il.* xiii. 5, 6. 'Ἀβίων is by some taken to be a proper name, by others as "having no fixed means of subsistence," i.e. nomads. Philo evidently takes it as an adjective meaning without βίος in the sense of means of life.

^e See note on *De Virt.* 6, where "the wealth of nature," i.e. the simple means of living, bread and water, which are equally available to all, is distinguished from the "seeing wealth," i.e. the spiritual wealth of virtue and wisdom, though it is superior to the "blind wealth," here called the "wealth of vain opinion."

- ἐκστῶσι τῶν οὐσιῶν, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι δελεαζόμενοι
 φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτὶ καταλιπόντες ἀδελφούς,
 τέκνα, γυναῖκας, γονεῖς, πολυανθρώπους συγ-
 γενείας, φιλικὰς ἑταιρείας, τὰς πατρίδας, ἐν αἷς
 ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύνηθες
 19 ὄλκον καὶ δελεάσαι δυνατώτατον. μετοικίζονται
 δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν, ὥσπερ οἱ πρᾶσιν αἰτού-
 μενοι παρὰ τῶν κεκτημένων ἀτυχεῖς ἢ κακὸδουλο
 δεσποτῶν ὑπαλλαγὴν, οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν, αὐτοῖς
 ἐκπορίζοντες—πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις, καὶ ἡ εὐνομωτάτη,
 γέμει θορύβων καὶ ταραχῶν ἀμυθῆτων, ὥς οὐκ
 20 ἂν ὑπομείναι τις ἅπαξ ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀχθεῖς—, ἀλλὰ
 τειχῶν ἔξω ποιοῦνται τὰς διατριβὰς ἐν κήποις ἢ
 μοναγρίαις ἐρημίαν μεταδιώκοντες, οὐ διὰ τινα
 ὤμην ἐπιτετηδευμένην μισανθρωπίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰς
 ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοίων τὸ ἦθος ἐπιμιξίας ἀλυσιτελεῖς
 καὶ βλαβεράς εἰδότες.
- 21 III. Πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶ τὸ
 γένος—ἔδει γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν καὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον—, πλεονάζει δὲ ἐν
 Αἰγύπτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων νόμων
 22 καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. οἱ δὲ παντα-
 χόθεν ἄριστοι καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα [θεραπευτῶν]
 ἀποικίαν στέλλονται πρὸς τι χωρίον ἐπιτηδειό-
 τατον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ λίμνης Μαρείας κείμενον
 ἐπὶ γεωλόφου χθαμαλωτέρου, σφόδρα εὐκαίρως,
 23 ἀσφαλείας τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἀέρος εὐκρασίας. τὴν μὲν

^a Or as Conybeare translates it "the intercourse with and influence from persons," etc., to express the curious preposition instead of the usual *πρὸς* with accusative as e.g. *De*

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 18-23

So when they have divested themselves 18
of their possessions and have no longer aught to
ensnare them they flee without a backward glance
and leave their brothers, their children, their wives,
their parents, the wide circle of their kinsfolk, the
groups of friends around them, the fatherlands in
which they were born and reared, since strong is the
attraction of familiarity and very great its power to
ensnare. And they do not migrate into another 19
city like the unfortunate or worthless slaves who
demand to be sold by their owners and so procure a
change of masters but not freedom. For every city,
even the best governed, is full of turmoils and dis-
turbances innumerable which no one could endure
who has ever been even once under the guidance of
wisdom. Instead of this they pass their days out- 20
side the walls pursuing solitude in gardens or lonely
bits of country, not from any acquired habit of mis-
anthropical bitterness but because they know how
unprofitable and mischievous are associations with
persons of dissimilar character.^a

III. This kind exists in many places in the inhabited 21
world, for perfect goodness must needs be shared
both by Greeks and the world outside Greece, but it
abounds in Egypt in each of the nomes as they are
called and especially round Alexandria. But the 22
best of these votaries journey from every side to
settle in a certain very suitable place which they
regard as their fatherland. This place is situated
above the Mareotic Lake on a somewhat low-lying
hill very happily placed both because of its security
and the pleasantly tempered air. The safety is 23

Dec. 127. He suggests that ἐπιμυξία may carry with it the
idea of contagion.

- οὖν ἀσφάλειαν αἱ ἐν κύκλῳ παρέχουσιν ἐπαύλεις
 [475] τε καὶ κῶμαι, | τὴν δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα εὐκρασίαν
 αἱ ἔκ τε τῆς λίμνης ἀνεστομωμένης εἰς τὴν θάλατ-
 ταν καὶ τοῦ πελάγους ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἀναδιδόμεναι
 συνεχεῖς αὔραι, λεπταὶ μὲν αἱ ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους,
 παχεῖαι δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης, ὧν ἡ μῖξις ὑγιεινο-
 24 τάτην κατάστασιν ἀπεργάζεται. αἱ δὲ
 οἰκίαι τῶν συνεληλυθότων σφόδρα μὲν εὐτελεῖς
 εἰσι, πρὸς δύο τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα σκέπην παρ-
 ἔχουσαι, πρὸς τε τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου φλογμὸν καὶ τὸν
 ἀπ' ἀέρος κρυμὸν· οὔτε δὲ ἐγγύς, ὥσπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς
 ἄστεσιν,—ὀχληρὸν γὰρ καὶ δυσάρεστον τοῖς ἐρημίαν
 ἐξηλωκόσι καὶ μεταδιώκουσιν αἱ γειτνιασεις—οὔτε
 πόρρω, δι' ἣν ἀσπάζονται κοινωνίαν καὶ ἴνα, εἰ
 ληστῶν γένοιτο ἔφοδος, ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθῶσιν.
 25 ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ ἐστὶν οἴκημα ἱερόν, ὃ καλεῖται
 σεμνεῖον καὶ μοναστήριον, ἐν ᾧ μονούμενοι τὰ τοῦ
 σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται, μηδὲν εἰσκομί-
 ζοντες, μὴ ποτόν, μὴ σιτίον, μηδέ τι τῶν ἄλλων
 ὅσα πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος χρείας ἀναγκαῖα, ἀλλὰ
 νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ
 ὑμνους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια
 26 συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλυστον
 ἔχουσι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μνήμην, ὡς καὶ δι' ὄνειράτων
 μηδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὰ κάλλη τῶν θείων ἀρετῶν καὶ
 δυνάμεων φαντασιοῦσθαι· πολλοὶ γοῦν καὶ ἐκ-
 λαλοῦσιν ἐν ὕπνοις ὀνειροπολούμενοι τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς
 27 φιλοσοφίας ἀοίδιμα δόγματα. δις δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην
 ἡμέραν εἰώθασιν εὐχεσθαι, περὶ τὴν ἔω καὶ περὶ
 τὴν ἐσπέραν, ἡλίου μὲν ἀνίσχοντος εὐημερίαν
 αἰτούμενοι τὴν ὄντως εὐημερίαν, φωτὸς οὐρανοῦ

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 23-27

secured by the farm buildings and villages round about and the pleasantness of the air by the continuous breezes which arise both from the lake which debouches into the sea and from the open sea hard by. For the sea breezes are light, the lake breezes close and the two combining together produce a most healthy condition of climate. The 24 houses of the society thus collected are exceedingly simple, providing protection against two of the most pressing dangers, the fiery heat of the sun and the icy cold of the air. They are neither near together as in towns, since living at close quarters is troublesome and displeasing to people who are seeking to satisfy their desire for solitude, nor yet at a great distance because of the sense of fellowship which they cherish, and to render help to each other if robbers attack them. In each house there is a consecrated room 25 which is called a sanctuary or closet ^a and closeted in this they are initiated into the mysteries of the sanctified life. They take nothing into it, either drink or food or any other of the things necessary for the needs of the body, but laws and oracles delivered through the mouth of prophets, and psalms and anything ^b else which fosters and perfects knowledge and piety. They keep the memory of God alive and 26 never forget it, so that even in their dreams the picture is nothing else but the loveliness of divine excellences and powers. Indeed many when asleep and dreaming give utterance to the glorious verities of their holy philosophy. Twice every day they 27 pray, at dawn and at eventide ; at sunrise they pray for a fine bright day, fine and bright in the true sense

^a For the word *μοναστήριον* see App. p. 519.

^b Or "the other books" (of the O.T.). See App. p. 520.

τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀναπλησθῆναι, δυομένου δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ τῶν αἰσθήσεων καὶ αἰσθητῶν ὄχλου παντελῶς ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν, ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῆς συνεδρίῳ καὶ βουλευτηρίῳ γενομένην, 28 ἀλήθειαν ἰχνηλατεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ μέχρι ἑσπέρας διάστημα σύμπαν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἄσκησις· ἐντυγχάνοντες γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι φιλοσοφοῦσι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν¹ ἀλληγοροῦντες, ἐπειδὴ σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ῥητῆς ἐρμηνείας νομίζουσιν ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως ἐν ὑπονοήσιν δηλουμένης.

29 ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ συγγράμματα παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγέται γενόμενοι πολλὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀλληγοροῦ-
[476] μένοις ἰδέας ἀπέλιπον, οἷς καθάπερ τισὶν ἀρχε-
τύποις | χρώμενοι μιμοῦνται τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸν τρόπον· ὥστε οὐ θεωροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἄσματα καὶ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν διὰ

¹ Conybeare νομοθεσίαν mainly on the authority of the Armenian.

^a The translation takes φιλοσοφίαν as cognate accusative after φιλοσοφοῦσι as in *Mos.* ii. 216. Cf. *De Som.* i. 55 φιλοσόφῃσιν ἀναγκαιοτάτην . . . φιλοσοφίαν. But it may be governed by ἀλληγοροῦντες, cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 29.

^b I understand ἐρμηνεία to be here used as elsewhere, e.g. *Quis Rerum* 108, in the technical rhetorical sense of the language in which the thought is expressed as opposed to the thought itself, and so with the synonymous λέξις or φράσις

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 27-29

of the heavenly daylight which they pray may fill their minds. At sunset they ask that the soul may be wholly relieved from the press of the senses and the objects of sense and sitting where she is consistory and council chamber to herself pursue the quest of truth. The interval between early morning 28 and evening is spent entirely in spiritual exercise. They read the Holy Scriptures and seek wisdom from their ancestral philosophy by taking it as an allegory,^a since they think that the words of the literal text are symbols of something whose hidden nature is revealed by studying the underlying meaning.^b

They have also writings of men of 29 old, the founders of their way of thinking, who left many memorials of the form^c used in allegorical interpretation and these they take as a kind of archetype and imitate the method in which this principle is carried out.^d And so they do not confine themselves to contemplation but also compose hymns and psalms

corresponding to the Latin *elocutio*. Conybeare gives "literal meaning." Lake (translating Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* where this passage is quoted) "literal interpretation." ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως may perhaps mean "a hidden natural (i.e. theological) truth," cf. again *Mos.* ii. 216 and note there and *De Abr.* 99.

^c Conybeare "of the idea involved in allegory." But I do not think that Philo except when he is speaking Platonically used ἰδέα thus. Lake's "of the meaning allegorically expressed" is still farther away. ἰδέα is, I think, simply the form or kind of treatment which we find in allegory.

^d The phrase τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸν τρόπον is obscure. Lake has "treatment" for προαίρ. But the word must suggest a motive or purpose. Conybeare "emulating the ideal of character traced out in them." I understand προαίρ. to mean the belief which inspired the allegorists that the scriptures were to be interpreted allegorically. Their successors emulated the method in which this principle was carried out.

PHILO

παντοίων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν, ἃ ῥυθμοῖς σεμνο-
τέροις ἀναγκαίως χαράττουσι.

- 30 Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἡμέρας χωρὶς ἕκαστοι μονούμενοι
παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐν τοῖς λεχθεῖσι μοναστηρίοις φιλο-
σοφοῦσι, τὴν αὐλειον οὐχ ὑπερβαίνοντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῦντες· ταῖς δὲ ἐβδόμαις συν-
έρχονται καθάπερ εἰς κοινὸν σύλλογον καὶ καθ'
ἡλικίαν ἐξῆς καθέζονται μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος
σχήματος, εἴσω τὰς χεῖρας ἔχοντες, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν
μεταξὺ στέρνου καὶ γενείου, τὴν δὲ εὐώνυμον
- 31 ὑπεσταλμένην παρὰ τῇ λαγόνι. παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ
πρεσβύτατος καὶ τῶν δογμάτων ἐμπειρότατος
διαλέγεται, καθεστῶτι μὲν τῷ βλέμματι, καθ-
εστῶσι δὲ τῇ φωνῇ, μετὰ λογισμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως,
οὐ δεινότητά λόγων ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες ἢ οἱ νῦν
σοφισταὶ παρεπιδεικνύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς
νοήμασι διηρευνηκῶς καὶ διερμηνεύων ἀκρίβειαν,
ἥτις οὐκ ἄκροισ ὥσιν ἐφιζάνει, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀκοῆς
ἐπὶ ψυχὴν ἔρχεται καὶ βεβαίως ἐπιμένει. καθ'
ἡσυχίαν δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀκροῶνται, τὸν ἔπαινον
νεύμασιν ὄψεως ἢ κεφαλῆς παραδηλοῦντες αὐτὸ
- 32 μόνον. τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τοῦτο σεμνεῖον,
εἰς ὃ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις συνέρχονται, διπλοῦς ἐστι
περίβολος, ὃ μὲν εἰς ἀνδρῶνα, ὃ δὲ εἰς γυναικωνίτιν
ἀποκριθεῖς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκες ἐξ ἔθους συν-
ακροῶνται τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν

^a Here again we have a doubtful phrase. Conybeare translates "which they write down in solemn rhythms as best they can," a meaning which ἀναγκαίως certainly bears in Philo and elsewhere. His explanation is that they could not engrave them on stone (hymns for worship seem to have been thus cut in stone) and so were fain to use papyrus.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 29-32

to God in all sorts of metres and melodies which they write down with the rhythms necessarily made more solemn.^a

For six days they seek wisdom by themselves in 30 solitude in the closets mentioned above, never passing the outside door of the house or even getting a distant view of it. But every seventh day they meet together as for a general assembly and sit in order according to their age in the proper attitude, with their hands inside the robe, the right hand between the breast and the chin and the left withdrawn along the flank. Then the senior among them who 31 also has the fullest knowledge of the doctrines which they profess comes forward and with visage and voice alike quiet and composed gives a well-reasoned and wise discourse. He does not make an exhibition of clever rhetoric like the orators or sophists of to-day but follows careful examination by careful expression of the exact meaning of the thoughts, and this does not lodge just outside the ears of the audience but passes through the hearing into the soul and there stays securely. All the others sit still and listen showing their approval merely by their looks or nods.

This common sanctuary in which 32 they meet every seventh day is a double enclosure, one portion set apart for the use of the men, the other for the women. For women too regularly make part of the audience with the same ardour and the

Lake quite impossibly gives "arrange" for *χαράττοις*. Philo is clearly referring to the accepted division of music into metre, melody and rhythm, see note on *De Som.* i. 205 (vol. v. pp. 603 f.), and the suggestion made very tentatively in the translation is that it is the rhythm which gives the solemnity necessary for sacred music and that this was indicated by some notation.

- 33 ἔχουσαι. ὁ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν οἴκων τοῖχος τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἐδάφους ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας πῆχεις εἰς τὸ ἄνω συνωκοδόμηται θωρακίου τρόπον, τὸ δὲ ἄχρι τέγους ἀνάγειον ἀχανὲς ἀνεῖται, δυοῖν ἕνεκα, τοῦ τε τὴν πρέπουσαν αἰδῶ τῇ γυναικείᾳ φύσει διατηρεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἔχειν εὐμαρῇ καθεζομένας ἐν ἐπηκόῳ, μηδενὸς τὴν τοῦ διαλεγομένου φωνὴν ἐμποδίζοντος.
- 34 IV. Ἐγκράτειαν δὲ ὥσπερ τινὰ θεμέλιον προκαταβαλλόμενοι τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς ἄλλας ἐποικοδομοῦσιν ἀρετάς. σιτίον ἢ ποτόν οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν προσενέγκαιτο πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν ἄξιον φωτὸς κρίνουσιν εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας, ὅθεν τῷ μὲν ἡμέραν,
- 35 ταῖς δὲ νυκτὸς βραχὺ τι μέρος ἔνειμαν. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑπομιμνήσκονται τροφῆς, οἷς πλείων ὁ πόθος ἐπιστήμης ἐνίδρυται· τινὲς δὲ οὕτως ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐστιώμενοι πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα χορηγούσης, ὥς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίονα χρόνον ἀντέχειν καὶ μόλις δι' ἑξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας, ἐθισθέντες ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸ τῶν τεττίγων
- [477] | γένος ἀέρι τρέφεσθαι, τῆς ὠδῆς, ὥς γε οἶμαι, τὴν
- 36 ἔνδειαν ἐξευμαριζούσης. τὴν δὲ ἐβδόμην πανιέρων τινα καὶ πανέορτον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἐξαιρέτου γέρως ἡξιώκασιν, ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπι-

^a Cf. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 8. Here Philo follows Plato more definitely. See *Phaedrus* 259 c τὸ τεττίγων γένος . . . γέρας

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 33-36

same sense of their calling. The wall between the 33
two chambers rises up from the ground to three or
four cubits built in the form of a breast work, while
the space above up to the roof is left open. This
arrangement serves two purposes ; the modesty
becoming to the female sex is preserved, while the
women sitting within ear-shot can easily follow what
is said since there is nothing to obstruct the voice
of the speaker.

IV. They lay self-control to be as it were the foun- 34
dation of their soul and on it build the other virtues.
None of them would put food or drink to his lips
before sunset since they hold that philosophy finds
its right place in the light, the needs of the body in
the darkness, and therefore they assign the day to
the one and some small part of the night to the other.
Some in whom the desire for studying wisdom is
more deeply implanted even only after three days
remember to take food. Others so luxuriate and 35
delight in the banquet of truths which wisdom richly
and lavishly supplies that they hold out for twice
that time and only after six days do they bring them-
selves to taste such sustenance as is absolutely neces-
sary. They have become habituated to abstinence
like the grasshoppers^a who are said to live on air
because, I suppose, their singing makes their lack
of food a light matter. But to the seventh day as 36
they consider it to be sacred and festal in the highest
degree they have awarded special privileges as its
due, and on it after providing for the soul refresh

τοῦτο παρὰ Μουσῶν λαβόν, μηδὲν τροφῆς δεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αἰτούν τε
καὶ ἄποτον εὐθὺς γεγόμενον ἄδειν, ἕως ἂν τελευτήσῃ. The idea
that the grasshopper needs no food except air (or more
frequently dew) goes back to Hesiod, *Shield* 395 ff. τέττιξ
. . . ὥτε πόσις καὶ βρώσις θηλὺς ἔέρσῃ.

PHILO

μέλειαν καὶ τὸ σῶμα λιπαίνουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει
καὶ τὰ θρέμματα τῶν συνεχῶν πόνων ἀνιέντες.
37 σιτοῦνται δὲ πολυτελὲς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ἄρτον εὐτελῆ,
καὶ ὄψον ἄλγες, οὓς οἱ ἀβροδίαιτοι παραρτύνουσιν
ὑσσώπῳ, ποτὸν δὲ ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον αὐτοῖς ἐστίν·
ὥς γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐπέστησε τῷ θνητῷ γένει δεσποίνας,
πεῖνάν τε καὶ δίψαν, ἀπομειλίσσονται, τῶν εἰς
κολακείαν ἐπιφέροντες οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ χρήσιμα,
ὧν ἄνευ ζῆν οὐκ ἔστι. διὰ τοῦτο ἐσθίουσι μὲν,
ὥστε μὴ πεινῆν, πίνουσι δέ, ὥστε μὴ διψῆν,
πλησμονὴν ὡς ἐχθρόν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον ψυχῆς τε
38 καὶ σώματος ἐκτρεπόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
σκέπης διττὸν εἶδος, τὸ μὲν ἐσθής, τὸ δὲ οἰκία,
περὶ μὲν οἰκίας εἴρηται πρότερον, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀκαλ-
λῶπιστος καὶ αὐτοσχέδιος, πρὸς τὸ χρειῶδες αὐτὸ
μόνον εἰργασμένη· καὶ ἐσθής δὲ ὁμοίως εὐτελε-
στάτη, πρὸς ἀλέξημα κρυμοῦ τε καὶ θάλπους,
χλαῖνα μὲν ἀπὸ¹ λασίου δοράς παχεῖα χειμῶνος,
39 ἐξωμῖς δὲ θέρους ἢ ὀθόνη.² συνόλως γὰρ ἀσκοῦσιν

¹ ἀντὶ Conybeare with the majority of mss. See note b.

² ἢ ὀθόνη Conybeare. See note c.

^a Conybeare translates "they anoint the body, releasing it just as you might the lower animals from the long spell of toil." But neither anointing in the literal sense nor rest from labour for the Therapeutae themselves suits the context, which is concerned with the general abstemiousness in food and mild relaxation on the sabbath. The sense I have given to λιπαίνω is much the same as in *Spec. Leg.* iv. 74, where it is applied to relieving the hard condition of the needy by charity. The point of ἀμέλει, as I have taken it, is that the release of the cattle from labour on the sabbath is a duty recognized by everybody. But see App. p. 520.

^b Conybeare's reading, ἀντὶ for ἀπὸ which certainly seems

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 36-39

the body also, which they do as a matter of course with the cattle too by releasing them from their continuous labour.^a Still they eat nothing costly, 37 only common bread with salt for a relish flavoured further by the daintier with hyssop, and their drink is spring water. For as nature has set hunger and thirst as mistresses over mortal kind they propitiate them without using anything to curry favour but only such things as are actually needed and without which life cannot be maintained. Therefore they eat enough to keep from hunger and drink enough to keep from thirst but abhor surfeiting as a malignant enemy both to soul and body.

As for 38

the two forms of shelter, clothes and housing, we have already said that the house is unembellished and a makeshift constructed for utility only. Their clothing likewise is the most inexpensive, enough to protect them against extreme cold and heat, a thick coat of shaggy skin^b in winter and in summer a vest or linen shirt.^c For they practise an all-round 39

to have the better ms. authority, is based by him, as stated in a long and interesting note, on the general belief that linen was more sacred than any substance which was the produce of animals—an idea stated by Philo himself in several places, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* i. 84. The chief objection seems to be that *χλαῖνα* would have to be understood as “linen garment,” whereas such evidence as I have seen goes to show that it was frequently, if not usually, made of wool, and wool was as unclean as skin.

^c Conybeare, reading ἡ for ἦ, translates “a smock without sleeves, the linen coat namely.” He says that ἦ does not make sense, meaning apparently that as any garment made of linen would be an *ὀθόνη*, it could not be an alternative to the *ἐξωμῖς*. In *Spec. Leg.* ii. 20, the *χλαῖνα* is coupled with the *ὀθόνη*, and in *Hyp.* 11. 12 with the *ἐξωμῖς* as simple garments for winter and summer respectively. This perhaps supports his view.

ἀτυφίαν, εἰδότες τύφον¹ μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους ἀρχήν, ἀτυφίαν δὲ ἀληθείας, ἐκάτερον δὲ πηγῆς λόγον ἔχον· ρέουσι γὰρ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ ψεύδους αἱ πολύτροποι τῶν κακῶν ιδέαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας αἱ περιουσίαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τε καὶ θείων.

- 40 V. Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς κοινὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ ἱλαρωτέρας ἐν συμποσίοις διαγωγὰς εἰπεῖν, ἀντιτάξας τὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμπόσια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἄκρατον ἐμφορήσωνται, καθάπερ οὐκ οἶνον πiónτες ἀλλὰ παρακινηματικόν τι καὶ μανιώδες καὶ εἴ τι χαλεπώτερον ἐπ' ἐκστάσει λογισμοῦ φυσικόν,² κράζουσι³ καὶ λυττώσι τρόπον κυνῶν ἀτιθάσων καὶ ἐπανιστάμενοι δάκνουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποτρύγουσι ῥίνας, ὦτα, δακτύλους, ἕτερα ἅττα μέρη τοῦ σώματος, ὡς τὸν ἐπὶ Κύκλωπος καὶ τῶν Ὀδυσσέως ἐταίρων μῦθον ἀποδεδειχέναι τούτους ἀληθῆ, “ψωμούς,” ἥ φησιν ὁ ποιητής, ἐπεσθίοντας ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὠμότερον ἢ ἐκεῖνος.
- 41 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς ὑποτοπήσας ἡμύνετο, οἱ δὲ συνήθεις καὶ φίλους, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἐφ' ἁλῶν καὶ τραπέζης, ἄσπονδα ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐργασά-

¹ The mss. reverse the case of the nouns τύφον . . . ψεύδος . . . ἀτυφίας . . . ἀλήθειαν. The correction, which is supported by the Latin version and is accepted by both Cohn and Conybeare, makes better sense. Both (*i.e.* τύφος and ἀτυφία) lead respectively to the falsehood and truth, from which flow evil and good, and may therefore be regarded (λόγον ἔχει) as a πηγῇ.

² Perhaps read φυσικόν (φάρμακον). See note *b*.

³ So Conybeare with some authorities. Cohn with mss. ἀράσσουσι.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 39-41

simplicity knowing that its opposite, vanity,^a is the source of falsehood as simplicity is of truth, and that both play the part of a fountain head of other things, since from falsehood flow the manifold forms of evil and from truth abundant streams of goodness both human and divine.

V. I wish also to speak of their common assemblages 40 and the cheerfulness of their convivial meals as contrasted with those of other people. Some people when they have filled themselves with strong drink behave as though they had drunk not wine but some witch's potion^b charged with frenzy and madness and anything more fatal that can be imagined to overthrow their reason. They bellow and rave like wild dogs, attack and bite each other and gnaw off noses, ears, fingers and some other parts of the body,^c so that they make good the story of the comrades of Odysseus and the Cyclops by eating "gobbets"^d of men, as the poet says, and with greater cruelty than the Cyclops. For he avenged himself on men whom 41 he suspected to be enemies, they on their familiars and friends and sometimes even on their kin over the salt and across the board, and as they pour the

rather than as Conybeare (pride?). See note on *De Virt.* 17 (vol. viii. pp. 440 f.).

^b This must be the meaning if the word is right. But there is no really parallel use of the word at any rate without some explanatory noun. τὰ φυσικά found in the *Geoponica* (? date) is stated by Stephanus not to bear this meaning. φυσικὸν φάρμακον, to which the Armenian is said to point, is quoted from Alexander Trallianus (? sixth century A.D.).

^c For this and other points in this description cf. *De Plant.* 160.

^a *Od.* ix. 373—

φάρνγος δ' ἐξέσσυτο οἶνος
ψωμοί τ' ἀνδρόμεοι.

μενοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὅμοια καὶ
 παρακόπτοντες ὥσπερ νόμισμα δόκιμον ἄσκησιν,
 οἱ ἀντὶ ἀθλητῶν ἀθλιοί· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
 42 φημιστέον. ἃ γὰρ νήφοντες ἐν σταδίοις ἐκείνοι
 θεαταῖς χρώμενοι τοῖς Πανέλλησι μεθ' ἡμέραν |
 [478] ἔνεκα νίκης καὶ στεφάνων [Ὀλυμπιονίκαι]¹ σὺν
 τέχνῃ δρῶσιν, οὗτοι κιβδηλεύοντες ἐπὶ συμποσίων
 νύκτωρ ἐν σκότῳ <καὶ> μεθύοντες, ἐμπαροινούντες,
 ἀνεπιστημόνως καὶ κακοτέχνως ἐπ' ἀτιμία καὶ
 ὕβρει καὶ αἰκία χαλεπῇ τῶν ὑπομενόντων ἐνερ-
 43 γούσιν. εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς οἷα βραβευτῆς παρελθὼν
 μέσος διαλύσειε, μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας κατα-
 παλαίουσι, φονῶντες ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ θανατῶντες·
 πάσχουσι γὰρ οὐκ ἐλάττονα ὧν διατιθέασιν, ὅπερ²
 οὐκ ἴσασι, παραπαίοντες οἱ τὸν οἶνον οὐχ, ὥς ὁ
 κωμικός φησιν, ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν πλησίον αὐτὸ μόνον
 44 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ πίνειν ὑπομένοντες. τοι-
 γαροῦν οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ παρελθόντες εἰς τὰ συμπόσια
 σῶοι καὶ φίλοι μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξίασιν ἐχθροὶ καὶ
 τὰ σώματα ἡκρωτηριασμένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν συνηγόρων
 καὶ δικαστῶν, οἱ δὲ καταπλαστῶν καὶ ἰατρῶν καὶ
 45 τῆς ὑπὸ τούτων δέονται βοήθειας. ἕτεροι δὲ τῶν
 μετρωτέρων δοκούντων εἶναι συμποτῶν ὥσπερ
 μανδραγόραν τὸν ἄκρατον πίνοντες ὑπερβεβλύκασι³
 καὶ τὸν εὐώνυμον ἀγκῶνα προβαλόντες καὶ τὸν

¹ Bracketed by Cohn on the grounds that it is omitted by the Latin. The word is not very appropriate here as we are talking of competitors rather than victors, and it may well be a gloss, but these are doubtful reasons. If, as Cohn thinks, the Armenian points to Ὀλυμπίων or Ὀλυμπιακῶν, I should prefer to read one of them.

² MSS. ἄπερ. Here again Cohn's correction seems doubtful.

³ MSS. ὑποβεβλύκασι

libation of peace they commit deeds of war^a like those of the gymnastic contests, counterfeiting the genuine coin of manly exercise, no wrestlers but wretches, for that is the right name to give them. For what 42 the athletes do in the arena while sober, in the daylight, with the eyes of all Greece upon them, in the hope of victory and the crown and in the exercise of their skill, are debased by the revellers who ply their activities in convivial gatherings by night and in darkness, drink-besotted, ignorant and skilful only for mischief to inflict dishonour, insult and grievous outrage on the objects of their assault. And if no 43 one plays the umpire and comes forward to intervene and separate them they carry on the bout with increased licence to the finish, ready both to kill and to be killed. For they suffer no less than what they mete to others though they know it not, so infatuated are these who shrink not from drinking wine, as the comic poet says, to mar not only their neighbours but themselves.^b And so those who but 44 now came to the party sound in body and friendly at heart leave soon afterwards in enmity and with bodily mutilation,—enmity in some cases calling for advocates and judges, mutilation in others requiring the apothecary and physician and the help that they can bring. Others belonging to what we may 45 suppose is the more moderate part of the company are in a state of overflow. Draughts of strong wine act upon them like mandragora, they throw the left

^a Or as Conybeare "whom in the midst of peace they treat implacably." But *σπονδαί* carries with it the sense of "libation" as well as "truce." Cf. the same phrase though in a different connexion in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 96, where see note.

^b Source unknown.

- αὐχένα ἐγκάρσιον ἐπιστρέψαντες, ἐνερευγόμενοι
ταῖς κύλιξιν, ὕπνω βαθεῖ πιέζονται, μηδὲν μήτε
ιδόντες μήτε ἀκούσαντες, ὡς μίαν μόνην ἔχοντες
46 αἰσθησιν, τὴν ἀνδραποδωδεστάτην γεῦσιν. οἶδα
δέ τινας, [οἱ] ἐπειδὴν ἀκροθώρακες γένωνται, πρὶν
τελέως βαπτισθῆναι, τὸν εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν πότον
ἐξ ἐπιδόσεως καὶ συμβολῶν προευτρεπιζομένους,
μέρος ὑπολαμβάνοντας τῆς ἐν χερσὶν εὐφροσύνης
εἶναι τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον μέθης ἐλπίδα.
47 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διαζῶντες ἄοικοι καὶ ἀνέστιοι
διατελοῦσιν, ἐχθροὶ μὲν γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ
τέκνων, ἐχθροὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος, πολέμιοι δὲ
καὶ ἑαυτῶν· ὕγρὸς γὰρ καὶ ἄσωτος βίος ἅπασιν
ἐπίβουλος.
- 48 VI. Ἵσως δ' ἂν τις ἀποδέξαιτο τὴν ἐπιπολά-
ζουσαν νυνὶ τῶν συμποσίων πανταχοῦ διάθεσιν
κατὰ πόθον τῆς Ἰταλικῆς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφῆς,
ἣν ἐζήλωσαν Ἕλληνες τε καὶ βάρβαροι πρὸς
ἐπίδειξιν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ποιούμενοι τὰς
49 παρασκευάς. τρίκλινά τε καὶ πολύκλινα¹ χελώνης
ἢ ἐλέφαντος κατεσκευασμένα καὶ τιμαλφεστέρας
ὕλης, ὧν τὰ πλείστα λιθοκόλλητα· στρωμναὶ
άλουργεῖς ἐνυφασμένου χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀνθοβαφεῖς
ἕτεραι παντοίων χρωμάτων πρὸς τὸ τῆς ὀψεως
ἐπαγωγόν· ἐκπωμάτων πλήθος ἐκτεταγμένων καθ'
ἕκαστον εἶδος, ῥυτὰ γὰρ καὶ φιάλαι καὶ κύλικες
καὶ ἕτερα πολυειδῆ τεχνικώτατα θηρίκλεια καὶ
50 τορεΐαις ἐπιστημονικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἠκριβωμένα. δια-
[479] κονικὰ ἀνδράποδα εὐμορφότατα | καὶ περικαλ-
λέστατα, ὡς ἀφιγμένα οὐχ ὑπηρεσίας ἔνεκα μᾶλλον
ἢ τοῦ φανέντα τὴν τῶν θεωμένων ὄψιν ἡδῦναι.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 45-50

elbow forward, turn the neck at a right angle, belch into the cups and sink into a profound sleep, seeing nothing and hearing nothing, having apparently only one sense and that the most slavish, taste. I know 46 of some who when they are half-seas-over and before they have completely gone under arrange donations and subscriptions in preparation for to-morrow's bout, considering that one factor in their present exhilaration is the hope of future intoxication. In this way 47 they spend their whole life ever hearthless and homeless, enemies to their parents, their wives and their children, enemies too to their country and at war with themselves. For a loose and a dissolute life is a menace to all.

VI. Some perhaps may approve the method of 48 banqueting now prevalent everywhere through hankering for the Italian expensiveness and luxury emulated both by Greek and non-Greeks who make their arrangements for ostentation rather than festivity. Sets of three or many couches^a made of 49 tortoise shell or ivory or even more valuable material, most of them inlaid with precious stones; coverlets purple-dyed with gold interwoven, others brocaded with flower patterns of all sorts of colours to allure the eye; a host of drinking cups set out in their several kinds, beakers, stoops, tankards, other goblets of many shapes, very artistically and elaborately chased by scientific craftsmen. For waiting there are slaves 50 of the utmost comeliness and beauty, giving the idea that they have come not so much to render service as to give pleasure to the eyes of the beholders by

^a For *τρίκλινα* see App. p. 521. The mss. *περίκλινα* would mean "couches round the table."

¹ So the Armenian. mss. *περίκλινα*. See note *a*.

- τούτων οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἔτι ὄντες οἰνοχοοῦσιν, ὑδροφοροῦσι δὲ βούπαιδες λελουμένοι καὶ λελειασμένοι, <οἱ> τά τε πρόσωπα ἐντρίβονται καὶ ὑπογράφονται καὶ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας εὖ πως διαπλέκονται
- 51 σφηκούμενοι· βαθυχαῖται γάρ εἰσιν ἢ μὴ κειρόμενοι τὸ παράπαν ἢ τὰς προμετωπιδίους αὐτὸ μόνον ἐξ ἄκρων εἰς ἐπανίσωσιν καὶ γραμμῆς κυκλοτεροῦς ἡκριβωμένον σχῆμα· χιτῶνάς τε ἀραχνοῦφείς καὶ ἐκλεύκους ἐπαναζωσάμενοι, τὰ μὲν ἐμπρόσθια κατωτέρω τῶν ὑπὸ γόνυ¹ τὰ δὲ κατόπιν μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς γονατίοις, ἐκάτερον δὲ μέρος οὐλοτέραις ταῖς σειραίαις ἐπιδιπλώσεισι κατὰ τὴν τῶν χιτῶνίσκων συμβολὴν συστέλλοντες ἐκ πλαγίων κόλπους ἀπαιωροῦσιν, εὐρύνοντες τὰ κοῖλα τῶν πλευρῶν.
- 52 ἐφεδρεύουσι δ' ἄλλοι, μειράκια πρωτογένεια,² τοὺς ἰούλους ἄρτι ἀνθοῦντες, ἀθύρματα πρὸ μικροῦ παιδεραστῶν γεγονότες, ἡσκημένοι σφόδρα περιέργως πρὸς τὰς βαρυτέρας ὑπηρεσίας, ἐπιδείξις ἐστιατόρων εὐπορίας, ὡς ἴσασιν³ οἱ χρώμενοι, ὡς
- 53 δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, ἀπειροκαλίας.⁴ πρὸς

¹ Cohn in both editions prints γόνου, which I think must be a mere misprint. Not only is such a form unknown, but Conybeare who prints γόνυ (as Mangey) gives no sign that there is any variation in the mss.

² Cohn inserts ἢ after μειράκια, citing *De Cher.* 114, and *Hypothetica* 11. 3, in both of which we have μειράκια distinguished from the πρωτογένειοι. He does not seem to observe that this would involve changing πρωτογένεια to πρωτογένειοι. At least I do not see how the neuter could be defended.

³ Perhaps correct to φασιν, but see note *e*.

⁴ MSS. ἀπειροκαλία.

^a Conybeare translates "trimmed off equally all round, in a neatly bevelled curved line."

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 50-53

appearing on the scene. Some of them who are still boys pour the wine, while the water is carried by full-grown lads fresh from the bath and smooth shaven, with their faces smeared with cosmetics and paint under the eyelids and the hair of the head prettily plaited and tightly bound. For they have ⁵¹ long thick hair which is not cut at all or else the forelocks only are cut at the tips to make them level and take exactly the figure of a circular line.^a They wear tunics fine as cobwebs and of dazzling white girt high up; the front part hangs below the under knee, the back part a little below the back of the knee and they draw together each part with curly bows of ribbon along the line of join of the tunics and then let the folds dangle down obliquely, broadening out the hollows along the sides.^b In the ⁵² background^c are others, grown lads newly bearded with the down just blooming on their cheeks, recently pets of the pederasts, elaborately^d dressed up for the heavier services, a proof of the opulence of the hosts as those who employ them know, but in reality of their bad taste.^e Besides there are the varieties ⁵³

^b This sentence has been transcribed bodily from Conybeare's "provisional rendering" in his commentary. I do not profess to understand clearly either the Greek or the English. The revision given in his translation somewhat later does not differ materially except that *οὐλοτέρας ταῖς σειραῖαις ἐπιδιπλώσει* is rendered "with bows of twisted ribbons doubled over."

^c Or "waiting in relays."

^d Or perhaps "over elaborately" (considering the kind of work they have to do).

^e *φασιν* or *νομίζουσιν* (as Mangey) would certainly be more natural, but perhaps no alteration is required, or if any, *ἀληθέστερον* for *ἀληθές*. It is not denied that opulence is displayed. What the guests do not know is that it is bad taste.

δὲ τούτοις αἱ περμμάτων καὶ ὄψων καὶ ἡδυσμάτων
 ποικιλίαι, περὶ ᾧ σιτοπόνοι καὶ ὀψαρτυταὶ πο-
 νοῦνται, φροντίζοντες οὐ γεῦσιν, ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον
 ἦν, ἡδῦναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄψιν τῇ καθαριότητι.
 * * * τοὺς αὐχένας ἐν κύκλῳ περιάγοντες τοῖς
 ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς μυκτῆρσι περιλιχνεύουσι, τοῖς
 μὲν τὰς εὐσαρκίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, τοῖς δὲ τὴν
 ἀναδιδομένην κνῖσαν. εἶτα ὅταν ἀμφοτέρων, ὄψεων
 τε καὶ ὀσμῶν, γένωνται διακορεῖς, ἐσθίειν κε-
 λεύουσιν, ἐπαινέσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγα τὴν παρασκευὴν
 54 καὶ τὸν ἐστιάτορα τῆς πολυτελείας. ἐπτά γοῦν
 καὶ πλείους εἰσκομίζονται τράπεζαι, πλήρεις ἀπάν-
 των ὅσα γῇ τε καὶ θάλαττα καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἀῆρ
 φέρουσιν ἔκλογα πάντα καὶ εὐσαρκα, χερσαίων,
 ἐνύδρων, ἀεροπόρων, ὧν ἐκάστη διαλλάσσει καὶ
 ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς παραρτύσεσιν. ὑπὲρ
 δὲ τοῦ μηδὲν εἶδος ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει,
 τελευταῖαι τῶν ἀκροδρύων εἰσκομίζονται γέμουσαι,
 δίχα τῶν εἰς τοὺς κώμους καὶ τὰς λεγομένας
 55 ἐπιδειπνίδας. εἶτα αἱ μὲν ἐκκομίζονται κεναὶ διὰ
 τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀπληστίαν, οἱ τρόπον αἰθιγιῶν
 ἐμφορούμενοι κατοψοφαγοῦσιν οὕτως, ὥς καὶ τῶν
 ὀστέων ἐπεντραγεῖν, τὰς δὲ λωβήσαντες καὶ
 σπαράξαντες ἡμιβρώτους ἐῷσιν. ὅταν δὲ τελέως
 ἀπαγορεύσωσι, τὰς μὲν γαστέρας ἄχρι φαρυγγῶν
 πεπληρωμένοι, κενοὶ δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας,
 56 ἀπειρηκότες πρὸς τὰς ἐδωδὰς, * * *¹ ἀλλὰ τι

¹ I have printed §§ 53-55 according to Cohn's text, though I do not feel certain that the transposition which he makes is correct. His theory is that originally after καθαριότητι in § 53 stood something like οἱ γοῦν παρελθόντες ἐς τὰ συμπόσια and that § 55 ended with something like πρὸς τὸν πότον τρέπονται. Somehow in the mss. §§ 53 f. got transferred to

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 53-56

of baked meats, savoury dishes and seasonings produced by the labour of cooks and confectioners who are careful to please not merely the taste as they are bound to do but also the sight by the elegance of the viands. (The assembled guests) turn their necks round and round, greedily eyeing the richness and abundance of the meat and nosing the steamy odour which arises from it. When they have had their fill of both seeing and smelling they give the word to fall to with many a compliment to the entertainment and the munificence of the entertainer. Seven tables at the least and even more are brought 54 in covered with the flesh of every creature that land, sea and rivers or air produce, beast, fish or bird, all choice and in fine condition, each table differing in the dishes served and the method of seasoning. And, that nothing to be found in nature should be unrepresented, the last tables brought in are loaded with fruits, not including those reserved for the drinking bouts and the after-dinners as they call them. Then while some tables are taken out 55 emptied by the gluttony of the company who gorge themselves like cormorants,^a so voraciously that they nibble even at the bones, other tables have their dishes mangled and torn and left half eaten. And when they are quite exhausted, their bellies crammed up to the gullets, but their lust still ravenous, impotent for eating (they turn to the drink). But 56

^a See note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 113 (vol. viii. p. 434).

after § 55, and then the words *πρὸς τὸν πότον τρέπονται. οἱ γοῦν παρελθόντες ἐς τὰ συμπόσια* fell out. This is what we find in the mss. According to this the guests having gorged themselves with food turn their necks round, gaze and sniff at the food, and then urge others to eat. Who are these

ταῦτα προσήκε μηκύνειν, ἃ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἤδη τῶν μετριωτέρων καταγινώσκεται προσαναρρηγνύντα τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ὧν ἡ μείωσις ὠφέλιμον; εὖξαιτο
 [480] γὰρ ἂν τις τὰ ἀπενυκταϊότατα, | πεινάν τε καὶ δύσαν, <μᾶλλον> ἢ τὴν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις εὐωχίαις ἄφθονον σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν περιουσίαν.

- 57 VII. Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι συμποσίων τὰ περιβόητα καὶ σημειωδέστατα δύο ταῦτά ἐστιν, οἷς καὶ Σωκράτης παρετύγχανε· τὸ μὲν ἐν Καλλίου, ἡνίκα στεφανωθέντος Αὐτολύκου τὰ ἐπινίκια εἰστία,¹ τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἀγάθωνος, ἃ καὶ μνήμης ἠξίωσαν ἄνδρες τά τε ἦθῃ καὶ τοὺς λόγους φιλόσοφοι, Ξενοφῶν τε καὶ Πλάτων· ἀνεγράψαντο γὰρ ὡς ἀξιομνημόνευτα, οἷς ὑπετόπασαν χρήσεσθαι παραδείγμασι τοὺς ἔπειτα τῆς ἐν συμποσίοις ἐμμελοῦς διαγωγῆς.
- 58 ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα συγκρινόμενα τοῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων, οἳ τὸν θεωρητικὸν ἡσπάσαντο βίον, γέλως ἀναφανεῖται. ἡδονὰς μὲν οὖν ἔχει ἐκάτερον, ἀνθρωπικώτερον δέ ἐστι τὸ Ξενοφώντος· αὐλητρίδες τε καὶ ὀρχησται καὶ θαυματοποιοὶ καὶ ποιηταὶ γελοίων ἐπὶ τῷ σκῶψαι καὶ χαριεντίζασθαι μέγα φρονούντες εἰσὶ τινες καὶ ἄλλα² τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱλαρω-
- 59 τέραις ἀνέσεις. τὸ δὲ Πλατωνικὸν ὄλον

others? The picture is barely intelligible, and undoubtedly Cohn's order gives a better sense. On the other hand to postulate first the transposition and then the omission of some ten words seems drastic, particularly as, so far as I can see, their retention would not have made worse nonsense. Conybeare translates the manuscript version without apparently finding anything very incongruous.

¹ MSS. εἰσιτία, which Conybeare retains and perhaps is

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 56-59

why dilate on these doings which are now condemned by many of the more sober minded as giving further vent to the lusts which might profitably be curtailed? For one may well pray for what men most pray to escape, hunger and thirst, rather than for the lavish profusion of food and drink found in festivities of this kind.

VII. Among the banquets held in Greece there 57 are two celebrated and highly notable examples, namely those in which Socrates took part, one held in the house of Callias and given by him in honour of the victory in which Autolycus won the crown, the other in the house of Agathon. That these deserve to be remembered was the judgement of men whose character and discourses showed them to be philosophers, Xenophon and Plato, who described them as worthy to be recorded, surmising that they would serve to posterity as models of the happily conducted banquet. Yet even these if compared 58 with those of our people who embrace the contemplative life will appear as matters for derision. Pleasure is an element in both, but Xenophon's banquet is more concerned with ordinary humanity. There are flute girls, dancers, jugglers, fun-makers, proud of their gift of jesting and facetiousness, and other accompaniments of more unrestrained merry-making.^a In Plato's banquet the talk is 59

^a See Xen. *Symp.* ii. 1 ff. See App. p. 521.

not impossible, but the active with the host as subject and the occasion as a cognate accusative agrees with the ordinary usage.

² MSS. *φρονούντες· εἰςί τινα καὶ ἄλλα*. Cohn's objection to this is not stated, but presumably is to the plural verb with neuter plural noun; but see note on *De Virt.* 78 (vol. viii. p. 445).

- σχεδόν ἐστι περὶ ἔρωτος, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν γυναιξὶν ἐπιμανέντων ἢ γυναικῶν ἀνδράσιν αὐτὸ μόνον— ὑποτελοῦσι γὰρ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι αὐται νόμοις φύσεως—, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν ἄρρεσιν ἡλικία μόνον διαφέρουσι· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι περὶ ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης οὐρανίου κεκομφεῦσθαι δοκεῖ, χάριν ἀστεῖσμοῦ παρείληπται.
- 60 τὸ γὰρ πλείστον αὐτοῦ μέρος ὁ κοινὸς καὶ πάνδημος ἔρως διείληφεν, ἀνδρείαν μὲν, τὴν βιωφειλεστάτην ἀρετὴν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην, ἀφαιρούμενος, θήλειαν δὲ νόσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐναπεργαζόμενος καὶ ἀνδρογύνους κατασκευάζων, οὓς ἐχρῆν πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπιτηδεύμασι συγκροτεῖσθαι.
- 61 λυμηνάμενος δὲ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ εἰς ἔρως-μένης τάξιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἀγαγὼν ἐξημίωσε καὶ τοὺς ἐραστὰς περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ οὐσίαν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοῦ παιδευαστοῦ τὸν μὲν νοῦν τετάσθαι πρὸς τὰ παιδικά, πρὸς ταῦτα μόνον ὁξυδορκούντα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἰδιά τε καὶ κοινὰ τυφλούμενον, <τὸ δὲ σῶμα> ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἀποτυγχάνοιτο, συντήκεσθαι, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν ἐλαττοῦσθαι διχόθεν, ἔκ τε ἀμελείας καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ἐρώμενον ἀναλωμάτων.
- 62 παραφύεται δὲ καὶ μείζον ἄλλο πάνδημον κακόν· ἔρημίαν γὰρ πόλεων καὶ σπάνιν τοῦ ἀρίστου γένους ἀνθρώπων καὶ στείρωσιν καὶ ἀγωνίαν τεχνάζονται, οἱ μιμοῦνται τοὺς ἀνεπιστήμονας τῆς γεωργίας,
- [481] σπείροντες ἀντὶ τῆς | βαθυγείου πεδιάδος ὑφάλμους ἀρούρας ἢ λιθώδη καὶ ἀπόκροτα χωρία, ἃ πρὸς τῷ

^a Lit. "paying tribute to," and therefore under their protection.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 59-62

almost entirely concerned with love, not merely with the love-sickness of men for women, or women for men, passions recognized ^a by the laws of nature, but of men for other males differing from them only in age. For, if we find some clever subtlety dealing apparently with the heavenly Love and Aphrodite, it is brought in to give a touch of humour. The ⁶⁰ chief part is taken up by the common vulgar love ^b which robs men of the courage which is the virtue most valuable for the life both of peace and war, sets up the disease of effeminacy in their souls and turns into a hybrid of man and woman those who should have been disciplined in all the practices which make for valour. And having wrought havoc ⁶¹ with the years of boyhood and reduced the boy to the grade and condition of a girl besieged by a lover it inflicts damage on the lovers also in three most essential respects, their bodies, their souls and their property. For the mind of the lover is necessarily set towards his darling and its sight is keen for him only, blind to all other interests, private and public; his body wastes away through desire, particularly if his suit is unsuccessful, while his property is diminished by two causes, neglect and expenditure on his beloved. As a side growth we have another greater ⁶² evil of national importance. Cities are desolated, the best kind of men become scarce, sterility and childlessness ensue through the devices of these who imitate men who have no knowledge of husbandry by sowing not in the deep soil of the lowland but in briny fields and stony and stubborn places, which

^b Philo here identifies Plato's *πάνδημος ἔρως* with pederasty. On that and other points in his estimate of the *Symposium* see App. p. 521. For similar denunciations of the evil cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 37 ff. and *De Abr.* 135 ff.

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μηδὲν πεφυκέναι βλαστάνειν καὶ τὰ καταβληθέντα
63 φθείρει σπέρματα. σιωπῶ τὰ τῶν μύθων

πλάσματα καὶ τοὺς δισωμάτους, οἳ κατ' ἀρχὰς
προσφύντες ἀλλήλοις ἐνωτικάις¹ δυνάμεσιν αὐθις
οἷα μέρη συνεληλυθότα διεζεύχθησαν, τῆς ἁρμονίας
ὑφ' ἧς συνείχοντο λυθείσης· εὐπαράγωγα γὰρ ταῦτα
πάντα, δυνάμενα τῇ καινότητι τῆς ἐπινοίας τὰ
ᾧτα δελεάζειν· ὧν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος οἱ
Μωυσέως γνῶριμοι, μεμαθηκότες ἐκ πρώτης
ἡλικίας ἐρᾶν ἀληθείας, καταφρονοῦσιν ἀνεξάπῃτοι
διατελοῦντες.

64 VIII. 'Αλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ διωνομασμένα συμπόσια
τοιαύτης μεστὰ φλυαρίας ἐστίν, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντα
τὸν ἔλεγχον, εἴ τις μὴ πρὸς δόξας καὶ τὴν δια-
δοθεῖσαν περὶ αὐτῶν ὥς δὴ πάνυ κατωρθωμένων
φήμην ἐθελήσειεν ἀφορᾶν, ἀντιτάξω <τὰ> τῶν
ἀνατεθεικότων τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιστήμη
καὶ θεωρίᾳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων κατὰ τὰς
τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως ἱερωτάτας ὑφηγήσεις.

¹ Most mss. ἐρωτικάις, which might at first sight be defended by the statement of the teller of the fable, that it is told to show the δύναμις ἔρωτος. But the words do not apply to this earlier but to the later part of the fable and the phrase δυνάμεις ἐνωτικάι occurs in *De Plant.* 89.

^a Philo is perhaps thinking of Plato, *Laws* 838 E, where the same practice is described as sowing in rocks and stones.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 62-65

not only give no possibility for anything to grow but even destroy the seed deposited within them.^a

I pass over the mythical stories of the 63 double-bodied men who were originally brought by unifying forces into cohesion with each other and afterwards came asunder, as an assemblage of separate parts might do when the bond of union which brought them together was loosened.^b All these are seductive enough, calculated by the novelty of the notion to beguile the ear, but the disciples of Moses trained from their earliest years to love the truth regard them with supreme^c contempt and continue undeceived.

VIII. But since the story of these well-known 64 banquets is full of such follies and they stand self-convicted in the eyes of any who do not regard conventional opinions and the widely circulated report which declares them to have been all that they should be, I will describe in contrast the festal meetings of those who have dedicated their own life^d and themselves to knowledge and the contemplation of the verities of nature, following the truly sacred instructions of the prophet Moses. First of all these 65

He has used much the same language of mating with barren women in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 34.

^b The allusion is to the combination of men and women, the original third sex, set forth by Aristophanes in *Symp.* 189 D-190.

^c Conybeare "from a lofty vantage ground." The phrase is a favourite of Philo's for equalling "with plenty to spare." Sometimes it is contrasted with ἴσος as in *Quod Omn. Prob.* 149 and *Flacc.* 126, or is coupled with κρατεῖν or νικᾶν as in *De Agr.* 112 and *De Post.* 161 (so in *De Aet.* 80 πολλῇ τι νικῶντα). In other cases it seems to intensify an action or create a superlative. So *Mos.* i. 93 and ii. 75 and so, I think, here.

^d So, I think, rather than "means of livelihood" (Conybeare).

- 65 οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀθροίζονται δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων, οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀπλὴν ἑβδομάδα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τεθηπότες· ἀγνὴν γὰρ καὶ ἀειπάρθενον αὐτὴν ἴσασι. ἔστι δὲ προέορτος μεγίστης ἑορτῆς, ἣν πεντηκοντὰς ἔλαχεν, ἀγιώτατος καὶ φυσικώτατος ἀριθμῶν, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου δυνάμεως, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὅλων γενέσεως,
- 66 συσταθείς. ἔπειδ' οὖν συνέλθωσι λευχειμονοῦντες φαιδροὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω σεμνότητος, ὑποσημαίνοντός τινος τῶν ἡμεμερευτῶν—οὕτω γὰρ ὀνομάζειν ἔθος τοὺς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ὑπηρεσίαις—, πρὸ τῆς κατακλίσεως στάντες ἐξῆς κατὰ στοῖχον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τὰς τε ὄψεις καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείναντες, τὰς μὲν ἔπειδ' ἂν θέας ἄξια καθορᾶν ἐπαιδευθήσαν, τὰς δὲ ὅτι καθαφαὶ λημμάτων εἰσὶν ὑπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν μαινώμεναι, προσεύχονται τῷ θεῷ θυμήρη γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἀπαντῆσαι

^a I believe with Conybeare that this refers to the feast of Pentecost. But Philo writes carelessly when he omits to tell us from what time the seven weeks are calculated. In *Spec. Leg.* ii. 176 he has stated that they are calculated from the "Sheaf," the festival on the second (?) day after the passover, and presumably he means the same here. But Conybeare is too severe when he scolds Lucius for supposing δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδ. to mean "every seven weeks." Since at present we have only heard of minor meetings every week, that would be the natural meaning. Wendland indeed takes it so. See App. p. 522 on this and the meaning of πρῶτον μὲν, which Conybeare translates "for the first time."

^b We are naturally surprised to see Pentecost rather than the Passover called the chief feast, but see App. p. 523.

^c i.e. 3, 4, 5 are the sides of the primal right-angled triangle and $3^2 + 4^2 + 5^2 = 50$. See the full explanation in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 176 and *Mos.* ii. 80, and the notes thereon.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 65-66

people assemble after seven sets of seven days^a have passed, for they revere not only the simple seven but its square also, since they know its chastity and perpetual virginity. This is the eve of the chief^b feast which Fifty takes for its own, Fifty the most sacred of numbers and the most deeply rooted in nature, being formed from the square of the right-angled triangle which is the source from which the universe springs.^c

So then they assemble, white-⁶⁶robed and with faces in which cheerfulness is combined with the utmost seriousness, but before they recline, at a signal from a member of the Rota,^d which is the name commonly given to those who perform these services, they take their stand in a regular line in an orderly way, their eyes and hands lifted up to Heaven, eyes because they have been trained to fix their gaze on things worthy of contemplation, hands in token that they are clean from gain-taking and not defiled through any cause^e of the profit-making kind. So standing they pray to God that their feasting may be acceptable and pro-

^a Conybeare considers that these *ἐφημερευταί* are the same as the *πρόεδροι* mentioned later and quotes an inscription of A.D. 174 *ἐφημερεύοντος Πανσανίου προέδρου* in minutes of a *βουλή* in Tyre. But the word in itself merely suggests duties performed in rotation, and *ὕπηρεσίαις* points to what we should describe as a sidesman rather than an officiating minister.

^e Conybeare "pretence." But Philo often uses the word in a way hardly distinguishable from "cause." So *e.g.* the eyesight is damaged *μικρῶς ἔνεκα προφάσεως* *Spec. Leg.* iv. 200 and the firstborn in Egypt suddenly perish *ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως* *Mos.* i. 135. If the word differs at all from *αἰτία*, it is that it indicates not the absolute cause, but what people may consider to be the cause. So perhaps here "anything that might be regarded as a money-making business."

- 67 τὴν εὐωχίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς οἱ
 πρεσβύτεροι κατακλίνονται ταῖς εἰσκρίσεσιν ἀκο-
 λουθοῦντες· πρεσβυτέρους δὲ οὐ τοὺς πολυτεεῖς καὶ
 πολιοὺς¹ νομίζουσιν ἀλλ' ἔτι κομιδῇ νέους παῖδας,²
 [482] ἐὰν ὀψὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐρασθῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
 ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐνηβήσαντας καὶ ἐνακμάσαντας
 τῷ θεωρητικῷ μέρει φιλοσοφίας, ὃ δὴ κάλλιστον
 68 καὶ θεϊότατόν ἐστι. συνεστιῶνται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες,
 ὧν πλείοσαι γηραιαὶ παρθένοι, τὴν ἀγνείαν οὐκ
 ἀνάγκη, καθάπερ ἔναι τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἱερείων,
 διαφυλάξασαι μᾶλλον ἢ καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην, διὰ
 ζῆλον καὶ πόθον σοφίας, ἥ συμβιοῦν σπουδάσασθαι
 τῶν περὶ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἡλόγησαν, οὐ θνητῶν
 ἐκγόνων ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὀρεχθεῖσαι, ἃ μόνη τίττειν
 ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς οἷα τέ ἐστίν ἡ θεοφιλῆς ψυχὴ, σπεί-
 ραντος εἰς αὐτὴν ἀκτῖνας νοητὰς τοῦ πατρός, αἷς
 δυνήσεται θεωρεῖν τὰ σοφίας δόγματα.
- 69 IX. διανενέμηται δὲ ἡ κατάκλισις χωρὶς μὲν
 ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, χωρὶς δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπ' εὐώνυμα.
 μή πού τις³ ὑπολαμβάνει στρωμνὰς, εἰ καὶ οὐ πολυ-
 τελεῖς, ἀλλ' οὖν μαλακωτέρας ἀνθρώποις εὐγενέσι
 καὶ ἀστείοις καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἀσκηταῖς εὐτρεπίσθαι;
 στιβάδες γάρ εἰσιν εἰκαιότερας ὕλης, ἐφ' ὧν⁴ εὐτελεῇ
 πάνυ χαμαίστρωτα παπύρου τῆς ἐγχωρίου, μικρὸν
 ὑπερέχοντα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἵνα ἐπερείδωιντο·
 τὴν μὲν γὰρ Λακωνικὴν σκληραγωγίαν ὑπανιᾶσιν,
 αἰεὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ τὴν ἐλευθέριον εὐκολίαν ἐπι-

¹ MSS. παλαίους.

² ἀλλ' . . . παῖδας are bracketed by Cohn. The only reason given in the footnote, that they are omitted in the Armenian, seems hardly sufficient. But see App. p. 523.

³ MSS. ἢ πού τις or εἰ πού τις.

⁴ MSS. ἀφ' ὧν.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 67-69

ceed as He would have it. After the 67
prayers the seniors recline according to the order of
their admission, since by senior they do not under-
stand the aged and grey headed who are regarded
as still mere children if they have only in late years
come to love this rule of life, but those who from
their earliest years have grown to manhood and spent
their prime in pursuing the contemplative branch of
philosophy, which indeed is the noblest and most
god-like part. The feast is shared by women also, 68
most of them aged virgins, who have kept their
chastity not under compulsion, like some of the Greek
priestesses, but of their own free will in their ardent
yearning for wisdom. Eager to have her for their
life mate they have spurned the pleasures of the body
and desire no mortal offspring but those immortal
children which only the soul that is dear to God can
bring to the birth unaided^a because the Father has
sown in her spiritual rays enabling her to behold
the verities of wisdom.

IX. The order of 69
reclining is so apportioned that the men sit by them-
selves on the right and the women by themselves
on the left. Perhaps it may be thought that couches
though not costly still of a softer kind would have
been provided for people of good birth and high
character and trained practice in philosophy.
Actually they are plank beds of the common kinds
of wood, covered with quite cheap strewings of native
papyrus, raised slightly at the arms to give something
to lean on. For while they mitigate somewhat the
harsh austerity of Sparta, they always and every-

^a The thought may be "without needing the midwife's skill" (τέχνη μαϊευτική). So at least in a very similar passage, *De Mig.* 142.

- τηδεύουσιν, ἀνὰ κράτος τοῖς ἡδονῆς φίλτροις ἀπ-
 70 ἐχθόμενοι. διακονοῦνται δὲ οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνδραπόδων,
 ἡγούμενοι συνόλως τὴν θεραπόντων κτήσιν εἶναι
 παρὰ φύσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλευθέρους ἅπαντας γε-
 γέννηκεν, αἱ δὲ τινων ἀδικίαι καὶ πλεονεξίαι ζηλω-
 σάντων τὴν ἀρχέκακον ἀνισότητα καταζεύξασαι
 τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις κράτος τοῖς δυνατωτέροις
 71 ἀνῆψαν. ἐν δὴ τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ συμποσίῳ δοῦλος
 μὲν ὡς ἔφην οὐδεὶς, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ ὑπηρετοῦσι, τὰς
 διακονικὰς χρείας ἐπιτελοῦντες οὐ πρὸς βίαν οὐδὲ
 προστάξεις ἀναμένοντες, ἀλλ' ἐθελουσίῳ γνώμη
 φθάνοντες μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τὰς ἐπικε-
 72 λεύσεις. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ τυχόντες ἐλεύθεροι τάττονται
 πρὸς ταῖς ὑπουργίαις ταύταις, ἀλλ' οἱ νέοι τῶν ἐν
 τῷ συστήματι μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἀριστίνδην
 ἐπικριθέντες, ὃν χρὴ τρόπον ἀστείους καὶ εὐγενεῖς
 πρὸς ἄκραν ἀρετὴν ἐπειγομένους· οἱ καθάπερ υἱοὶ
 γνήσιοι φιλοτίμως ἄσμενοι πατράσι καὶ μητράσιν
 ὑπουργοῦσι, κοινούς αὐτῶν γονεῖς νομίζοντες οἰκειο-
 τέρους τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος, εἴ γε καλοκάγαθίας οὐδὲν
 οἰκειότερόν ἐστι τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσιν· ἄζωστοι δὲ
 καὶ καθειμένοι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους εἰσίσιν ὑπηρε-
 [483] τήσοντες, | ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν εἶδωλον ἐπιφέρεισθαι
 73 δουλοπρεποῦς σχήματος. εἰς τοῦτο τὸ
 συμπόσιον—οἶδ' ὅτι γελάσονται τινες ἀκούσαντες,
 γελάσονται δὲ οἱ κλαυθμῶν καὶ θρήνων ἄξια
 δρῶντες—οἶνος ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις οὐκ εἰσκο-
 μίζεται, ἀλλὰ διανυγέστατον ὕδωρ, ψυχρὸν μὲν τοῖς

^a On this use of γνήσιος see *Quod Omn. Prob.* 87.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 69-73

where practise a frugal contentment worthy of the free, and oppose with might and main the love-lures of pleasure. They do not have slaves to wait upon 70 them as they consider that the ownership of servants is entirely against nature. For nature has borne all men to be free, but the wrongful and covetous acts of some who pursued that source of evil, inequality, have imposed their yoke and invested the stronger with power over the weaker. In this sacred banquet 71 there is as I have said no slave, but the services are rendered by free men who perform their tasks as attendants not under compulsion nor yet waiting for orders, but with deliberate goodwill anticipating eagerly and zealously the demands that may be made. For it is not just any free men who are appointed 72 for these offices but young members of the association chosen with all care for their special merit who as becomes their good character and nobility are pressing on to reach the summit of virtue. They give their services gladly and proudly like sons to their real fathers and mothers,^a judging them to be the parents of them all in common, in a closer affinity than that of blood, since to the right minded there is no closer tie than noble living. And they come in to do their office ungirt and with tunics hanging down, that in their appearance there may be no shadow of anything to suggest the slave. In this 73 banquet—I know that some will laugh at this, but only those whose actions call for tears and lamentation—no wine is brought during those days^b but only water of the brightest and clearest, cold for most

^b Not to be taken as implying that the wine would be used on other occasions, which is negatived by *νηφάλια βιοῦν*, but in contrast to the feasts of other people.

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πολλοῖς, θερμὸν δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοῖς ἀβρο-
 διαίτοις· καὶ τράπεζα καθαρὰ τῶν ἐναίμων, ἐφ'
 ἧς ἄρτοι μὲν τροφή, προσόψημα δὲ ἄλλες, οἷς ἔστιν
 ὅτε καὶ ὕσσωπος ἥδυσμα παραρτύεται διὰ τοὺς
 74 τρυφῶντας. νηφάλια γὰρ ὡς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θύειν
 καὶ τούτοις βιοῦν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος ὑφηγεῖται· οἶνος
 μὲν γὰρ ἀφροσύνης φάρμακον, ὅψα δὲ πολυτελῆ
 τὸ θρεμμάτων ἀπληστότατον διερεθίζει, τὴν ἐπιθυ-
 75 μίαν. X. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοιαῦτα.
 μετὰ δὲ τὸ κατακλιθῆναι μὲν τοὺς συμπότας ἐν
 αἷς ἐδήλωσα τάξεσι, στήναι δὲ τοὺς διακόνους ἐν
 κόσμῳ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτοιμούς, (ὁ πρόεδρος
 αὐτῶν, πολλῆς ἀπάντων ἡσυχίας γενομένης)¹—πότε
 δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν; εἶποι τις ἂν· ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ
 πρότερον, ὡς μηδὲ γρύξαι τινὰ τολμᾶν ἢ ἀνα-
 πνεῦσαι βιαιότερον—, ζητεῖ² τι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
 γράμμασιν ἢ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλου προταθὲν ἐπιλύεται,
 φροντίζων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξεως—οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἐπὶ
 δεινότητι λόγων εὐκλείας ὀρέγεται—, θεάσασθαι
 δέ τινα ποθῶν ἀκριβέστερον καὶ θεασάμενος μὴ
 φθονῆσαι τοῖς εἰ καὶ μὴ ὁμοίως ὀξύδορκουσι, τὸν
 76 γοῦν τοῦ μαθεῖν ἡμερον παραπλήσιον ἔχουσι. καὶ
 ὁ μὲν σχολαιοτέρα χρῆται τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, δια-
 μέλλων καὶ βραδύνων ταῖς ἐπαναλήψεσιν, ἐγχαράτ-

¹ The sentence, which is evidently imperfect as it stands in the mss., is here filled up from the Armenian. Conybeare has for the last four words ὅτε κοινὴ ἡσυχία γέγονεν.

² mss. ζητεῖται—which would leave ὁ πρόεδρος without a verb, unless the middle can be used in this sense.

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 73-76

of the guests but warm for such of the older men as live delicately. The table too is kept pure from the flesh of animals ; the food laid on it is loaves of bread with salt as a seasoning, sometimes also flavoured with hyssop as a relish for the daintier appetites. Abstinence from wine is enjoined by right reason ⁷⁴ as for the priest when sacrificing, so to these for their lifetime.^a For wine acts like a drug producing folly, and costly dishes stir up that most insatiable of animals,^b desire.

X. Such are the pre- ⁷⁵liminaries. But when the guests have laid themselves down arranged in rows, as I have described, and the attendants have taken their stand with everything in order ready for their ministry, the President of the company, when a general silence is established—here it may be asked when is there no silence—well at this point there is silence even more than before so that no one ventures to make a sound or breathe with more force than usual—amid this silence, I say, he discusses some question arising in the Holy Scriptures or solves one that has been propounded by someone else. In doing this he has no thought of making a display, for he has no ambition to get a reputation for clever oratory but desires to gain a closer insight into some particular matters and having gained it not to withhold it selfishly from those who if not so clear-sighted as he have at least a similar desire to learn. His instruction proceeds in ⁷⁶a leisurely manner ; he lingers over it and spins it out with repetitions, thus permanently imprinting

^a For the use of the neuter *νηφάλια* see note on *Spec. Leg.* iv. 191 (vol. viii. p. 436).

^b The phrase goes back to Plato, *Timaeus* 70 E. See *Spec. Leg.* i. 148, iv. 94 and notes.

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- των ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ νοήματα—τῇ γὰρ ἐρμηνείᾳ τοῦ εὐτρόχως καὶ ἀπνευστὶ συνέιροντος ὁ τῶν ἀκρωμένων νοῦς συνομαρτεῖν ἀδυνατῶν ὑστερίζει καὶ ἀπολείπεται τῆς καταλήψεως τῶν λεγομένων—.
- 77 οἱ δὲ ἀνωρθιακότες <τὰ ὦτα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνατετακότες>¹ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σχέσεως ἐπιμένοντες ἀκροῶνται, τὸ μὲν συνιέναι καὶ κατειληφέναι νεύματι καὶ βλέμματι διασημαίνοντες, τὸν δὲ ἔπαινον τοῦ λέγοντος ἰλαρότητι καὶ τῇ σχέδην περιαγωγῇ τοῦ προσώπου, τὴν δὲ διαπόρησιν ἡρεμαιοτέρᾳ κινήσει τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρός· οὐχ ἥττον δὲ τῶν κατακεκλιμένων οἱ παρεστῶτες νέοι προσ-
- 78 ἔχουσιν. αἱ δὲ ἐξηγήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνονται δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις εἰκέναι ζῶν καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ῥητὰς διατάξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀόρατον νοῦν, ἐν ᾧ ἤρξατο ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ διαφερόντως τὰ οἰκεῖα θεωρεῖν, ὥσπερ διὰ κατόπτρου τῶν ὀνομάτων
- [484] ἐξάισια κάλλη νοημάτων | ἐμφαινόμενα κατιδοῦσα καὶ τὰ μὲν σύμβολα διαπτύξασα καὶ διακαλύψασα, γυμνὰ δὲ εἰς φῶς προαγαγοῦσα τὰ ἐνθύμια τοῖς δυναμένοις ἐκ μικρᾶς ὑπομνήσεως τὰ ἀφανῆ
- 79 διὰ τῶν φανερῶν θεωρεῖν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἱκανῶς ὁ πρόεδρος διειλέχθαι δοκῇ καὶ κατὰ προ-

¹ The insertion is based on the Armenian. There is no authority for the absolute use of ἀνωρθιάζειν. On the other hand it is used with τὰ ὦτα several times in Philo, e.g. *De Dec.* 45.

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the thoughts in the souls of the hearers, since if the speaker goes on descanting with breathless rapidity the mind of the hearers is unable to follow his language, loses ground and fails to arrive at apprehension of what is said. His audience listen with ears pricked 77 up and eyes fixed on him always in exactly the same posture, signifying comprehension and understanding by nods and glances, praise of the speaker by the cheerful change of expression which steals over the face,^a difficulty by a gentler movement of the head and by pointing with a finger-tip of the right hand. The young men standing by show no less attentive- 78 ness than the occupants of the couches. The ex- position of the sacred scriptures treats the inner meaning conveyed in allegory. For to these people the whole law book seems to resemble a living creature with the literal ordinances for its body and for its soul the invisible mind^b laid up in its wording. It is in this mind especially that the rational soul begins to contemplate the things akin to itself and looking through the words as through a mirror beholds the marvellous beauties of the concepts, unfolds and removes the symbolic coverings and brings forth the thoughts and sets them bare to the light of day for those who need but a little reminding^c to enable them to discern the inward and hidden through the outward and visible.

When then the President thinks he has discoursed enough and both sides

lates "by cheerfulness and by slightly turning their faces about."

^b It is difficult to say whether νοῦς here = "mind" or (as often) "meaning." I suspect that Philo hardly distinguishes the two and that while "meaning" is predominant in νοῦς, "mind" is predominant in the relative ἐν φ.

^c See App. p. 523.

αίρεσιν ἀπηνητηκέναι τῷ μὲν ἢ διάλεξις εὐσκόπως
 ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἢ ἀκρόασις, κρότος ἐξ
 ἀπάντων ὡς ἂν συνηδομένων εἰς τὸ ἔτι ἐψόμενον¹
 80 γίνεται. καὶ ἔπειτα ὁ μὲν ἀναστὰς ὕμνον ᾄδει
 πεποιημένον εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἢ καινὸν αὐτὸς πε-
 ποιηκὼς ἢ ἀρχαῖόν τινα τῶν πάλαι ποιητῶν—
 μέτρα γὰρ καὶ μέλη καταλελοίपाσι πολλὰ ἐπῶν,²
 τριμέτρων, προσοδίων ὕμνων, παρασπονδείων,
 παραβωμίων, στασίμων χορικῶν στροφαῖς πολυ-
 στρόφοις εὖ διαμεμετρημένων—, μεθ' ὃν καὶ οἱ
 ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐν κόσμῳ προσήκοντι, πάντων
 κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀκροωμένων, πλὴν ὅποτε τὰ
 ἀκροτελεύτια καὶ ἐφύμνια ᾄδειν δέοι· τότε γὰρ
 81 ἐξηχοῦσι πάντες τε καὶ πᾶσαι. ὅταν δὲ ἕκαστος
 διαπεράνηται τὸν ὕμνον, οἱ νέοι τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ
 λεχθεῖσαν τράπεζαν εἰσκομίζουσιν, ἐφ' ἧς τὸ παν-
 αγέστατον σιτίον, ἄρτος ἐζυμωμένος μετὰ προσ-

¹ MSS. τὸ ἐποψόμενον (one ἐψόμενον). Conybeare from the Armenian εἰς τὸ τρίτον μόνον, i.e. the applause on such an occasion had to be limited. The Greek of the MSS. certainly seems weak, and Mangey suggested εἰς τὸ ἐνδόσιμον "to give the keynote for the hymn which followed."

² For the comma which I have inserted after ἐπῶν see note b.

^a As I understand the sentence, it is more literally "when the discussion seems to him in accordance with his purpose to have met successfully the objects aimed at, and to them the listening seems to have turned out according to their purpose," etc. That is to say δοκῇ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἀπηνητηκέναι is understood with τοῖς δέ, but while with τῷ μὲν it is further explained by εὐσκόπως ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, with τοῖς δέ this is not added, so that in the first case ἀπηνητηκέναι = "to have met," in the second = "to have turned out"; cf. κατὰ νοῦν ἀπαντήσας § 66.

Conybeare takes ἐπιβολαῖς = "the points raised." But the regular use of the word in Philo seems to be "aim" or mental

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 79-81

feel sure that they have attained their object, the speaker in the effectiveness with which his discourse has carried out his aims, the audience in the substance of what they have heard,^a universal applause arises showing a general pleasure in the prospect of what is still to follow. Then the President rises and 80 sings a hymn composed as an address to God, either a new one of his own composition or an old one by poets of an earlier day who have left behind them hymns in many measures and melodies, hexameters^b and iambs, lyrics suitable for processions or in libations and at the altars, or for the chorus whilst standing or dancing, with careful metrical arrangements to fit the various evolutions.^c After him all the others take their turn as they are arranged and in the proper order while all the rest listen in complete silence except when they have to chant the closing lines or refrains, for then they all lift up their voices, men and women alike. When everyone 81 has finished his hymn the young men bring in the tables mentioned a little above on which is set the truly purified^d meal of leavened bread seasoned with

effort of some kind. Cf. e.g. τὰς . . . τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιβολὰς τε καὶ ὀρμὰς *Mos.* i. 26, κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολήν ("of his own motion") *De Som.* i. 1.

^b For the use of ἑπη for hexameter verse in particular see examples in Stephanus, but it is no doubt permissible to take it = "verses," simply in agreement with *τριμέτρων*.

^c Conybeare translates the last four words "deftly proportioned for turning and returning." On these hymns in general see App. p. 524.

^d Conybeare "all-purest." The epithet seems strange, since it is followed at once by the statement that the shewbread in purity ranked above it. No one has suggested, and I only do it with hesitation, that the negative before *παναγέστατον*, as often, has fallen out.

οψήματος ἁλῶν, οἷς ὕσσωπος ἀναμέμικται, δι' αἰδῶ τῆς ἀνακειμένης ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ προνάῳ ἱερᾶς τραπέζης· ἐπὶ γὰρ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἄρτοι καὶ ἅλεις ἄνευ ἡδυσμάτων, ἄζυμοι μὲν οἱ ἄρτοι, ἀμιγεῖς δὲ
 82 οἱ ἅλεις. προσήκον γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἀπλούστατα καὶ εἰλικρινέστατα τῇ κρατίστη τῶν ἱερέων ἀπονεμηθῆναι μερίδι λειτουργίας ἁθλον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τὰ μὲν ὅμοια ζηλοῦν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν,¹ ἵνα ἔχωσι προνομίαν οἱ κρείττονες.

- 83 XI. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν ἱερὰν ἄγουσι παννυχίδα. ἄγεται δὲ ἡ παννυχὶς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἀνίστανται πάντες ἄθροοι, καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χοροί, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν· ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ ἑξαρχος
 [485] αἰρεῖται καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐντιμότητός τε καὶ ἐμ-
 84 μελέστατος. εἶτα ᾄδουσι πεποιημένους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφώνοις ἁρμονίαις ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες καὶ ἐπορχούμενοι, καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες τοτὲ μὲν τὰ προσόδια, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στροφάς τε τὰς ἐν χορείᾳ² καὶ ἀντιστροφὰς ποιού-
 85 μενοι. εἶτα ὅταν ἑκάτερος τῶν χορῶν³ ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐστιαθῇ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχείαις ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς, ἀναμίγνυνται καὶ γίνονται χορὸς εἰς ἕξ ἀμφοῖν, μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάντος κατὰ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν
 86 θάλασσαν ἔνεκα τῶν θαυματουργηθέντων ἐκεῖ. τὸ

¹ So the Armenian. mss. τῶν ἄρτων.

² So the Armenian. mss. χορεία.

³ mss. ἀνδρῶν. One however has τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ τῶν

THE CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, 81-85

salt mixed with hyssop, out of reverence for the holy table enshrined in the sacred vestibule of the temple on which lie loaves and salt without condiments, the loaves unleavened and the salt unmixed.^a For it was 82 meet that the simplest and purest food should be assigned to the highest caste, namely the priests, as a reward for their ministry, and that the others while aspiring to similar privileges should abstain from seeking the same as they and allow their superiors to retain their precedence.

XI. After the supper they hold the sacred vigil 83 which is conducted in the following way. They rise up all together and standing in the middle of the refectory form themselves first into two choirs, one of men and one of women, the leader and precentor chosen for each being the most honoured amongst them and also the most musical. Then they sing 84 hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies, sometimes chanting together, sometimes taking up the harmony antiphonally, hands and feet keeping time in accompaniment, and rapt with enthusiasm reproduce sometimes the lyrics of the procession, sometimes of the halt and of the wheeling and counter-wheeling of a choric dance.

Then when each choir has separ- 85 ately done its own part in the feast, having drunk as in the Bacchic rites of the strong wine of God's love they mix and both together become a single choir, a copy of the choir set up of old beside the Red Sea in honour of the wonders there wrought.

^a The LXX though not the Hebrew prescribes salt with the shewbread. See *Mos.* ii. 104.

γυναικῶν ἰδίᾳ, which Mangey has. χορῶν adopted by both Cohn and Conybeare is from the Armenian.

- γὰρ πέλαγος προστάξει θεοῦ τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίας αἷτιον τοῖς δὲ πανωλεθρίας γίνεται· ῥαγέντος μὲν γὰρ καὶ βιαίους ἀνακοπαῖς ὑποσυρέντος καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐξ ἐναντίας οἷα τειχῶν παγέντων, τὸ μεθόριον διάστημα εἰς λεωφόρον ὁδὸν καὶ ξηρὰν πᾶσαν ἀνατμηθὲν εὐρύνετο, δι' ἧς ὁ λεὼς ἐπέζευσεν ἄχρι τῆς ἀντιπέραν ἡπείρου πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα παραπεμφθείς· ἐπιδραμόντος δὲ ταῖς παλιρροίαις καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἔνθεν τοῦ δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς τὸ χερσωθὲν ἔδαφος ἀναχυθέντος, οἱ ἐπακολουθήσαντες τῶν
- 87 πολεμίων κατακλυσθέντες διαφθείρονται. τοῦτο δὲ ἰδόντες καὶ παθόντες, ὁ λόγου καὶ ἐννοίας καὶ ἐλπίδος μείζον ἔργον ἦν, ἐνθουσιῶντές τε ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες, εἰς γενόμενοι χορός, τοὺς εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα θεὸν ᾗδον, ἐξάρχοντος τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι Μωυσέως τοῦ προφήτου, ταῖς δὲ γυναξὶ Μαριὰμ τῆς προφήτιδος.
- 88 Τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπεικονισθεῖς ὁ τῶν θεραπευτῶν καὶ θεραπευτρίδων, μέλεσιν ἀντήχοις καὶ ἀντιφώνοις πρὸς βαρὺν ἤχον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ γυναικῶν ὀξύς ἀνακιρνάμενος, ἑναρμόνιον συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ καὶ μουσικὴν ὄντως· πάγκαλα μὲν τὰ νοήματα, πάγκαλοι δὲ αἱ λέξεις, σεμνοὶ δὲ οἱ χορευταί· τὸ δὲ τέλος καὶ τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τῶν λέξεων καὶ
- 89 τῶν χορευτῶν εὐσέβεια. μεθυσθέντες οὖν ἄχρι πρωΐας τὴν καλὴν ταύτην μέθην, οὐ καρηβαρύντες ἢ καταμύοντες, ἀλλὰ διεγυγερμένοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε παρεγένοντο εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, τὰς τε ὄψεις καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ἔω στάντες,¹ ἐπὶ θεάσωνται τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντες εἰς

¹ The construction is very strange. Cohn suggests καθιστάντες. Perhaps σταθέντες.

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For at the command of God the sea became a source 86 of salvation to one party and of perdition to the other. As it broke in twain and withdrew under the violence of the forces which swept it back there rose on either side, opposite to each other, the semblance of solid ^a walls, while the space thus opened between them broadened into a highway smooth and dry throughout on which the people marched under guidance right on until they reached the higher ground on the opposite mainland. But when the sea came rushing in with the returning tide, and from either side passed over the ground where dry land had appeared the pursuing enemy were submerged and perished. This 87 wonderful sight and experience, an act transcending word and thought and hope, so filled with ecstasy both men and women that forming a single choir they sang hymns of thanksgiving to God their Saviour, the men led by the prophet Moses and the women by the prophetess Miriam.

It is on this model above all that the choir of the 88 Therapeutae of either sex, note in response to note and voice to voice, the treble of the women blending with the bass of the men, create an harmonious concert, music in the truest sense. Lovely are the thoughts, lovely the words and worthy of reverence the choristers, and the end and aim of thoughts, words and choristers alike is piety. Thus they con- 89 tinue till dawn, drunk with this drunkenness in which there is no shame, then not with heavy heads or drowsy eyes but more alert and wakeful than when they came to the banquet, they stand with their faces and whole body turned to the east and when they see the sun rising they stretch their hands

^a Or "congealed."

[486] οὐρανὸν εὐημερίαν καὶ | ἀλήθειαν ἐπεύχονται καὶ
 ὀξύωπιαν λογισμοῦ· καὶ μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς τὰ
 ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος σεμνεία ἀναχωροῦσι, πάλιν τὴν
 συνήθη φιλοσοφίαν ἐμπορευσόμενοι καὶ γεωργή-
 σοντες.

- 90 Θεραπευτῶν μὲν δὴ περί τοσαῦτα θεωρίαν ἀσπα-
 σαμένων φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ψυχῇ μόνη
 βιωσάντων, οὐρανοῦ μὲν καὶ κόσμου πολιτῶν,
 τῷ δὲ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων γνησίως συ-
 σταθέντων ὑπ' ἀρετῆς, ἥτις <θεοῦ>¹ φιλίαν αὐτοῖς
 προυξένησεν οἰκειότατον γέρας καλοκάγαθίας
 προσθεῖσα, πάσης ἄμεινον εὐτυχίας, ἐπ' αὐτὴν
 ἀκρότητα φθάνον εὐδαιμονίας.

¹ An explanatory genitive is perhaps required. But I do not understand why Cohn (*Hermes*, 1916, p. 91) summarily rejects the more natural αὐτοῦ.

^a As the Therapeutae would naturally, like the Essenes (*cf. Quod Omn. Prob.* 80), deal only with the theological side of

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up to heaven and pray for bright days and knowledge of the truth and the power of keen sighted thinking. And after the prayers they depart each to his private sanctuary once more to ply the trade and till the field of their wonted philosophy.

So much then for the Therapeutae, who have taken 90 to their hearts the contemplation of nature and what it has to teach,^a and have lived in the soul alone, citizens of Heaven and the world, presented ^b to the Father and Maker of all by their faithful sponsor Virtue, who has procured for them God's friendship and added a gift going hand in hand with it, true excellence of life, a boon better than all good fortune and rising to the very summit of felicity.

physic, I think this must be what is referred to by τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ. Elsewhere the phrase seems to mean the contents of the natural world. I should like to omit τῶν and translate "lived in it and the soul alone."

^b The conjunction with προξένησεν shows clearly that συσταθέντες is here used in the quite common sense of "commended" rather than as Conybeare "established."

ON THE ETERNITY OF THE
WORLD

(DE AETERNITATE MUNDI)

INTRODUCTION TO *DE AETERNITATE MUNDI*

AMONG the works of Philo this is certainly the one whose genuineness can be most reasonably doubted. It is not mentioned in Eusebius's list, and the only external evidence for it so far as I know is that it has always been included in the Philonian corpus. The internal evidence, the resemblance to Philo's style and language, has been dealt with by Cumont, and though certainly strong, particularly when we remember how different the subject-matter is from that of the rest, it is not I think as overwhelming as in the case of the *De Vita Contemplativa*. In fact while if that work came before us as of unknown authorship I should without hesitation set it down as Philo's, I should not feel the same certainty about the *De Aeternitate*.

The belief that the work is non-Philonic rests chiefly I think on the authority of Bernays. My confidence in his judgement is not increased by observing that he says the same of the *Quod Omnis Probus* and the *De Providentia*. He does not anywhere formulate his reasons for rejection and one or two of those casually mentioned are trivial. But on p. 45 he notes the phrase ὁπαρὸς θεός as one which no orthodox Jew could have used of the Cosmos. Cumont perhaps makes somewhat too light of this objection. For Philo in the body of his work no-

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where, I think, speaks of the Cosmos as a God. It is true indeed that he twice at least calls the stars gods ^a and quite often divine beings. Also his chief care seems to be not so much that they should not be called gods as that they should not be recognized as primal or sovereign gods, and perhaps we cannot fairly reason from the numberless heavenly bodies to the Cosmos itself. If regarded as a god at all its godship would be unique and certainly tend to endanger monotheism. It must be admitted that taken by itself this is some argument against the genuineness.

But the most important objection at first sight to the Philonic authorship, though I am not sure that Bernays ever definitely mentions it, lies not in any particular phrase but in the views displayed *passim* on the question under discussion. Philo in his other works has denounced the doctrine that the world is uncreated and indestructible,^b in this book he appears to maintain that theory.

My own view is that a distinction should be made between the earlier part up to the first sentence of § 20 and the rest. Up to § 20 the author is no doubt speaking himself. In § 20 he states that out of respect for the divine Cosmos the opinions which maintain that it is uncreated and eternal should take prece-

^a *De Op.* 27, *Spec. Leg.* i. 19.

^b *De Op.* 7, *De Som.* ii. 283, *cf. De Conf.* 114. But the form in which he understood its destructibility is given in *De Dec.* 58. "For the world has become what it is, and its becoming is the beginning of its destruction, even though by the providence of God it be made immortal," *i.e.* he held to the doctrine of the *Timaeus* 41 A with regard to the lesser gods, and belongs to those who in *Quis Rerum* 246 are spoken of as declaring "that though by nature destructible it will never be destroyed, being held together by a bond of superior strength, namely the will of its Maker."

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dence. And from that point we have an account of the various arguments used by the advocates of that opinion, ending with the statement that in the sequel he will give an account of the arguments on the other side. In describing the arguments for the eternity of the Cosmos he puts them forth with such gusto and denounces the opponents so vigorously that at first sight anyone would suppose that he is giving us his own conviction. But it is Philo's way to reproduce with all his vigour opinions and doctrines which he is really going to controvert later. Observe the misleading way in which the views of the unphilosophical are described in *Quod Omn. Prob.* 6-10 and the vigorous advocacy of the champions of the senses in *Spec. Leg.* i. 337-343. So when I read in *De Aet.* 35 and 49 that some argument must be "clear to everyone" or in § 69 "that the foolish imaginations of the opponents have been refuted" I do not feel sure that Philo might not talk very differently when he gives to each point the opposition which he promises in his final words.

When we turn to the first twenty sections we have the following expressions of the author's opinions. (1) Nothing is generated from the non-existent and nothing can be destroyed into non-existence. (2) Plato's statement that the world was created and indestructible is not to be explained away. (3) When Aristotle said that it was uncreated and indestructible he spoke "piously and religiously." (4) The Cosmos is a God.^a With the fourth I have

^a Though it should be noted that in the only place in §§ 1-20 where this is stated apart from the citation from Aristotle θεόν is an insertion. The mss. have only τὸν or τὸ ὄπαρόν. Still I think the insertion is practically certain.

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dealt already. As to the third, the words that follow show that "piously and religiously" apply to indestructible rather than to uncreated. Philo in his later days would certainly denounce those who put the divine beings in heaven on a level with idols.^a The second is quite in the spirit of the other writings in which the *Timaeus* is a sort of Gospel whose meaning is not to be tampered with, and it is quite opposed to the Peripatetic view put forward in § 27, which while citing the *Timaeus* to show the indestructibility declares that the uncreatedness must be postulated on the general grounds that *γένεσις* and *φθορά* are inseparable. As to the first, there are several places where Philo speaks of God and indeed parenthood as creating the existing from the non-existent, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 225,^b but these are merely concessions to popular ideas and could not Philo have pleaded that the αἰσθητὸς κόσμος was created out of the eternal νοητός? In fact it seems to me that judging from the sections in which the author gives us hints of his own view the differences from the opinions expressed in the bulk of Philo's work are not on the whole vital, and even if this statement is an exaggeration, why should Philo be refused the right of developing his creed as Plato and Aristotle did? On the whole I feel that this objection to the genuineness breaks down and if it does the balance of argument as a whole seems to be in favour of the authenticity.

^a So I have translated *χειροκμήτων*. It is the usual sense in Philo, and in *De Dec.* 66 he emphasizes the minor guilt of worshipping the heavenly bodies, compared with worshipping idols. But perhaps better "human works" as compared with those of God.

^b Cf. also *Mos.* ii. 267, *De Som.* i. 76, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 187.

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As to the sections after 20 to the end, if I am right in thinking that the expressions of confidence in the arguments adduced and the denunciation of opponents are rather echoes of the opinions reproduced than the convinced opinions of the author, it might be thought that this shows that all this part is little more than a matter of scissors and paste as Bernay's commentary sometimes seems to hold. But I do not think this would be a just conclusion. Philo can throw himself with great gusto into retailing arguments with which he does not necessarily agree, but he can at the same time introduce phraseology and illustrations of his own. There is one treatise extant which he tells us he has read and which no doubt he used, that of Ocellus Lucanus.^a There are passages in the *De Aeternitate* which can be paralleled with this in substance but with no very close resemblance in language. In the account of Critolaus's argument in §§ 55-69, while we may suppose that Critolaus spoke with scorn of the Stoic appeal to myths, the length at which this attack is developed and many of the expressions in it savour of Philo himself, and in particular the complaint in § 56 that the myth-makers have used the seduction of metre and rhythm has a close resemblance to a similar complaint in *Spec. Leg.* i. 28. Also the panegyric on the eternal youthfulness of the earth in §§ 63 f. is very much in the vein of the description of the world's wonders elsewhere,^b if we make allowance for the fact that here it is the earth only and not the Cosmos which is extolled. In the concluding thirty-three sections in which he reproduces Theophrastus's

^a See App. p. 525.

^b *Mos.* i. 212, *Spec. Leg.* i. 34, *De Praem.* 41.

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account of the four arguments adduced by the Stoics against the creation of the world and then Theophrastus's refutation of the same the substance no doubt is what it claims to be, but I cannot help suspecting that the irrelevant story of the elephants in §§ 128, 129, the quotation from Pindar in § 121, the account from the *Timaeus* of Atlantis in § 141, and perhaps the allusions to the same book at the end belong to Philo and not to Theophrastus.

As I have said in the Preface, the value of the *De Aeternitate* is to a Philonist very little. It contributes hardly anything to the body of thought which has kept his name famous, but its value for the history of Greek philosophy is surely very considerable. We know apart from him the opinions held by the long series of Greek philosophers on this primal question of how the universe came to be, but very little of the grounds on which their opinions were formed, and hardly anything outside this treatise^a

^a I should not omit to mention the theory propounded by Cumont, pp. xi-xv. Cumont, who considers that the author throughout maintains that the Cosmos is *ἀγένητος* as well as *ἄφθαρτος*, understands him to mean that it is *ἀγένητος κατὰ χρόνον*, i.e. that it was created from everlasting. I do not feel competent to judge whether the evidence he cites is convincing, but anyhow I cannot see that anywhere in the first twenty sections does the author assert that it is *ἀγένητος*. Naturally we should conclude from these sections that his sympathies are with Plato, who, he says, meant what he says, viz. that it is *γενητός* and *ἄφθαρτος*, in the sense of *φθαρτός*, ἀλλ' οὐ φθαρησόμενος. Whether in the sequel promised in the last section he brought out either this solution or that which Cumont indicates seems to me doubtful. The word *προτέρους* instead of *πρώτους* in § 20 suggests that the only subject treated in either half of the essay was the controversy between the Stoics and Peripatetics, any third hypothesis being ignored for the occasion.

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of the detailed arguments used by disputants on either side. From this point of view it seems strange to me that the work had been so little noticed and that no really complete commentary exists to elucidate it.

The following is an analysis of the treatise.

After stating the duty of invoking God's blessing on so important a discussion and an acknowledgement that unpurified humanity cannot hope for certainty (1-2) we have to define the terms *κόσμος* and *φθορά*. The former is used in three different senses, but that accepted in this book is the Cosmos consisting of heaven and earth and living creatures in or on it; by *φθορά* we do not understand annihilation in the strict sense, which is impossible, but resolution into a single conformation or "confusion as when things are broken and shattered" (3-6). Three views are held, (a) that of Democritus, Epicurus and most Stoics, that it is created and destructible; (b) Aristotle's and perhaps before him the Pythagoreans', that it is uncreated and indestructible (7-12); and (c) Plato's, though the meaning of his words have been disputed, that it is created and indestructible (13-16), a view attributed by some to Hesiod and also to be found in Genesis (17-19).

Philo considers that the second hypothesis as worthier of the divine Cosmos should take precedence of the first, and the rest of the treatise is occupied in stating the case for this. The first argument is that as destruction is always due to some cause within or without the body destroyed neither of these is possible for the Cosmos (20-27). The second argument is that compound bodies are compounded in an unnatural order and their destruction

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means that their elements return to their natural order, but the Cosmos is in its natural order (28-34). The third is that everything seeks to preserve its own nature, but the parts of the universe such as vegetable or animal life have not the power to do so ; the Universe seeks the same and has the power, for each part when destroyed goes to feed some other part (35-38). The fourth introduces a theological thought ; assuming that the destruction of the Cosmos if it is destroyed must be the work of God, it is asked what motive God can have for doing so (39-44). The fifth begins a polemic against the Stoic theory of a periodical conflagration followed by a periodical reconstruction and argues that this involves destruction of the divine heavenly bodies and even of the world's soul, providence (45-51). The sixth is based on the assumption that time has no beginning or end, and since time is the measurement of the world's movement that also must have no beginning or end (52-54).

Up to this point the arguments have been ascribed to (presumably) the Peripatetic school in general. We now come to those attributed to particular persons, beginning with Critolaus. His first point is that if the world was created the human race was also, *i.e.* the original man must have been produced in some other way than by human parentage. This argument, at any rate as represented here, turns mainly into a denunciation of the story of the Spartoi who sprang from the soil fully armed (55-60). It is pointed out that if men were once produced from the earth they would be still, for earth is clearly as prolific as ever (61-64). Other absurdities in the story are noted, with the conclusion that the repro-

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duction of men has gone on from everlasting, that the human race is everlasting and therefore the world of which it is a part (65-69). The second argument attributed to him is put very shortly, namely that the existence of all that exists is caused by the Cosmos and therefore it must be the cause of its own existence (70); also that a created world, according to the analogy of other created things, would be originally imperfect, then grow to perfection and ultimately decline, a view which is denounced as a blasphemy against the perfection of the Cosmos (71-73). Again the three things which cause death to living creatures, disease, age and privation cannot affect the Cosmos (74). The Stoics themselves admit that fate or the chain of causation has neither beginning nor end and why should not the Cosmos considering its nature be put in the same category (75)?

We pass on to the opinions of Stoics, notably Boethus, who did not accept the common Stoic doctrine of conflagration and reconstruction. The argument of §§ 20-27 is restated with the addition that if there is nothing internal or external to destroy the Cosmos, the destruction must be caused by something non-existing and this is unthinkable (76-78). Three possible methods of destruction, dismemberment, destruction of the prevailing quality and amalgamation or "confusion" are declared to be inapplicable to the Cosmos (79-82). Further the doctrine of *ἐκπύρωσις* implies the inactivity during that period of God, whose perpetual activity as soul of the world is laid down by the Stoics themselves (83-84). This leads to a close examination of the conflagration theory. The elements of fire as we know it are live coal, the flame and the light, and the destruction of the sub-

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stance of the universe will be the destruction of the last two also, and nothing will remain to make the reconstruction possible (85-88). The Stoics meet this by supposing that some fire will remain at the end of the period, but that is inconsistent with what has just been shown (89-93). Chrysippus has said that the fire is the seed of the new world, but it is living things which produce seed, not those which are destroyed as the world on this theory is supposed to be (94-96). Also seed does not generate by itself, and the sustenance which seed receives from the earth will be absent when the world is resolved into fire (97-99). Things too generated by seed grow larger while the reconstructed Cosmos will occupy less space than the fire which will expand into the void (100-103). To return to more general arguments, everything has its opposite, but when everything is fire the qualities opposite to those of fire will be non-existent (104-105). As other causes of destruction are ruled out the destruction would be caused by God, and this is blasphemy (106). The selection of fire as the sole element into which the Cosmos is resolved contradicts the equality of reciprocation which exists between the elements as they pass from one into each other (107-112). Another conception is then given of the methods through which destruction takes place, namely addition, subtraction, transposition and transmutation, and each of these is declared to be impossible (113-116).

The rest of the treatise is taken up with matter drawn from Theophrastus. Theophrastus had stated at length four points which weighed especially with the Stoics and had also given at length his own answer to each (117). The first of these four points is that

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if the world had existed from everlasting it would by now have been reduced to a level surface through the action of rain (118-119). The second is that it will not exist for everlasting since the diminution of the sea as shown by the emergence of islands like Delos formerly submerged indicates that the other elements will be gradually destroyed (120-123). The third is directed to proving that it is destructible because all four elements can be shown to be destructible and if so the whole is destructible (124-126). Appended to this is a short disquisition on the "lame-ness" of fire, which cannot exist without the support of fuel, illustrated with a somewhat irrelevant anecdote about elephants crushing the snakes which suck their blood (127-129). The fourth like the first seeks to prove that the world has not been from everlasting, because if so mankind was from everlasting, whereas the arts which are necessary to human life are known to be comparatively recently invented (130-131). Theophrastus's answers to these are as follows. The first is met by suggesting that though the mountains suffer loss through the action of rain, this is replaced by new accretions, but still more by a theory that they are originally heaved up by the action of fire and that this same power keeps their main body permanent (132-137). The answer to the second is that the sea is not diminished because the emergence of some islands is compensated by the submersion of others, notably Atlantis (138-142). The third is disposed of as a fallacy since it is only if all the parts of a thing are destroyed at once that we can argue from the destructibility of the parts to that of the whole (143-144). As to the fourth, while it is admitted that the inventors of the arts as we have

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them are comparatively recent, there have been partial destructions by fire and flood in which the arts perished with the majority of mankind but were subsequently reinvented (145-149). The treatise ends with a promise to give the answers made by the opponents to the several arguments (150).

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΦΘΑΡΣΙΑΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ

[487]

- ¹ I. Ἐπὶ μὲν παντὸς ἀδήλου καὶ σπουδαίου πράγματος θεὸν καλεῖν ἄξιον, διότι ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶ γεννητῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἄδηλον παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀκριβεστάτην ἐπιστήμην εἰληχότι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀφθαρσίας τοῦ κόσμου λόγον ἀναγκαιότατον· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν αἰσθητοῖς παντελέστερόν τι τοῦ κόσμου οὔτε ἐν νοητοῖς θεοῦ τελεώτερον, αἰεὶ δ' αἰσθήσεως ἡγεμὼν νοῦς καὶ νοητὸν αἰσθητοῦ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὑπηκόων παρ' ἡγεμόνος τε καὶ ἐπιστάτου νόμος¹ φιλοπευστεῖν, οἷς ἐμπέφυκε πόθος ἀληθείας πλείων.
- ² εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐνασκηθέντες τοῖς φρονήσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς δόγμασιν ἀπερρυψάμεθα τὰς ἐκ παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων κηλίδας, οὐκ ἂν ἴσως ἀπηξίωσεν ὁ θεὸς ἄκρως κεκαθαρμέναις καὶ φαιδρυναμέναις αὐτοειδῶς² ψυχαῖς ἐπιστήμην τῶν οὐρανίων ἢ δι' ὄνειράτων ἢ διὰ χρησμῶν³ ἢ διὰ σημείων ἢ τεράτων ὑφηγεῖσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακιῶν

¹ MSS. πόνος.

² MSS. αὐτοειδῶς.

³ MSS. χρήσεων.

^a Bernays gives several references to the practice of invoking God at the beginning of a discussion, and clearly Philo has in mind *Timaeus* 27 c, where Socrates calls on Timaeus to speak after invoking the Gods, and Timaeus replies that

ON THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD

I. In dealing with every obscure and weighty 1
question it is well to call upon God, because He is
good, because He is the Creator, and possessed as
He is of absolutely exact knowledge of all things
nothing is obscure to Him. But it is particularly
necessary when the subject in question is the inde-
structibility of the world.^a For nothing in the realm
of the sensible is more complete in every way than
the world, nothing in the intelligible realm more
perfect than God, and intelligence always takes
command of sense and the intelligible of the sensible.
And those in whom the love of truth is implanted
in greater measure observe the law that knowledge
about the subjects must be sought from the Com-
mander and Ruler. Now, if schooled in the doctrines 2
of wisdom and temperance and every virtue we had
scoured away the stains of the passions and soul-
distempers, perhaps God would not have refused to
impart the knowledge of things heavenly through
dreams or oracles or signs or wonders to souls
thoroughly purged and bright and radiant. But
since we bear upon us deep ingrained the imprints

every sensible person does so when speaking on any matter
great or small, and he will certainly do so when speaking
about the universe, whether it is created or uncreated (ἢ
γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἀγενές ἐστίν).

ἀναμαζάμενοι [στοχασμοὺς¹ καὶ] τύπους δυσεκ-
 [488] πλύτους | ἔχομεν, ἀγαπᾶν χρή, καὶ εἰκόσι <στο-
 χασμοῖς> δι' αὐτῶν μίμημά τι τῆς ἀληθείας
 ἀνευρίσκωμεν.

3 "Ἄξιον οὖν τοὺς ζητοῦντας εἰ ἄφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος,
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ "φθορὰ" καὶ "κόσμος" τῶν πολ-
 λαχῶς λεγομένων ἐστὶν ἐκάτερον, πρῶτον ἐρευνῆσαι
 περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἵνα καθ' ὃ σημαίνόμενον² νυνὶ
 [καὶ] τέτακται διαγνώμεν· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσα δηλοῦται³
 <πάντα> καταριθμητέον, ἀλλ' ὅσα πρὸς τὴν παροῦ-

4 σαν διδασκαλίαν χρήσιμα. II. λέγεται
 τοῖνυν ὁ κόσμος καθ' ἐν μὲν [πρῶτον] σύστημα ἐξ
 οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἄστρον κατὰ περιοχὴν <καὶ> γῆς καὶ
 τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζώων καὶ φυτῶν, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ
 μόνος οὐρανός, εἰς ὃν ἀπιδὼν Ἀναξαγόρας πρὸς
 τὸν πυθόμενον, ἧς ἔνεκα αἰτίας ταλαιπωρεῖται
 διανυκτερεύων⁴ ὑπαιθρος, ἀπεκρίνατο "τοῦ τὸν
 κόσμον θεάσασθαι," τὰς χορείας καὶ περιφορὰς τῶν
 ἀστέρων αἰνιττόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τρίτον, ὡς δοκεῖ
 τοῖς Στωικοῖς, διήκον⁵ ἄχρι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως, οὐσία

¹ Bernays μολυσμοὺς. Cumont retains στοχασμοὺς where it is in the mss., but does not attempt to make sense of it. I have followed Cohn's transference of the word, but would prefer to read εἰκόσι καὶ στοχασμοῖς. Cohn in *Hermes*, 1916, p. 181, says that εἰκότες στοχασμοί is an exceedingly common collocation in Philo, but he gives no examples, and up to the present I have not found any. On the other hand, εἰκότα coupled with πιθανά occurs several times, e.g. στοχασταὶ . . . πιθανῶν καὶ εἰκότων *Spec. Leg.* i. 61, and it is an established term in rhetoric; cf. also στοχασμοῖς καὶ εἰκασίαις *De Som.* i. 23.

² MSS. σημαίνεται.

³ MSS. δηλοῦνται.

⁴ MSS. τὰ πολλὰ πειράται διανυκτερεῖν. The correction made by Bernays and accepted by Cohn and Cumont is based on *Thuc.* i. 134. 1 ἵνα μὴ ὑπαιθριος ταλαιπωροῖη.

⁵ MSS. διήκων. Bernays and others διήκουσα. The correc-

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 2-4.

of injustice and folly and the other vices we must be content if through a study of probabilities and by our own efforts we may discover some semblance of the truth.

Now the words "world" and "destruction" are 3 both such as are used in many senses and therefore it will be well to open the discussion whether the world is indestructible by examining these terms in order to distinguish under what signification they stand in this case. Still we need not make a complete list of all the meanings they bear but only such as are instructive for our present purpose.

II. In one sense, the world or Cosmos signifies the 4 whole system of heaven and the stars including the earth and the plants and animals thereon; in another sense the heaven only. It was on heaven that Anaxagoras had been gazing, when in answer to the person who asked why he suffered discomfort by spending the whole night under the open sky said he did it in order to contemplate the Cosmos, meaning by Cosmos the choric movements and revolutions of the stars. The third sense, which is approved by the Stoics, is something existing continuously to and through the general conflagration,^a a substance either

^a That ἄχρι is here used inclusively is, I think, shown by ἀδιακόσμητος, a condition which only exists during the ἐκπύρωσις (cf. Philo's disquisition on the inclusive use of ἀπό in *De Som.* ii. 257). I understand Bernays to say that the addition of ἡ ἀδιακ. is inaccurate ("ungenau") according to Stoic doctrine. But Philo implies the same in § 9.

tion to διήκων in preference to διήκουσα seems to have been originally made by Jessen (see note, vol. viii. p. 428) to accord with his canon, that an open vowel is followed by μέχρι instead of ἄχρι in Philo. I do not see why <ό> διήκων (*sc.* κόσμος) should not be possible.

τις ἢ διακεκοσμημένη ἢ ἀδιακόσμητος, οὐ τῆς
 κινήσεώς φασιν εἶναι τὸν χρόνον διάστημα.
 νῦν δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις περὶ κόσμου τοῦ
 κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σημαινόμενον, ὃς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ
 5 γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζώων¹ συνέστηκε. λέγεται
 μέντοι καὶ φθορὰ ἣ τε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολή
 [λέγεται δὲ] καὶ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἀναίρεσις παντελής,
 ἣν καὶ ἀνύπαρκτον ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν· ὥσπερ γὰρ
 ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲν γίνεται, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν
 φθείρεται·

“ ἐκ τε γὰρ οὐδὰμ' ἐόντος ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γενέσθαι
 [τι]
 καὶ τ' ἐὼν ἐξαπολέσθαι ἀνήνυστον καὶ ἄπυστον². ”

καὶ ὁ τραγικός·

“ θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
 διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο³
 μορφήν ἐτέραν ἀπέδειξεν. ”

6 οὐδέν⁴ γε οὕτως ἐστὶν εὐήθες ὥς τὸ ἀπορεῖν, εἰ ὁ
 κόσμος εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν φθείρεται, ἀλλ' εἰ δέχεται τὴν
 ἐκ τῆς διακοσμήσεως μεταβολήν, τὰς ποικίλας
 μορφὰς στοιχείων τε καὶ συγκριμάτων εἰς μίαν
 καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ιδέαν ἀναλυθεὶς ἢ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
 θλάσμασι καὶ τοῖς κατάγμασι δεξάμενος παντελεῖ
 σύγχυσιν.

¹ mss. ἐξ ὧν.

² mss. ἄπυστον.

³ As a long syllable is required in the anapaestic, Cumont has ἄλλου, Bernays ἄλλω and so in the other places (§§ 30 and 144) where the lines are quoted.

⁴ mss. οὐδέ: Bernays and Cumont οὐδεῖς . . . εὐήθης, followed by ὥστε with most mss., though one has τὸ but without ὥς.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 4-6

reduced or not reduced to order, and time, they say, is what measures its movement.^a Our present discussion is concerned with the world in the first sense, namely the world which consists of heaven and earth and the life on them.^b The word destruction 5 in one sense means a change for the worse, in another complete removal from existence, and this we must pronounce to be a thing which cannot possibly be, for just as nothing comes into being out of the non-existent, so nothing is destroyed into non-existence.

Nothing from what is not can come to be,
Nor was it ever heard or brought to pass,
That what exists should perish utterly.^c

So too the tragic poet

Naught that is born can die;
Hither and thither its parts disperse
And take another form.^d

Nothing in fact is so foolish as to raise the question 6 whether the world is destroyed into non-existence. The point is whether it undergoes a transmutation from its ordered arrangement through the various forms of the elements and their combinations being either resolved into one and the self-same conformation or reduced into complete confusion as things are when broken or shattered.

^a For this accepted Stoic definition of time *cf.* Diog. Laert. vii. 141. It is repeated in this treatise, §§ 52 ff., *cf.* *De Op.* 26, where it was translated "a measured space determined by the world's movement," which perhaps gives the idea of *διάστημα* (distance or interval) more exactly.

^b The stars are regarded as ζῶα.

^c Stated to be a fragment from Empedocles.

^d See on § 30.

[489] III. | Τριτταὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου γεγόνασι
 7 δόξαι, τῶν μὲν αἰδίου τὸν κόσμον φαμένων,
 ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, τῶν δὲ ἐξ ἐναντίας
 γενητόν τε καὶ φθαρτόν· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ παρ' ἑκατέρων
 ἐκλαβόντες, τὸ μὲν γενητὸν παρὰ τῶν ὑστέρων
 παρὰ δὲ τῶν προτέρων τὸ ἄφθαρτον, μικτὴν δόξαν
 ἀπέλιπον, γενητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον οἰθθέντες αὐτὸν
 8 εἶναι. Δημόκριτος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἐπί-
 κουρος καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς
 φιλοσόφων γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν ἀπολείπουσι τοῦ
 κόσμου, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς
 κόσμους ὑπογράφουσιν, ὧν τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἀλλη-
 λοτυπίαῖς καὶ ἐπιπλοκαῖς ἀτόμων ἀνατιθέασιν, τὴν
 δὲ φθορὰν ἀντικοπαῖς καὶ προσράξεσι τῶν γεγο-
 νότων· οἱ δὲ Στωικοὶ κόσμον μὲν ἓνα, γενέσεως δ'
 αὐτοῦ θεὸν αἷτιον, φθορᾶς δὲ μηκέτι θεόν, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι πυρὸς ἀκαμάτου
 δύναμιν χρόνων μακραῖς περιόδοις ἀναλύουσιν τὰ
 πάντα εἰς ἑαυτήν, ἐξ ἧς πάλιν ἀναγέννησιν κόσμου
 9 συνίστασθαι προμηθεΐα τοῦ τεχνίτου. δύναται δὲ
 κατὰ τούτους ὁ μὲν τις κόσμος αἰδίου, ὁ δὲ τις
 φθαρτὸς λέγεσθαι, φθαρτὸς μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν διακό-
 σμῃσιν, αἰδίου δὲ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν παλιγ-
 γενεσίαις καὶ περιόδοις ἀθανατιζόμενος οὐδέποτε
 10 ληγούσας. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ μήποτ'
 εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως ἐνιστάμενος¹ ἀγένητον καὶ
 ἄφθαρτον ἔφη τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, δεινὴν δὲ ἀθεότητα
 κατεγίνωσκε τῶν τάναντία διεξιόντων, οἱ τῶν

¹ MSS. ἐπιστάμενος.

^a The meaning would be clearer if ἐκπύρ. and διακ. changed places. When we consider the former we see that a world

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 7-10

III. Three views have been put forward on the 7
question before us. Some assert that the world is
eternal, uncreated and imperishable. Some on the
contrary say that it is created and destructible.
Others draw from both these. From the latter they
take the idea of the created, from the former that
of the indestructible and so have laid down a com-
posite doctrine to the effect that the world is created
and indestructible.

Democritus with Epi- 8
curus and the great mass of Stoic philosophers
maintain the creation and destruction of the world
but in different ways. The two first named postulate
many worlds, the origin of which they ascribe to the
mutual impacts and interlacings of atoms and its
destruction to the counterblows and collisions sus-
tained by the bodies so formed. The Stoics admit
one world only ; God is the cause of its creation but
not of its destruction. This is due to the force of
the ever-active fire which exists in things and in the
course of long cycles of time resolves everything into
itself and out of it is constructed a reborn world
according to the design of its architect. According 9
to these the world may be called from one point of
view an eternal, from another a perishable world ;
thought of as a world reconstructed it is perishable,
thought of as subject to the conflagration it is ever-
lasting through the ceaseless rebirths and cycles
which render it immortal.^a

But Aristotle 10
surely showed a pious and religious spirit when in
opposition to this view he said that the world was
uncreated and indestructible and denounced the
shocking atheism of those who stated the contrary

has perished. When we see it followed by the latter we
recognize that it did not really perish.

- χειροκμήτων οὐδὲν ὥθήθησαν διαφέρειν τοσοῦτον ὁρατὸν θεόν, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν πλανήτων καὶ ἀπλανῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς περιέχοντα
- 11 πάνθειον· ἔλεγέ τε, ὡς ἔστιν ἀκούειν, κατακερτομῶν, ὅτι πάλαι μὲν ἐδεδίει περὶ τῆς οἰκίας, μὴ βιαίους πνεύμασιν ἢ χειμῶσιν ἐξαισίοις ἢ χρόνῳ ἢ ῥαθυμία τῆς ἀρμοττούσης ἐπιμελείας ἀνατραπῇ, νυνὶ δὲ φόβον ἐπικρέμασθαι μείζονα πρὸς τῶν τὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον τῷ λόγῳ καθαιρούντων.
- 12 ἔνιοι δ' οὐκ Ἀριστοτέλην τῆς δόξης εὐρετὴν λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων τινάς. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Ὀκέλλου συγγράμματι, Λευκανοῦ γένος, ἐπιγραφομένῳ “ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως ” ἐνέτυχον, ἐν ᾧ ἀγένητόν τε καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὐκ [490] ἀπεφαίνετο μόνον¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ ἀποδείξεων | κατ-εσκεύαζε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι.
- 13 IV. Γενητὸν δὲ καὶ ἄφθαρτόν φασιν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τῆς θεοπρεποῦς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ᾗ λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους θεοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου καὶ ἡγεμόνος· “ θεοὶ θεῶν, (ᾧ) ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἅλута ἐμοῦ γε μὴ θέλοντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν δῆ² δεθὲν πᾶν λυτόν, τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὖ λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ. δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπέιπερ γεγέννησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἔστε οὐδ’ ἅλυτοι τὸ πάμπαν, οὔτι γε μὴν λυθήσεσθέ γε, οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων, οἷς ὅτε ἐγίγνεσθε

¹ MSS. μὲν οὖν.² MSS. μῆ.^a See Introd. p. 175 note a.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 10-13

and held that there was no difference between hand-made idols^a and that great visible God who embraces the sun and moon and the pantheon as it may be truly called of the fixed and wandering stars. He 11 is reported to have said in bitter mockery that in the past he had feared for his house lest it should be overthrown by violent winds or terrific storms or lapse of time or neglect of proper care. But now he lived under the fear of a greater menace from the theorists who would destroy the whole world.

Some say that the author of this doctrine was not 12 Aristotle but certain Pythagoreans, and I have read a work of Ocellus a Lucanian^b entitled *On the Nature of the Universe*, in which he not only stated but sought to establish by demonstrations that it was uncreated and indestructible.

IV. That it is created and indestructible is said to 13 be shown by Plato in the *Timaeus*^c in his account of the great assembly of deities in which the younger gods are addressed thus by the eldest and chief. "Gods sprung from gods, the works of which I am the Maker and Father are indissoluble unless I will otherwise. Now all that is bound can be loosed but only the bad would will to loose what is well put together and in good condition. So since you are created beings you are not immortal nor altogether indissoluble, yet you will not be dissolved nor will death be your fate, for in my will you have a greater and mightier bond than those by which you were

^b Ocellus was a Pythagorean of earlier times. The work attributed to him, which is still extant and which Philo alludes to here, belongs to the first or second century B.C. See further App. p. 525.

^c *Tim.* 41 A. For other ways of taking the opening words see App. p. 525.

- 14 συνεδείσθε.” τινὲς δὲ οἴονται σοφίζόμενοι κατὰ Πλάτωνα γενητὸν λέγεσθαι τὸν κόσμον οὐ τῷ λαβεῖν γενέσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τῷ, εἴπερ ἐγίγνετο, μὴ ἂν ἐτέρως ἢ τὸν εἰρημένον συστήναι τρόπον, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐν γενέσει καὶ μεταβολῇ τὰ μέρη θεω-
 15 ρεῖσθαι. βέλτιον δὲ καὶ ἀληθέστερον ὑπονοεῖν τὸ πρότερον, οὐ μόνον ὅτι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ συγγράμματος πατέρα μὲν καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸν θεοπλάστην ἐκείνον καλεῖ, ἔργον¹ δὲ καὶ ἔγγονον τουτονὶ² τὸν κόσμον, ἀπ’ ἀρχετύπου <καὶ> νοητοῦ παραδείγματος μίμημα αἰσθητόν, πάνθ’ ὅσα ἐν ἐκείνῳ νοητὰ περιέχοντα αἰσθητὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, τελειοτάτου πρὸς νοῦν³ τελειότατον ἐκμα-
 16 γεῖον πρὸς αἴσθησιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖ περὶ Πλάτωνος, διὰ τὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας αἰδῶ μηδὲν ἂν ψευδάμενος, καὶ διότι πιστότερος οὐδεὶς ὑφηγητῇ⁴ γνωρίμου μαρτυρεῖν καὶ μάλιστα τοιούτου, ὃς οὐ πάρεργον ἔθετο παιδείαν ἀψικόρῳ ῥαθυμίᾳ, προσυπερβαλεῖν δὲ σπουδάσας τὰς τῶν παλαιῶν εὐρέσεις ἔνια τῶν

¹ mss. καλλίεργον.

² Bernays τουτουῖ, i.e. τοῦ θεοπλάστου.

³ Bernays νοῦ, see note c.

⁴ mss. ὑφηγητῆς.

^a For the first of these explanations Bernays refers to Ar. *De Caelo* i. 10, 279 b 34: “They (i.e. those who hold that it is indestructible but generated) claim that what they say is analogous to the diagrams drawn by mathematicians; their exposition does not mean that the world ever was generated, but is used for instructional purposes, since it makes things easier to understand, just as the diagram does for those who see it in process of construction” (Guthrie’s translation, who adds that the defence according to Simplicius is “that of Xenocrates and other Platonists”).

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 14-16

bound when you were created." Some hold the 14 notion that when Plato speaks of the world as created he does not mean that it began by being created but that if it had been created it would not have been formed in any other way than that which he describes, or else that he uses the word because the parts of the world are observed to come into being and to be changed.^a

But this subtlety of 15 theirs is not so good or true an idea as the view before mentioned, not merely because throughout the whole treatise ^b he speaks of the great Framers of deities as the Father and Maker and Artificer and this world as His work and offspring, a sensible copy of the archetypal and intelligible model, embracing in itself as objects of sense all which that model contains as objects of intelligence, an impress ^c for sense perception as absolutely perfect as that is for the mind. Another reason is that this view of Plato's meaning 16 has the testimony of Aristotle, who had too much respect for philosophy to falsify anything. A teacher can have no more trustworthy witness than a disciple and particularly one like Aristotle who did not treat culture as a by-work or with frivolous carelessness, but sought earnestly to transcend the truths discovered by the ancients and so struck out a new

^b Though the reference is to the *Timaeus*, *passim*, Bernays notes ἔργον = κόσμος 30 B, περιέχον 31 A and ἔκγονα 50 D. We have also μίμημα παραδείγματος 49 A and ἐκμαγεῖον 50 C.

^c Or perhaps rather "plastic substance" (for receiving imprints), which seems to be the meaning in 50 C, in which case τελειοτάτου will agree with ἐκμαγεῖον understood rather than as Leisegang (in index) with παραδείγματος. The other is the regular meaning in Philo, but does not suit πρὸς so well. Bernays indeed translates "Abdruck," but he reads νοῦ for νοῦν—i.e. "issuing from a most perfect mind."

ἀναγκαιοτάτων εἰς ἕκαστον φιλοσοφίας μέρος και-
 17 νοτομήσας προσεξεύρετο. V. πατέρα δὲ

τοῦ Πλατωνείου δόγματος ἔνιοι νομίζουσι τὸν
 ποιητὴν Ἑσίοδον, γεννητὸν καὶ ἄφθαρτον οἰόμενοι
 τὸν κόσμον ὑπ' ἐκείνου λέγεσθαι, γεννητὸν μὲν, ὅτι
 φησὶν

“ ἦτοι μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένητ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
 γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί,”

ἄφθαρτον δέ, ὅτι διάλυσιν καὶ φθορὰν οὐ μεμή-
 18 νυκεν αὐτοῦ. χάος δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης τόπον
 οἷεται εἶναι, ὅτι τὸ δεξόμενον ἀνάγκη προὔπο-
 κεῖσθαι σώματι, τῶν δὲ Στωικῶν ἔνιοι τὸ ὕδωρ
 παρὰ τὴν χύσιν τοῦνομα πεποιῆσθαι νομίζοντες.

ὁποτέρως δ' ἂν ἔχοι, τὸ γεννητὸν εἶναι
 τὸν κόσμον ἐναργέστατα παρ' Ἑσιόδῳ μεμῆνυται.

19 μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 [491] νομοθέτης Μωυσῆς γεννητὸν καὶ | ἄφθαρτον ἔφη
 τὸν κόσμον ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις· εἰσὶ δὲ πέντε, ὧν
 τὴν πρώτην ἐπέγραψε Γένεσιν, ἐν ἣ ἄρχεται τὸν
 τρόπον τοῦτον· “ Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν
 οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ
 ἀκατασκεύαστος,” εἰτα προελθὼν ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα
 μηνύει πάλιν, ὅτι ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες καὶ ὥραι
 καὶ ἐνιαυτοὶ σελήνη τε καὶ ἥλιος, οἱ χρόνου με-

^a *Theogony* 116 f.

^b *Ar. Phys.* iv. 1, 208 b 29. “Hesiod seems to have been

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 16-19

path by discovering some very vital additions to every part of philosophy. V. Some think 17 that the poet Hesiod is the father of this Platonic doctrine and suppose that he calls the world uncreated and indestructible, uncreated because he says

First Chaos was, and then broad-breasted earth
Safe dwelling-place for all for evermore,^a

indestructible because he never declared that it will be dissolved or destroyed. Chaos in Aristotle's 18 opinion is a space because a body must have something there already to hold it,^b but some of the Stoics suppose that it is water and that the name is derived from its diffusion (χύσις).^c

But whichever of these is right Hesiod very clearly states the view that the world is created and long before 19 Hesiod Moses the lawgiver of the Jews said in the Holy Books that it was created and imperishable. These books are five in number, to the first of which he gave the name of Genesis. In this he begins by saying "In the beginning God made the Heavens and the Earth and the Earth was invisible and without form."^d Then again he goes on to say in the sequel that "days and nights and seasons and years and the sun and moon whose natural function is to

right in putting Chaos first, where he says Chaos was first, then earth *ὡς δέον πρῶτον ὑπάρχει χώραν τοῖς οὐσι διὰ τὸ νομίζειν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, πάντα εἶναι πον καὶ ἐν τόπῳ.*"

^c This opinion is attributed to Zeno himself, *S. V. F.* i. 103, 104.

^d This remarkable difference in the LXX of Gen. i. 2 from the Hebrew translated in the A.V. "without form and void" (R.V. "waste and void") is compared with *Timaëus* 51 *ἡ ἀνόρατον εἶδος τι καὶ ἄμορφον* by Bernays, who thinks that the translators had it in mind. He notes also Wisdom xi. 17 *κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὕλης.*

- τρήσεως φύσιν ἐδέξαντο,¹ μετὰ τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ
μοίρας ἀθανάτου λαχόντες διατελοῦσιν ἄφθαρτοι.
- 20 Τοὺς δὲ ἀγένητον καὶ ἄφθαρτον κατασκευάζον-
τας λόγους ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὄρατὸν <θεόν>
αἰδοῦς προτέρους τακτέον οἰκείαν ἀρχὴν λαβόντας.
ἅπασι τοῖς φθορὰν ἐνδεχομένοις αἰτίαι διτταὶ τῆς
ἀπωλείας, ἡ μὲν ἐντός, ἡ δὲ ἐκτός, προϋπόκεινται·
σίδηρον γοῦν καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ τὰς τοιοντοτρόπους
οὐσίας εὖροις ἂν ἀφανιζομένας ἐξ ἑαυτῶν μὲν,
ὅταν ἐρπηνώδους νοσήματος τρόπον ἰὸς ἐπιδραμὼν
διαφάγη, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐκτός, ὅταν ἐμπιπραμένης
οἰκίας ἢ πόλεως συναναφλεχθεῖσαι τῇ πυρὸς βιαίῳ
ρίπῃ διαλυθῶσιν· ὁμοιοτρόπως δὲ καὶ ζώοις ἐπι-
γίνεται τελευτὴ νοσήσασι μὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ὑπὸ
δὲ τῶν ἐκτός σφαττομένοις ἢ καταλενομένοις
ἢ ἐμπιπραμένοις ἢ θάνατον οὐ καθαρὸν τὸν δι’
21 ἀγχόνης ὑπομένουσιν. εἰ δὲ φθείρεται καὶ κόσμος,
ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦτοι ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἐκτός ἢ πρὸς τινος
τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διαφθαρήσεται δυνάμεων· ἀμήχανον
δ’ ἐκάτερον· ἐκτός μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου,
πάντων εἰς τὴν συμπλήρωσιν αὐτοῦ συνερανι-

¹ Cohn ἔδειξαν. He quotes § 52 below and also *De Op.* 60 and *Spec. Leg.* i. 90, and what is closer to this passage *Leg. All.* i. 2 ἡ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ κίνησις χρόνου φύσιν ἔδειξεν. Still “indicating the nature of time” is not quite the same as “indicating the nature of the measurement of time.” On the other hand ἐδέξαντο φύσιν, which Bernays translates “die Eigenschaft empfangen,” is a strange expression.

^a The allusion is no doubt to Gen. viii. 22 E.V. “While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.”

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 19-21

measure time are together with the whole heaven destined to immortality and continue indestructible." ^a

Respect for that visible God requires that we ²⁰ should begin the discussion in the proper way by setting forth first the arguments which contend that it is uncreated and indestructible. All things which are liable to perish are subject to two fundamental sources of destruction, the external and the internal. Thus iron, brass and similar substances will be found to vanish of themselves when devoured by the rust which courses over them like a creeping sickness ^b; and also through external agencies, when a house or city is burnt and they too are caught in the flames and dissolved through the violence of the rushing fire. Similarly, too, living creatures die of themselves through disease or through external causes, being slain with the sword or stoned or burnt or suffering the unclean death of hanging. ^c Now if the world is ²¹ destroyed it will necessarily be through either some force from without or some of those which it contains within itself, and both of these are impossible. For there is nothing outside the world since all things have been brought into contribution to fill it up, and

The LXX text is confused and difficult to translate grammatically, but gives the same meaning that these will continue while the earth lasts, but not that the earth will last. In the words οἱ χρόνοι κτλ. there is also an allusion to Gen. i. 14 "Let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years," which again gives no proof of everlastingness.

^b A familiar figure with Philo, applied to desire or vice, *Quod Det.* 110, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 83, *De Dec.* 150 and to the spread of famine *De Ios.* 160 (there called ἐρπύην). See also *De Prov.* 30.

^c Cf. *De Mut.* 62 ἐπ' ἀγχόνην ἦξεν, ἵνα . . . μηδὲ καθαρῶ θανάτῳ τελευτήσει.

σθέντων· οὕτως γὰρ εἰς τε ἔσται καὶ ὅλος καὶ ἀγήρως, εἰς μὲν διὰ τὸ ἀπολειφθέντων τινῶν ἕτερον ἂν τῷ νῦν ὄντι γενέσθαι ὁμοιον, ὅλος δὲ ἔνεκα τοῦ σύμπασαν τὴν οὐσίαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξανηλῶσθαι, ἀγήρως δὲ καὶ ἄνοσος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ νόσοις καὶ γήραϊ σώματα ἄλωτὰ θερμότησι καὶ ψύξεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐναντιότησι προσεμπιπτούσαις ἔξωθεν ἰσχυρῶς ἀνατρέπεται, ὣν οὐδεμία δύναμις ἀποδρᾶσα κυκλοῦται καὶ ἐπιτίθεται, πασῶν,¹ μηδενὸς ἀποστατοῦντος μέρους, ὀλοκλήρων ἐγκατειλημμένων εἶσω. εἰ δ' ἄρα τί ἐστὶν ἐκτός, πάντως ἂν εἴη κενόν, ἢ ἀπαθὴς φύσις, ἣν ἀδύνατον
 22 παθεῖν τι ἢ δρᾶσαι. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τινος αἰτίας διαλυθήσεται τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ· πρῶτον μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ὅλου τὸ μέρος καὶ μείζον ἔσται καὶ κραταιότερον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀτοπώτατον· ὁ γὰρ κόσμος
 [492] ἀνυπερβλήτῳ κράτει | χρώμενος ἄγει τὰ πάντα μέρη, πρὸς μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ἀγόμενος· ἔπειτα διότι² διττῶν οὐσῶν φθορᾶς αἰτιῶν, τῆς μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς δὲ ἐκτός, ἃ τὴν ἐτέραν οἶά τε³ ὑπομένειν,
 23 δεκτικὰ καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐστὶ πάντως. σημεῖον δέ· βούς καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια ζῶα, διότι πέφυκεν ἀναιρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ σιδήρου, καὶ νόσῳ τελευτήσῃ· χαλεπὸν γὰρ μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον εὐρεῖν, ὃ τι τὴν ἔξωθεν αἰτίαν πεφυκὸς ὑπομένειν
 [497] τῆς φθορᾶς ἄδεκτον ἔσται⁴ | κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς τῆς
 24 ἐνδοθεν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐκτός

¹ MSS. παθῶν.

² So MSS. and the other editors. Cohn corrects it to ἔπειτα δέ, ὅτι, which is not needed. πρῶτον μὲν is, I believe, more often followed by ἔπειτα than by ἔπειτα δέ or at least as often.

³ MSS. οἶεται.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 21-24

filled it must be if it is to be one and a total and unaging: one because if some things are left out another world would come into being like the one that now is; total because all that exists is used up to make it; proof against age and disease because the bodies which fall a prey to diseases and old age succumb to the powerful onsets from outside of heat and cold and all other opposite extremes,^a and none of these forces can escape from the world to surround and attack it, for they are all in their entirety confined within it and no part of them stays away from it. And if there is anything outside it will necessarily be a void, 'the impassive form of existence which cannot be acted on or act. Neither again will any- 22 thing internal cause its dissolution. First because if it did the part would be greater and stronger than the whole, which is against all reason. For the world while exerting a force which nothing can surpass propels all its parts and is propelled by none. Secondly because as the sources of destruction are twofold, one external and one internal, things which can be subject to one of these two must certainly be susceptible to the other. As a proof of this we see 23 that an ox or a horse or a man or other similar creatures since they are liable to be killed by an iron weapon are also liable to die through disease. For it is difficult or rather impossible to find anything which if susceptible to destruction through an external cause is entirely proof against an internal. Since then it has been shown that the world will not 24

^a See App. p. 526.

⁴ On the displacement of the text in the mss. at this point see App. p. 527.

φθαρησόμενος ἐδείχθη ὁ κόσμος, τῷ μηδὲν ἔξω καταλελειφθαι πάντως, οὐδ' ὑπό τινος τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὴν προεπιλογισθεῖσαν ἀπόδειξιν, καθ' ἣν τὸ ἀλωτὸν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν αἰτιῶν καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν 25 ἐπεφύκει δέχεσθαι. VI. μαρτύρια δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Τιμαίῳ περὶ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἄνοσον εἶναι καὶ μὴ φθαρησόμενον τάδε· “ τῶν δὲ δὴ τεττάρων ἐν ὅλον ἕκαστον εἴληφεν ἢ τοῦ κόσμου σύστασις· ἐκ γὰρ πυρὸς παντὸς ὕδατός τε καὶ αἰέρος καὶ γῆς συνέστησεν αὐτὸν ὁ συνιστάς, μέρος οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ δύναμιν ἔξωθεν ὑπολιπών, τάδε διανοηθεῖς· 26 πρῶτον μὲν, ἵνα ὅλον ὅτι μάλιστα ζῶον, τέλειον ἐκ τελείων μερῶν, εἴη· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐν, ἅτε οὐχ ὑπολελειμμένων ἐξ ὧν ἄλλο τοιοῦτον γένοιτ' ἂν· ἔτι δέ, ἵνα ἀγῆρων καὶ ἄνοσον ᾗ, κατανοῶν ὡς συστάτῳ¹ σώματι θερμὰ καὶ ψυχρὰ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δυνάμεις ἰσχυρὰς ἔχει περιστάμενα ἔξωθεν καὶ προσπίπτοντα ἀκαίρως λυπεῖ² καὶ νόσους καὶ γῆρας ἐπάγοντα φθίνειν ποιεῖ. διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν τόνδε θεὸς³ ὅλον ἐξ ὅλων ἀπάντων τέλειον 27 καὶ ἀγῆρων καὶ ἄνοσον αὐτὸν ἐτεκτήνατο.” τοῦτο μὲν δὴ παρὰ Πλάτωνος πρὸς τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν τοῦ κόσμου μαρτύριον εἰλήφθω, τὸ δ' ἀγέννητον παρὰ τῆς φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας⁴. ἔπεται μὲν γὰρ τῷ γενομένῳ διάλυσις, ἀφθαρσία δὲ τῷ ἀγενήτῳ· ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ τὸ τρίμετρον ἐκεῖνο ποιήσας

“ τό τοι γεγόμενον κατθανεῖν ὀφείλεται ”

¹ MSS. ὡς τὰ τῷ.

² Plato λυεῖ. On this and other variations in the quotations from Plato's text see App. p. 527.

³ Plato ἐν.

⁴ MSS. ἀληθείας.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 24-27

be destroyed by anything external because nothing at all has been left outside, neither will anything within it cause its destruction as demonstrated by the argument stated above, namely that that which is liable to be destroyed by one of the causes must be susceptible to the other. VI. In the 25
Timaëus, too, we have the following testimony to show that the world is proof against disease and destruction in the future.^a "Now the framing of the world took up the whole of each of these four elements, for out of all fire, of all water and air and earth did the framer fashion it, leaving no part nor power of any without. Therein he had this intent, first that it might be a creature, perfect to the utmost 26 with all its parts perfect, next that it might be one, seeing that nothing was left over by which another of the kind should be formed: furthermore, that it might be free from age and sickness, for he reflected that when hot things and cold and all such as have strong powers gather round a composite body from without and fall unseasonably upon it they annoy it and bringing upon it sickness and age cause it to decay. With this motive and on such reasons God fashioned it as a whole, with each of its parts whole in itself so as to be perfect, and free from age and sickness." We may take this as Plato's testimony 27 to the indestructibility of the world; that it is uncreated follows the natural law of consequences. Dissolution is consequential to the created, indestructibility to the uncreated. The author of the verse "All that is born is due to death"^b seems to

^a *Timaëus* 32 c. The translation here and in § 38 mostly follows that of Archer-Hind.

^b The source is unknown.

δοκεῖ μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ, συνεῖς¹ ἀκολουθίαν τῶν αἰτιῶν τῆς <γενέσεως καὶ τῆς> φθορᾶς, * * * ὥδ' ἔχει.²

- 28 [498] Ἐτέρως δέ ἐστι τοιόνδε· | πάνθ' ὅσα τῶν συν-
 θέτων φθείρεται, διάλυσιν εἰς τὰ ἐξ ὧν συνετέθη
 λαμβάνει· διάλυσιν δ' οὐδὲν ἦν ἄρα ἢ πρὸς τὸ
 κατὰ φύσιν ἐκάστων ἐπάνοδος, ὥστε κατὰ τοῦ-
 ναντίον ἢ σύνθεσις εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν τὰ συν-
 ελθόντα βεβίασται. καὶ δὴ τὰδ'³ οὕτως ἔοικεν
 29 ἀψευδέστατα ἔχειν. ἄνθρωποι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν τετ-
 τάρων στοιχείων, ἃ δὴ ὅλα τοῦ παντός ἐστίν
 οὐρανοῦ,⁴ γῆς, <ὑδατος>, αἱέρος τε καὶ πυρός,
 βραχέα τὰ μέρη δανεισάμενοι συνεκράθημεν· τὰ
 δ' ἀνακραθέντα τῆς κατὰ φύσιν θέσεως ἐστέρηται,
 θερμότητος μὲν τῆς ἀνωφοίτου κατω<σθείσης>,
 τῆς δὲ γεώδους καὶ βάρους ἐχούσης οὐσίας ἐπελα-
 φρισθείσης καὶ τὸν ἄνω τρόπον ἀντιλαβούσης, ὃν⁵
 τὸ γεωδέστατον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐπέσχηκε κεφαλὴ.
 30 δεσμῶν δὲ φαυλότατος ὃν ἐσφιγξε βία, βαιὸς⁶ καὶ
 ὀλιγοχρόνιος· ῥήγνυται γὰρ θᾶπτον ὑπὸ τῶν δε-
 θέντων, ἅτε ἀπαυχενιζόντων διὰ πόθον [ὑπὸ] τῆς
 κατὰ φύσιν κινήσεως, πρὸς ἣν σπεύδοντα μετ-

¹ MSS. συνθεῖς.

² Suggestions for completing or correcting this sentence are: (1) Cumont εἰπεῖν for ἔχει, (2) Bernays <ὥδε λέγειν καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἢ ἀπόδειξις> ὥδ' ἔχει, (3) Cohn and Bücheler <μαρτυρεῖν or ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι> ὥδ' ἔχει.

³ MSS. καὶ δῆτα.

⁴ Cohn, presumably like Bernays, takes οὐρανοῦ as agreeing with παντός. But though οὐρανός can = κόσμος (see § 4), can it be said to have four elements? Cumont expunges οὐρανοῦ. He quotes *De Som.* i. 15, where the constituents, of which we as well as the Cosmos are composed, are said to be earth, water, air, heaven, and to the same effect *Mos.* i. 113,

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 27-30

have hit the truth and to have understood the causal connexion between birth and destruction.

The matter is put otherwise thus. All compound 28 things which are destroyed are dissolved into what they were compounded from. Dissolution then is found to be nothing else than a return to the natural condition of each, and therefore conversely composition has forced the ingredients thus collected into an unnatural condition. And indeed the absolute truth of this appears as follows. We men are 29 an amalgamation out of the four elements which in their totality are elements of the universe, namely earth, water, air and fire, out of which we have borrowed only small pieces. But the pieces thus amalgamated have lost their natural position. Heat the upward soaring is thrust down and the earthy and weighty substance is lightened and has taken instead the upper position which is occupied by the most earthy of our constituents, the head.^a But the 30 bond which violence has clinched is the most worthless of all bonds and lasts for but a little time. Quickly it is broken by the rebellious prisoners in their yearning for their natural free movement towards which they eagerly take their departure.

^a *i.e.* the skull. Cumont's reading (see note 5) gives a more natural sense. It is strange to find the head called our most earthy part.

ii. 37. These however rather point to the omission of *πυρός*. The addition of *ῥδατος* which all three editors make is evidently necessary.

⁵ One MSS. *κεφαλῇ*. Cumont *ᾧστε . . . ἐν κεφαλῇ*. In this case *ἐπέσχηκε* = "has stopped"; or "takes up its place," see note a.

⁶ MSS. *βίαιος*.

ανίσταται· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν τραγικόν

“ χωρεῖ δ’ ὀπίσω
τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ’ εἰς γαῖαν,
τὰ δ’ ἀπ’ αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς¹
εἰς οὐράνιον πόλον ἦλθε πάλιν·
θνήσκει δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
διακρινόμενον δ’ ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
μορφὴν ἰδίαν² ἀπέδειξεν.”

- 31 τοῖς μὲν δὴ φθειρομένοις ἅπασι νόμος ἀναγέ-
γραπται καὶ θεσμός οὗτος, ὁπότε μὲν ὑφέστηκε
τὰ συνεληλυθότα ἐν τῇ κράσει, πρὸ τῆς κατὰ
φύσιν τάξεως ἀταξίας ἀντιμετειληφέναι καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς ἐναντίους τόπους μετανίστασθαι, ὡς τρόπον
τινὰ ξενιτεύειν δοκεῖν, ὁπότε δὲ διαλύοιτο, πρὸς
τὴν οἰκείαν τῆς φύσεως λήξιν ἀνακάμπτειν.
- 32 VII. ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἀμέτοχος τῆς ἐν
τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἀταξίας ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ, φέρε, θεα-
σώμεθα· φθειρομένου τὰ μέρη νυνὶ μὲν ἀνάγκη
τετάχθαι τὴν παρὰ φύσιν ἕκαστα χώραν· τοῦτο
δὲ ὑπονοεῖν οὐκ εὐαγές· ἀρίστην γὰρ θέσιν καὶ
τάξιν ἐναρμόνιον τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη πάντα
εἴληχεν, ὡς ἕκαστον καθάπερ πατρίδι φιλοχωροῦν
- 33 μὴ ζητεῖν ἀμείνω μεταβολήν. διὰ τοῦτο γῇ μὲν
ὁ μεσαίτατος ἀπενεμήθη τόπος, ἐφ’ ἣν πάντα τὰ
γεώδη, καὶ ἀναρρίψης, καταφέρεται — τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ

¹ MSS. γῆς.

² So MSS. here, elsewhere ἐτέραν. See note a.

^a These seven lines, the last three of which are quoted also in §§ 5 and 144, are quoted in bits by several writers including Clement, who says that they come from the *Chrysippus*

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 30-33

As the tragic poet says

What springs from earth goes back to earth,
The ether-born to heaven's vault returns;
Naught that is born can die;
Hither and thither its parts disperse
And take their proper form.^a

Now the law laid down to govern all things which 31
are destroyed is this. When the assembled things
are in the combined state of existence they have
accepted conditions of disorder in exchange for their
natural order and move away into positions opposite
to the natural. So in a sense they seem to live like
strangers in a foreign land. But when they are
dissolved they return to the condition proper to
their nature.

VII. But the world has 32
nothing of the disorder which exists in the com-
pounds of which we have been speaking. Observa-
tion will show that if it undergoes destruction its
several parts must at present have been arranged
in an unnatural position and such a supposition is
irreverent. For all the parts of the world have been
given the best possible situation and harmony of
order, so that each is as it were in its beloved father-
land and does not seek any change for the better.
And so the earth has been assigned the mid-most 33
position to which all things of earth descend even if
they are thrown up, a sign that this is their natural

of Euripides. Besides these seven there are seven others,
given by Sextus Empiricus, which, we learn from the para-
phrase given by Vitruvius of the whole fourteen, must have
preceded our seven. In these Aether and Earth are addressed
as the father and mother of all things living. Vitruvius's
paraphrase ends with "in eandem recidere, in qua fuerant,
proprietatem," which shows that he read *ἰδίαν* and not *ἐτέραν*.
See Nauck on Fr. 839 of Euripides.

- [499] | σημεῖον χώρας τῆς κατὰ φύσιν· ἔνθα γὰρ μὴ ὑπὸ βίας ὅτιοῦν ἐνεχθὲν ἴσταται καὶ ἡρεμεῖ, τὸν οἰκεῖον εἵληχε χῶρον — ὕδωρ δὲ ἐπὶ γῆν ἀνακέχυται [δεύτερον], ἀήρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου πρὸς τὸν ἄνω κεχώρηκεν, ἀήρ μὲν τὸν μεθόριον ὕδατος καὶ πυρὸς κληρωσάμενος τόπον, πῦρ δὲ τὸν ἀνωτάτω· διὸ καὶ ἀναψάμενος δᾶδα πρὸς γῆν καταφέρει, ἢ φλόξ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀντιβιάσεται καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυσικὴν τοῦ πυρὸς κίνησιν ἐπικουφίσασα
- 34 αὐτὴν ἀναδραμεῖται. εἰ δὲ φθορᾶς μὲν αἴτιον ἢ παρὰ φύσιν τάξις τῶν ἄλλων [ἔχει] ζώων, ἐν δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ κατὰ φύσιν ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν διατέτακται τὰς οἰκείας διακληρωσάμενα χώρας, ἐνδίκως ἂν λέγοιτο ὁ κόσμος ἄφθαρτος.
- 35 Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐκείνο παντί τῳ δῆλον, ὅτι φύσις ἐκάστη διατηρεῖν καὶ διασώζειν, εἰ δ' οἷόν τε εἴη, καὶ ἀθανατίζειν ἕκαστα ὧν φύσις ἐστὶν ἐσπούδακεν, ἢ μὲν ἐν τοῖς δένδρεσι τὰ δένδρα, ἢ δ' ἐν τοῖς
- 36 ζώοις τῶν ζώων ἕκαστον. ἐξασθενεῖ¹ δὲ ἢ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀναγκαίως ἄγειν πρὸς αἰδιότητα· ἢ γὰρ ἔνδεια ἢ φλογμός ἢ κρυμός ἢ μυρία ἄλλα τῶν εἰωθότων ἐπισυνίστασθαι κατασκήψαντα διέσεισε καὶ διέλυσε τὸν συνέχοντα δεσμὸν καὶ τέλος κατέρρηξε· τοιοῦτον δ' εἰ μηδὲν ἐφήδρευεν ἔξω, καὶ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ πάντα μικρά τε αὖ καὶ μεγάλα
- 37 ἀγῆρω διεφύλαττεν.² ἀναγκαῖον οὖν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν γλίχεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ὅλου διαμονῆς· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἐστὶ χείρων, ὥς ἀπο-

¹ Cohn suspects ἐξασθενεῖ on account of the infinitive following it. It may perhaps be justified on the analogy of the construction not uncommon with adjectives, e.g., νῆες ὀλίγα ἀμύνειν, or ὥς may have fallen out after ἀναγκαίως on the

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 33-37

position, for if anything stands at rest anywhere without being forced thither it is there that it has found its proper place. Water is spread over the surface of earth, and air and fire have made their way from the middle to the upper position, air having allotted to it the space between water and fire and fire the uppermost. And so even if you light a torch and make it descend to earth the flame will all the same force its way against you and speed upwards lightening itself to gain the motion natural to fire. In fact if we grant that in other creatures destruction 34 is caused by their unnatural arrangement of their parts, while in the world each of the parts is arranged naturally and has its proper position apportioned to it, we are justified in saying that the world is indestructible.

Another point which must be clear to everyone is 35 this. Nature in each case strives to maintain and conserve the thing of which it is the nature and if it were possible to render it immortal. Tree nature acts so in trees, animal nature in each kind of animal, but the nature of any particular part is necessarily 36 too feeble to carry it into a perpetual existence. For privation or scorching or chilling or the vast multitude of other circumstances which ordinarily affect it descend to shake it violently and loosen and finally break the bond which holds it together, though if no such external force were lying ready to attack it, so far as itself was concerned, it would preserve all things small or great proof against age. The 37 nature of the world then must necessarily desire the conservation of the All. For it is not inferior to

analogy of *ψυχρόν ἐστι τὸ ὕδωρ ὥστε λούσασθαι* (Madvig 149, 150).
² MSS. *διαφυλάττειν*.

διδράσκουσα καὶ λιποτακτοῦσα νόσον ἀνθ' ὑγείας
καὶ φθορὰν ἀντὶ σωτηρίας παντελοῦς ἐπιχειρεῖν
τεχνάζειν, ἐπειδὴ

“ πασάων ὑπὲρ ἧ γε κάρη ἔχει ἡδὲ μέτωπα,
ρεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι.”

ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἐστι, φθορὰν ὁ κόσμος οὐ
δέξεται. διὰ τί ; ὅτι ἡ συνέχουσα φύσις αὐτὸν
ἀήττητός ἐστι κατὰ πολλὴν ἰσχύος ῥώμην, τῶν
ἄλλων ὅσα βλάπτειν ἔμελλεν ἀπαξαπάντων ἐπι-
38 κρατοῦσα. διὸ καὶ Πλάτων εὖ “ ἀπῆει τε γὰρ ”
φησὶν “ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ προσῆει αὐτῷ ποθεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ
ἦν. αὐτὸ¹ γὰρ ἐαυτῷ τροφήν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φθίσιν
παρέχον¹ καὶ πάντ' ἐν ἐαυτῷ καὶ ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ
πάσχον¹ καὶ δρῶν ἐκ τέχνης γέγονεν· ἡγήσατο γὰρ
αὐτὸ ὁ συνθεὶς αὐταρκες ὃν ἄμεινον ἔσεσθαι
μᾶλλον ἢ προσδεῆς (ἄλλων).”

39 VIII. Ἀποδεικτικώτατός γε μὴν καὶ κεῖνος ὁ
λόγος ἐστίν, ἐφ' ᾧ μυρίους οἶδα σεμνυνομένους
ὡς ἡκριβωμένῳ καὶ πάννυ ἀνεξελέγκτῳ. πυνθά-
νονται γάρ· τίνος ἔνεκα τὸν κόσμον φθερεῖ ὁ θεός;
[500] ἦτοι γὰρ | ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηκέτι κοσμοποιῆσαι ἢ ὑπὲρ
40 τοῦ ἕτερον κατασκευάσαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ
πρότερον ἀλλότριον θεοῦ· πρὸς τάξιν γὰρ ἀταξίαν
μεταβάλλειν δέον, οὐ πρὸς ἀταξίαν τάξιν· εἴτα δ'
ὅτι καὶ μετάνοιαν πάθος καὶ νόσημα δέξεται
ψυχῆς· ἔδει γὰρ ἢ μὴ κοσμοποιῆσαι τὸ παράπαν
ἢ κρίνοντα πρέπον αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον χαίρειν τῷ
41 γενομένῳ. τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἄξιον οὐ

¹ MSS. αὐτὸς . . . παρέχων . . . πάσχων.

^a Od. vi. 107 f., said of Artemis and her nymphs.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 37-41

the nature of particular parts that it should take to its heels and leave its post and try to manufacture sickness rather than health, destruction rather than complete preservation, since

High o'er them all she rears her head and brows
Easy to recognize though all are fair.^a

But if this is true the world will not be susceptible to destruction. Why so? Because the nature which holds it together fortified by its great fund of strength is invincible and prevails over everything which could injure it. And so Plato says well ^b: "For nothing 38 went out from it nor entered it from anywhere. For there was nothing. For by design it was created to supply its own sustenance by its own wasting ^c and have all its actions and passions in itself and by itself. For its framer deemed that were it self-sufficing it would be far better than if it required aught else."

VIII. There is another highly logical line of proof 39 which thousands, I know, hail with pride as very exact and absolutely irrefutable. They ask what motive will God have for destroying the world. It must be either to cease from world-making or to construct another.

Now the first of these is incon- 40 sistent with God's nature, which demands that He should change disorder to order, not order to disorder. Secondly He will be allowing Himself to change His mind, and such change is an affection and distemper of the soul. For rightly He should either have made no world at all or judge His work to be befitting to Himself and rejoice in what has been made.

The second motive suggested 41

^b *Timaeus* 33 c.

^c *i.e.* each part or element feeds upon another. Archer-Hind compares the saying of Heracleitus quoted in § 111.

βραχείας ἐρεύνῃς. εἰ γὰρ ἕτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦν ὄντος κατασκευάσει, πάντως ὁ γενόμενος ἢ χείρων ἢ ὅμοιος ἢ κρείττων ἀποτελεσθήσεται· ὦν ἕκαστον ἐπίληπτον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ χείρων ὁ κόσμος, χείρων καὶ ὁ δημιουργός. ἀμώμητα δὲ καὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ ἀνεπανόρθωτα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τελειοτάτῃ τέχνῃ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ δημιουργηθέντα·

“ οὐδὲ ” γὰρ “ γυνή ” φασὶ “ τοσσόνδε νόου ἐπι-
 δεύεται ἐσθλοῦ,
 ὥστε χερείον’ ἐλέσθαι ἀμεινοτέρων <παρεόν-
 των>.”

ἐμπρεπὲς δὲ θεῶ τὰ ἄμορφα μορφοῦν καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις περιτιθέναι θαυμαστὰ κάλλη.

- 42 εἰ δ’ ὅμοιος, ματαιοπόνος ὁ τεχνίτης, οὐδὲν κομιδῇ νηπίων παίδων διαφέρων, οἳ πολλάκις παρ’ αἰγιαλοῖς ἀθύροντες ψάμμου γεωλόφους ἀνιστᾶσι κᾶπειθ’ ὑφαιροῦντες ταῖς χερσὶ πάλιν ἐρείπουσι· πολὺ γὰρ ἄμεινον τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ὅμοιον μηδὲν μήτε ἀφαιροῦντα μήτε προστιθέντα μηδ’ αὖ πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον μεταβάλλοντα τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπαξ
 43 γενόμενον κατὰ χώραν ἑᾶν. εἰ δὲ κρείτ-

τονα δημιουργήσῃ, γενήσεται τότε κρείττων καὶ ὁ δημιουργός, ὥσθ’ ἡνίκα τὸν πρότερον κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν ἀτελέστερος, ὅπερ οὐδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν ἐστίν· ἴσος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὅμοιος ὁ θεός, μήτε ἄνεσιν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μήτ’ ἐπίτασιν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον δεχόμενος.

^a Source unknown.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 41-43

demands no little examination. If he should construct another world to take the place of that which now exists, the work thus made must be either a worse, or a like or a superior construction and each of these suppositions is unsatisfactory. For if it is worse its framer also is worse, but the works of God framed with the most consummate skill and knowledge are not liable to censure or condemnation or correction. As they say,

Not even a woman so far lacks good sense
As when the better's there to choose the worse.^a

And it befits God to give form to the formless and invest the ugliest things with marvellous beauties.

If it is a similar world, the craftsman ⁴² has wasted his toil and differs not a whit from quite senseless children who often when playing on the beach erect great mounds of sand and then undermine them with their hands and send them tumbling back to the ground.^b Far better than constructing a similar world would it be neither to take away nor to add, neither to change for the better or for the worse but to leave where it is what was once originally created.

If the work is to be better, the ⁴³ workman also will then be better, consequently less perfect in skill and intelligence when he constructed the first world. And even to harbour such a thought is profane, for God is equal to Himself and like Himself; His power admits neither relaxation to make it worse, nor tension to make it better. Such

^b Cf. *Il.* xv. 362 ff. :

ὥς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον παῖς ἄγχι θαλάσσης,
ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιέησιν,
ᾧψ αὐτὶς συνέχευε ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν ἀθύρων.

PHILO

ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀνωμαλίας ἄνθρωποι κεχωρήκασι, πρὸς ἑκάτερον τό τε εὖ καὶ τὸ χεῖρον πεφυκότες μεταβάλλειν, αὐξήσῃσι καὶ προκοπαῖς καὶ βελτιώσῃσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἰωθότες
 44 χρῆσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ μὲν τῶν θνητῶν ἔργα ἡμῶν φθαρτὰ δεόντως ἂν γένοιτο, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀθανάτου κατὰ τὸν εἰκότα λόγον ἀφθαρτα δῆπου· τῇ γὰρ φύσει τῶν τεχνιτῶν εὐλογον τὰ δημιουργηθέντα ἐξομοιοῦσθαι.

45 IX. Καὶ μὴν ἅπαντί που¹ κἀκεῖνο δῆλον, ὅτι φθειρομένης μὲν τῆς γῆς ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ χερσαῖα τῶν ζώων καθ' ὅλον τὸ γένος ἀπόλλυσθαι, φθειρομένου δὲ ὕδατος τὰ ἔνυδρα, καὶ αἶρος μέντοι καὶ
 46 πυρὸς τὰ ἀεροπόρα καὶ πυρίγονα. κατ' ἀνάλογον οὖν εἰ φθείρεται ὁ οὐρανός, φθαρήσεται μὲν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη, φθαρήσονται δ' οἱ λοιποὶ πλάνητες, φθαρήσονται δ' οἱ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρες, ὁ τοσοῦτος |
 [501] αἰσθητῶν θεῶν εὐδαίμων τὸ πάλαι νομισθεὶς στρατός. ὁ δὲ [εἰ] γένοιτ' ἂν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ θεοὺς φθειρομένους ὑπονοεῖν· ἴσον γὰρ ἔστι τῷ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀθανάτους ὑπονοεῖν. καίτοι τις² ἐν ἀτίμων συγκρίσει τοῦτ' ἂν εὖροι σκοπῶν εὐλογώτερον ἐκείνου· χάριτι μὲν γὰρ θεοῦ³ θνητὸν ἀθανασίας μεταλαχεῖν εἰκός ἐστιν, ἀφθαρσίαν δὲ θεοὺς ἀπο-

¹ Cohn corrects to *τω*, I think, unnecessarily. He says that *παντί τω* is very common in Philo, which is certainly true, and that *που* is unsuitable. Why? Having used *παντί τω* just above, § 35, he might naturally prefer to vary the form of introduction.

² MSS. καὶ τοῖς ἢ καίτοι.

³ MSS. ἐκείνου, χάριτι μὲν θεοῦ ὃν· θνητὸν μὲν γὰρ κτλ.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 43-46

irregularities occur in the lives of men. It is their nature to change in both directions for good and for worse. To grow, to advance, to improve and their opposites are to them common events. Add to this 44 that the works of us mortals will rightly be destructible, while those of Him the immortal may surely be expected to be indestructible. For it is reasonable to suppose that what the craftsmen have wrought should be assimilated to the nature of those who wrought them.

IX. Further, it is surely clear to everyone that if 45 the earth is destroyed land animals too as a race must all perish : so, too, if water is destroyed, the aquatic, if air and fire, the traversers of the air and the fire-born.^a On the same analogy, if heaven is 46 destroyed, the sun and moon will be destroyed, so also the other planets, so also the fixed stars, that mighty host of visible gods whose blessedness from of old has been recognized. This would be the same as supposing that gods are destroyed, and that is on a par with supposing also that men are immortal.^b Though if we compare one futility with another we shall find on examination that this is more reasonable than that. Through the grace of God a mortal may conceivably gain immortality, but that gods should

^a Cf. *De Gig.* 7 and *De Plant.* 12, where they are said to be seen particularly in Macedonia.

^b Bernays explains this as a Peripatetic hit at the Stoic readiness to believe that men become gods. He quotes among other references Cic. *De Nat. Deorum* i. 39, where Chrysippus is declared to have included among the many things which he held to be divine "homines eos qui immortalitatem essent consecuti." The Peripatetic then says here that a doctrine which involved the death of the heavenly beings is even worse than that which asserts the deification of men.

βαλεῖν ἀδύνατον, καὶ αἱ ἀνθρώπων σοφαί κακο-
 47 μανῶσι. καὶ μὴν οἷ γε τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ τὰς
 παλιγγενεσίας εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου νομίζουσι
 καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἀστέρας θεοὺς εἶναι, οὓς τῷ
 λόγῳ διαφθείρειν οὐκ ἐρυθριῶσιν. ἔδει γὰρ ἢ
 μύδρους διαπύρους ἀποφήνασθαι, καθάπερ ἔνιοι
 τῶν οἷα περὶ δεσμωτηρίου φλυαρούντων τοῦ σύμ-
 παντος οὐρανοῦ, ἢ θείας ἢ δαιμονίας φύσεις νομί-
 ζοντας τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν θεοῖς ἀφθαρσίαν προσ-
 ομολογῆσαι. νυνὶ δὲ τοσοῦτον δόξης ἀληθοῦς
 διήμαρτον, ὥστε λελήθασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ προνοίᾳ
 — ψυχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ κόσμου — φθορὰν ἐπιφέροντες
 48 ἐξ ὧν ἀνακόλουθα φιλοσοφοῦσι. Χρῦσιππος γοῦν
 ὁ δοκιμώτατος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ
 αὐξανομένου τερατεύεται τι τοιοῦτον· προκατα-
 σκευάσας ὅτι “ δύο ἰδίως ποιά¹ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 οὐσίας ἀμήχανον συστήναι,” φησὶν. “ ἔστω θεωρίας
 ἕνεκα τὸν μὲν τινα ὀλόκληρον, τὸν δὲ χωρὶς ἐπι-
 νοεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐτέρου ποδός, καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὸν μὲν
 ὀλόκληρον Δίωνα, τὸν δὲ ἀτελεῖ Θέωνα, καῖπειτα
 ἀποτέμεσθαι Δίωνος τὸν ἕτερον τοῖν ποδοῖν.”
 ζητουμένου δὴ, πότερος ἔφθαρται, τὸν Θέωνα
 φάσκειν οἰκειότερον εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ παραδοξο-

¹ So Cohn and Cumont for mss. εἰδοποιούς. Arnim how-
 ever in *S.V.F.* ii. 397 quoting this passage has ἰδίως ποιούς,
 and as several other passages from Plutarch, etc., have the
 masculine, it seems that this as nearer to the mss. is correct.

^a The meaning is to be judged from *De Som.* i. 22 “ Some
 people have declared them (the stars) to be . . . masses of fiery
 metal, for which they themselves deserve a prison and mill-
 house (*i.e.* a place for hard labour like Lat. “pistrinum”), in

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 46-48

lose their indestructibility is impossible whatever the mischievous ravings of men's philosophies may say. And indeed those who propound the doctrines of 47 conflagration and rebirth hold and openly declare the god-head of the stars which they destroy in their theorizing without a blush. For they must either declare them to be lumps of red hot metal as do some of those who nonsensically talk of the whole heaven as if it were a prison,^a or regarding them as divine or superhuman beings also acknowledge that they have the indestructibility which befits gods. In fact they err so far from the true doctrine that they fail to observe that in their inconsistent philosophizing they are imposing destruction on providence also which is 48 the soul of the world. So at least says the most esteemed among them, Chrysippus, who in his treatise on "increase" makes the following marvellous statement.^b Starting from the premise that there cannot be two individuals qualifying the same substance he continues "as an illustration, suppose that one person has all his members and that another has only one foot and let us call the first Dion and the defective one Theon and then suppose that Dion has one of his feet cut off." Now if we ask which of the two has suffered destruction, he thinks that Theon is the more correct answer. This savours

which such instruments are kept to punish impiety." And both passages seem to be connected with the story that Anaxagoras was prosecuted for impiety because he said that the sun was a *μύθος διάπυρος*. They seem to be the only passages which suggest that such a form of punishment was used in prisons. Was there perhaps a story that Anaxagoras when imprisoned, as according to one version he was, was subjected to this as an appropriate punishment?

^b On the meaning of the term *ἰδίως ποιόν* or *ποιός* and the argument of §§ 48-51 see App. p. 528.

49 λογοῦντος μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἢ ἀληθεύοντος. πῶς γὰρ
 ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκρωτηριασθεὶς μέρος, ὁ Θέων,
 ἀνήρπασται, ὁ δ' ἀποκοπεῖς τὸν πόδα Δίων οὐχὶ
 διέφθαρται ; “δεόντως” φησὶν. “ἀναδεδράμηκε
 γὰρ ὁ ἐκτμηθεὶς τὸν πόδα Δίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀτελῇ
 τοῦ Θεώνος οὐσίαν, καὶ δύο ἰδίως ποιὰ¹ περὶ τὸ
 αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον οὐ δύνατ' εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν τὸν
 μὲν Δίωνα μένειν ἀναγκαῖον, τὸν δὲ Θεώνα
 διεφθάρθαι.”

“τὰ δ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
 ἀλίσκόμενα”

φησὶν ὁ τραγικός· ἀπομαζάμενος γάρ τις τὸν |
 [502] τύπον τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐφαρμόσας τῷ παντὶ κόσμῳ
 δείξει σαφέστατα καὶ αὐτὴν φθειρομένην τὴν πρό-
 50 νοιαν. σκόπει δ' ὧδε· ὑποκείσθω τὸ μὲν² ὡσανεὶ
 Δίων ὁ κόσμος — τέλειος γάρ —, τὸ δὲ² ὡσανεὶ
 Θεών ἢ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ, διότι τοῦ ὅλου τὸ
 μέρος ἔλαττον, καὶ ἀφαιρείσθω, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Δίωνος ὁ πούς, οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου ὅσον
 51 αὐτοῦ σωματοειδές. οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη λέγειν ὅτι ὁ
 μὲν κόσμος οὐκ ἔφθαρται ὁ τὸ σῶμα ἀφαιρεθείς,
 ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ὁ ἀποκοπεῖς τὸν πόδα Δίων, ἀλλ' ἢ
 τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ, ὥσπερ Θεών ὁ μηδὲν παθών.
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ κόσμος ἐπ' ἐλάττονα οὐσίαν ἀνέδραμεν,
 ἀφαιρεθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς, ἐφθάρη δ'
 ἢ ψυχὴ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι δύο ἰδίως ποιὰ¹ εἶναι
 περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον. ἔκθεσμον δὲ τὸ λέγειν

¹ See note 1, p. 216.

² MSS. ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 49-51

more of paradox than of truth. For how can one 49 say that Theon the unmutilated has been made away with while Dion whose foot is amputated has suffered no destruction? "Quite rightly," he replies, "for Dion who has had his foot amputated has passed over to the defective substance of Theon. Two individuals cannot qualify the same substratum and so Dion must remain and Theon has been destroyed."

Themselves, no others, winged the shaft which slew them,"^a as says the tragic poet. For by reproducing this form of argument and applying it to the whole world one can very clearly show that providence itself is also destroyed. Consider it as follows. Postulate 50 on the one hand the world which is complete like Dion and on the other the soul of the world as Theon, for the part is less than the whole. Then just as we take away Dion's foot, take away from the world all its bodily part. Then we must say 51 that the world which has lost its body has not been destroyed just as Dion whose foot was cut off was not destroyed. But the soul of the world has been destroyed just as Theon who suffered no injury was destroyed. The world has passed over into a lesser state of being since its bodily part has been taken from it and its soul has been destroyed because two individuals cannot qualify the same substratum.

^a A fragment of the *Myrmidons* of Aeschylus. The passage is often quoted with or without the preceding lines

ὦδ' ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος,
πληγέντ' ἀτράκτω τοξικῶ τὸν αἰετὸν
εἶπεῖν ἰδόντα μηχανὴν πτερώματος,
τάδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς
ἀλισκόμεσθα.

φθείρεσθαι τὴν πρόνοιαν· ἀφθάρτου δὲ ὑπαρχούσης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀφθαρτον εἶναι.

- 52 X. Μεγίστην μέντοι παρέχεται πίστιν εἰς αἰδιό-
τητα καὶ ὁ χρόνος. εἰ γὰρ ἀγένητος ὁ χρόνος, ἐξ
ἀνάγκης καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἀγένητος. διὰ τί ; ὅτι, ἡ
φησιν ὁ μέγας Πλάτων, ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες μῆνές
τε καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδοι χρόνον ἔδειξαν. ἀμή-
χανον δέ τι τούτων συστήναι δίχα ἡλίου κινήσεως
καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐρανοῦ περιφορᾶς· ὥστ' εὐθυ-
βόλως ἀποδεδόσθαι πρὸς τῶν εἰωθότων τὰ πράγ-
ματα ὀρίζεσθαι χρόνον διάστημα τῆς τοῦ κόσμου
κινήσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦθ' ὑγιές ἐστι, γίνεται ὁ
53 κόσμος ἰσηλιξ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ αἴτιος. πάντων δ'
ἀτοπώτατον ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι ἦν ποτε κόσμος,¹ ἥνίκα
οὐκ ἦν χρόνος¹. ἀναρχος γὰρ καὶ ἀτελεύτητος ἡ
τούτου φύσις, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, τὸ ἦν, τὸ ποτέ,
τὸ ἥνίκα, χρόνον συνεμφαίνει. τούτῳ δ' ἀκό-
[492] λουθον τὸ μηδὲ χρόνον² | ὑποστήναι καθ' ἑαυτόν,
ἥνίκα κόσμος οὐκ ἦν· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὑπάρχον οὐδὲ
κινεῖται· διάστημα δὲ κοσμικῆς κινήσεως ἐδείχθη
ὁ χρόνος ὢν. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν ἐκάτερον ἐξ αἰδίου
ὑφεστάναι γενέσεως ἀρχὴν μὴ λαβόντα· τὰ δ' αἰδία
54 φθορᾶς ἀνεπίδεκτα. τάχα τις εὐρεσιλογῶν Στωι-
κὸς ἐρεῖ, τὸν χρόνον ἀποδεδόσθαι διάστημα τῆς τοῦ
κόσμου κινήσεως οὐχὶ τοῦ νυνὶ διακεκοσμημένου
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὑπο-
νοουμένου. πρὸς ὃν λεκτέον· τὴν ἀκοσμίαν, ὧ
γενναῖε, μετατιθεῖς τὰ ὀνόματα κόσμον καλεῖς· εἰ

¹ MSS. χρόνος . . . κόσμος.

² On the transposition of the text at this point see App. p. 527.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 51-54

Now to say that providence is destroyed is an atrocity but if providence is indestructible the world also is indestructible.

X. Another very weighty proof to show its perpetuity is supplied by time. If time is uncreated, the world also necessarily must be uncreated. Why? Because as great Plato says time is indicated by days and nights and months and successions of years, and none of these can subsist without the movement of the sun and the revolution of the whole heaven.^a Thus people who are accustomed to define things have correctly explained time as what measures the movement of the universe, and since this is sound, the world is coeval with time and its original source. But nothing can be so preposterous as to suppose that there was a time when the world was when time was not. Time by its nature has no beginning or end,^a since these very terms "was, time when, when," involve the idea of time. From this it follows that time also did not exist of itself when the world was not, for what does not subsist does not move either and time has been shown to be what measures the cosmic movement. It is necessary therefore that both should have subsisted from everlasting without having any beginning in which they came into being and things which are from everlasting are not susceptible of destruction. Possibly some argumentative Stoic quibbler will say that time is explained as the measurement of the movement not only of the world of the present cosmic order but of that postulated at the conflagration. The answer to this is, "My friend, you are transferring your terms and give the sense of Cosmos to the negation of Cosmos, for if this world which we see is very fitly called

γὰρ οὗτος ὃν ὀρώμεν ἐτύμως καὶ προσφυέστατα κόσμος κέκληται, διατεταγμένος καὶ διακεκοσμημένος ἀνεπανορθώτου¹ τέχνης ἀκρότητι, τὴν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴν δεόντως ἂν τις ἀκοσμίαν ὀνομάσαι.

55 XI. Κριτόλαος δέ <τις> τῶν κεχορευκότων Μούσαις, τῆς Περιπατητικῆς ἐραστῆς φιλοσοφίας, τῷ περὶ τῆς αἰδιότητος κόσμου δόγματι συνειπὼν ἐχρήσατο τοιαύταις πίστεσιν· εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν γῆν γεγονέναι· εἰ δέ ἡ γῆ γενητὴ, πάντως καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος· ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἀγέννητον, ἐξ αἰδίου τοῦ γένους ὑφειστώτος, ὥσπερ

56 ἐπιδειχθήσεται· αἰδῖος ἄρα καὶ ὁ κόσμος. τὸ δὲ ὑπερτεθὲν ἤδη κατασκευαστέον, εἰ δεῖ καὶ ἀποδείξεως τοῖς οὕτως ἐμφανέσι· δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔνεκα τῶν μυθοπλαστῶν, οἳ ψευσμάτων ἀναπλήσαντες τὸν βίον ἀλήθειαν ὑπερόριον πεφυγαδεύκασιν, οὐ μόνον πόλεις καὶ οἴκους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον τοῦ <ἀρίστου> κτήματος χηρεύνειν βιασάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς φράσεως² ὀλκὸν μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμοὺς δέλεαρ εἰς ἐνέδραν ἐπινοήσαντες, οἷς ἀφρόνων ὦτα καταγοητεύουσι, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμοὺς αἱ ἄμορφοι καὶ εἰδεχθεῖς ἐταῖραι περιάπτοις καὶ

57 νόθῳ κόσμῳ χηρεία γνησίου. λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι ἡ ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένεσις ἀνθρώπων νεώτερον φύσεως ἔργον,

[493] ἀρχεγονώτερον δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτερον | ἡ ἐκ γῆς, ἐπειδὴ πάντων μήτηρ ἐστὶ τε καὶ νενόμισται· τοὺς δὲ ἀδομένους παρ' Ἑλλησι Σπαρτοὺς ἐκφῦναι,

¹ MSS. ἄτ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου.

² MSS. πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὀράσεως.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 54-57

Cosmos in the proper sense of the word being ordered and disposed with consummate craftsmanship, which admits of no improvement, one may rightly describe its change into fire as the negation of Cosmos."

XI. "Critolaus, one of the votaries of the Muses, 55 a lover of the Peripatetic philosophy, who assents to the doctrine of the perpetuity of the world, used the following arguments. If the world has been created, the earth must have been so too, and if the earth was created, so certainly must have been the human race, but man is uncreated and his race has existed from everlasting as will be shown, therefore the world also is everlasting. Now for the 56 establishment of the point just left for discussion ^b if, indeed, facts so obvious need proof. But they do need it, because of the myth-makers who have infected our life with their falsehoods and chased away truth from its borders. They have forced not only cities and houses but also every single individual to lack that best of possessions and devised as a bait to trap them metres and rhythms and so expressed their views in an attractive form. With these they bewitch the ears of the foolish as uncomely and repulsive courtesans bewitch their eyes with their trappings and spurious adornment for lack of the genuine. These people say that the birth of man- 57 kind from mankind is a later work of nature and that the earlier and more original form was a generation from the earth, since the earth both is and is held to be the mother of all things and that the Sown men celebrated in Grecian lore sprang from

some remarks on the part assigned to him in the argumentation which follows see *Intr.* p. 176.

^b Or "assumed"; cf. § 125.

καθάπερ νῦν τὰ δένδρα, τελείους καὶ ἐνόπλους
 58 γῆς παῖδας. ὅτι δὲ μύθου πλάσμα τοῦτ'
 ἐστί, συνιδεῖν ἐκ πολλῶν ῥάδιον. αὐτίκα τῷ
 πρώτῳ γενομένῳ ἔδει καθ' ὥρισμένα μέτρα καὶ
 ἀριθμοὺς χρόνων αὐξήσεως· βαθμοὺς γάρ τινας ἡ
 φύσις τὰς ἡλικίας ἐγέννησε, δι' ὧν τρόπον τινὰ
 ἀναβαίνει καὶ κάτεισιν ἄνθρωπος, ἀναβαίνει μὲν
 αὐξόμενος, κατέρχεται δ' ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσιν· ὅρος
 δ' ὁ τῶν ἀνωτάτῳ¹ βαθμῶν ἀκμή, πρὸς ὃν φθάσας
 τις οὐκέτι πρόεισιν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ οἱ διαυλοδρο-
 μοῦντες ἀνακάμπτουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, ὅσα παρ'
 ἰσχυούσης νεότητος ἔλαβεν, ἀποδίδωσιν² ἀσθενεῖ
 59 γήρᾳ. τὸ δὲ γεννηθῆναί τινας οἷεσθαι τελείους ἐξ
 ἄρχῃς) ἡγνοηκότων ἐστὶ νόμους φύσεως, θεσμοὺς
 ἀκινήτους. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτεραι γινώμαι προσανα-
 ματτόμεναι τὸ πλημμελὲς ἐκ τοῦ συνεξευγμένου
 θνητοῦ τροπᾶς καὶ μεταβολὰς εἰκότως ἐνδέχονται,
 ἄτρεπτα δὲ τὰ τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἐστὶ φύσεως, ἅτε
 πάντων ἐπικρατούσης καὶ διὰ βεβαιότητα τῶν
 ἅπαξ γνωσθέντων τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς παγέντας ὅρους
 60 ἀκινήτους διαφυλαττούσης. εἴπερ οὖν ἀρμόττον
 ὁ ἐνόμιζεν ἀποτίκτεσθαι τελείους, καὶ νῦν ἂν ἐτε-
 λειογονεῖτο ἄνθρωπος, μὴ βρέφος, μὴ παῖς, μὴ
 μειράκιον γινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ εὐθύς ὧν, ἴσως
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν ἀγήρως καὶ ἀθάνατος· ᾧ γὰρ
 μὴ αὐξῆσις, μηδὲ μείωσις πρόσεστιν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ
 ἄχρι τῆς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίας μεταβολαὶ κατ' αὐξῆσιν,
 αἱ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄχρι γήρως καὶ τελευτῆς κατὰ
 μείωσιν συνίστανται· τῷ δὲ μὴ κοινωνοῦντι τῶν

¹ Cohn thinks the superlative meaningless and suggests ἀνω, but "the uppermost steps are bounded by the ἀκμή" seems an intelligible phrase. ² MSS. ἀποδίδωσιν ἐν ἀσθενεί.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 57-60

the earth as trees do now, full-grown and in armour.

That this is a mythical fiction can be easily seen on many grounds ; one is that the growth of the man first born must have followed periods of time determined by fixed measurements and numerical rules. For nature has created the stages of age as a sort of steps by which man may be said to go up and down, up while he is growing, down in the times of his decreasing. The limit of the upward steps is the culmination of youth. When he has reached this he no longer advances but like the runners of the double course who return along the self-same track he repays to feeble old age all that he received from lusty youth. But to think that any were born full-grown from the first shows an ignorance of those immutable statutes, the laws of nature. Our decisions and judgements reflect the discord which belongs to the mortal element, our yoke-fellow, and may be expected to admit of change and instability. But there is no swerving in the nature of the universe, for that nature is supreme above all and so steadfast are its decisions once taken that it keeps immutable the limits fixed from the beginning. If then nature had thought it fitting that they should be produced full-grown, mankind would even now be created in that condition, not as infants, nor boys nor youths, but in manhood straight away, and perhaps altogether proof against old age and death. What is not subject to increase is not subject to decrease either, for the process of the changes up to manhood is one of increase but from manhood to old age and death one of decrease, and it is reasonable that one who is exempt from the first set of

προτέρων καὶ τὰς ἐπομένας εὖλογον μὴ ἐπιγί-
 61 γνεσθαι. τί δ' ἐμποδὼν ἦν ἀνθρώπους καθάπερ
 φασὶ πρότερον καὶ νῦν βλαστάνειν; οὕτως καὶ ἡ
 γῆ γεγήρακεν, ὥς διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἐστεριῶσθαι
 δοκεῖν; ἀλλ' ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένει νεάζουσα αἰεί, διότι
 τετάρτη μοῖρα τοῦ παντός ἐστι καὶ ἔνεκα τῆς τοῦ
 ὅλου διαμονῆς ὀφείλει μὴ φθίνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ
 ἀδελφὰ στοιχεῖα αὐτῆς ὕδωρ ἀήρ τε καὶ πῦρ
 62 ἀγῆρω διατελεῖ. πίστις δὲ ἐναργῆς τῆς

ἀδιαστάτου καὶ αἰδίου περὶ γῆν ἀκμῆς τὰ φυό-
 μενα· καθαρθεῖσα¹ γὰρ ἡ ποταμῶν ἀναχύσειςιν,
 ὥσπερ φασὶν Αἴγυπτον, ἡ τοῖς ἐτησίοις ὄμβροις
 τὸν ἐκ τῆς φορᾶς² κάματον ὑπανίεται καὶ χαλᾶται,
 κᾶπειτα διαναπαυσασμένη τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν
 ἀνακτᾶται μέχρι παντελοῦς ῥώμης, εἴτ' ἄρχεται
 πάλιν τῆς τῶν ὁμοίων γενέσεως τροφᾶς ἀφθόνους
 63 ἀπάσαις ζώων ιδέαις ἀναδιδούσα. XII. παρ' ὃ
 [494] μοι δοκοῦσιν | οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ποιηταὶ Πανδώραν
 αὐτὴν ὀνομάσαι, πάντα δωρουμένην [καὶ] τὰ πρὸς
 ὠφέλειαν καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀπόλαυσιν οὐ τισὶν ἀλλὰ
 πᾶσιν ὅσα ψυχῆς μεμοίραται. εἰ γοῦν τις ἕαρος
 ἀκμάσαντος περωθεὶς ἀρθείη μετάρσιος καὶ κατ-
 ἰδοι τὴν τε ὀρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα, τὴν μὲν εὖχορτον
 καὶ χλοηφόρον πόας καὶ χιλὸν κριθάς τε καὶ
 πυροὺς καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας σπαρτῶν φύσεις ἀνα-
 διδούσαν, ἃς τε γεωργοὶ κατεβάλλοντο καὶ ἃς
 ἀπαντοματίζουσα ἡ τοῦ ἔτους ὥρα παρέχεται, τὴν

¹ Mangey, Bernays and Cumont correct to *καταρθεῖσα* (from *κατάρδω* = "irrigate"), and Cohn's reference to *Timaeus* 22 D ("When the gods send a flood upon earth to purify her") is hardly to the point; but the example which he quotes (*Hermes*, 1916, p. 184) from *De Providentia* 43, where the purification is effected by the ordinary rains which

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 60-63

changes should not be subject to those which follow. And what is to prevent men from springing now as they are alleged to have sprung in former times? Has the earth too grown so old that it may be thought to have been sterilized by length of time? On the contrary it remains as it was ever young, because it is the fourth part of the All and is bound to remain undecayed in order to conserve the sum of things, just as also its sister elements, water, air and fire, continue to defy old age. 61

A clear proof 62
that the earth retains its vigour continually and perpetually at its height is its vegetation, for purified either by the overflow of rivers, as they say is the case in Egypt, or by the annual rains, it takes a respite and relaxation from the weary toil of bearing fruit, and then after this interval of rest recuperates its native force till it reaches its full strength and then begins again to bear fruits like the old and supplies in abundance to each kind of living creature such food as they need. XII. And therefore it seems 63
to me that the poets did not do amiss in giving her the name of Pandora, because she gives all things that bring benefit and pleasurable enjoyment not to some only but to all creatures endowed with conscious life. Suppose one soaring aloft on wings when spring has reached its height were to survey the uplands and the lowlands, he would see the lowlands verdant with herbage, producing pasturage and grass fodder and barley and wheat and numerous other forms of grain, some sown by the farmer, others provided self-grown by the season of the year. He would

nourish animal and vegetable life, justifies the retention of *καθαρθεῖσα*.

² MSS. *φθορᾶς*.

δὲ κλάδοις καὶ φυλλάσι κατάσκιον, οἷς ἐπικο-
 σμεῖται τὰ δένδρα, καὶ καρπῶν περιπληθεστάτην,
 οὐχὶ τῶν πρὸς ἐδωδὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς πόνους
 ἀκείσθαι συμβέβηκεν—ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐλαίας καρπὸς
 σώματος κάματον ἰᾶται, ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀμπέλου ποθεῖς
 64 μετρίως ἐπιχαλᾷ τὰς σφοδρὰς ὀδύνας ψυχῆς—, ἔτι
 δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθέων ἀναφερομένας εὐωδεστάτας
 αὔρας καὶ τὰς τῶν χρωμάτων ἀμυθήτους ἰδιότητας
 τέχνη δαιμονίῳ πεποικιλμένας, τὴν δ' ὄψιν ἀπο-
 κλίνας ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων ἐν μέρει πάλιν αἰγείρους,
 κέδρους, πεύκας, ἐλάτας, δρυῶν ὕψη περιμηκέ-
 στατα, τὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἀγρίων συνεχεῖς καὶ βαθείας
 ὕλας περιαθρήσειεν, αἱ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα
 τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ τὴν πολλὴν ὄση βαθύγειος τῆς
 ὑπορείου συσκιάζουσι, γνώσεται τὴν ἀνένδοτον καὶ
 65 ἀκάματον τῆς γῆς αἰὲν νεαζούσης ἀκμήν· ὥστ'
 οὐδὲν ἐλαττωθεῖσα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἰσχύος καὶ νῦν ἄν,
 εἴ γε τὸ πρότερον, ἔτικτεν ἀνθρώπους, ὑπὲρ δυοῖν
 τοῖν ἀναγκαιοτάτοις, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ μὴ λιποτακτεῖν
 τάξιν οἰκείαν καὶ μάλιστα ἐν σπορᾷ καὶ γενέσει
 τοῦ χερσαίων ἀπάντων ἀρίστου καὶ ἡγεμόνος
 ἀνθρώπου δευτέρου δὲ γυναικῶν ἐπικουρίας, αἱ
 κύουσαι μὲν βαρυτάτοις ἄχθεσι δέκα που μῆνας
 πιέζονται,¹ μέλλουσαι δ' ἀποτίκτειν πολλάκις ὠδῖσιν
 66 αὐταῖς ἐναποθνήσκουσιν. ὅλως τοῦτ' οὐκ εὐθήθεια
 δεινὴ μήτραν ὑπολαμβάνειν γῆν ἐγκεκολπίσθαι
 πρὸς ἀνθρώπων σποράν; τὸ γὰρ ζωογονοῦν
 χωρίον ἐστὶ μήτρα, “ φύσεως,” ὥς εἰπέ τις,

¹ MSS. βιάζονται.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 63-66

see the uplands overshadowed with the branches and foliage which deck the trees and filled with a vast quantity of fruits, not merely those which serve for food, but also those which prove to be a cure for troubles. For the fruit of the olive heals the weariness of the body and that of the vine if drunk in moderation relaxes the violence of sorrow in the soul. Further he would perceive the sweet fragrance of 64 the exhalations wafted from the flowers and the multitudinous varieties of their colours diversified by superhuman skill. Again looking away from the cultivated vegetation, he would survey poplars, cedars, pines, firs, tall towering oaks and the other deep, unbroken forests of wild trees which overshadow the vast expanse of the huge mountains ^a and the wide stretch of deep soil which lies at their feet. Seeing all this he will recognize that the ever-youthful earth still has the indomitable and unwearying 65 vigour of its prime. And therefore the earth, which has suffered no diminution of its ancient strength, would, if she brought forth men before, be doing so still, and this for two most cogent reasons, part to avoid desertion of her proper post, particularly her duty of sowing and generating man, the best and chief of all the creatures who walk the land, and secondly to aid women, who in pregnancy labour with very grievous burdens for some ten months and when they are on the point of child-birth often actually die in the pains of travail. Indeed is it not 66 terribly foolish to suppose that earth has in its bosom a womb for the sowing of men? For the place which generates life is the womb, the "workshop of meaning perhaps "nearly all and even the highest." In the next line *τὴν πολλήν* may = "the greater part."

“ἐργαστήριον,” ἐν ᾧ ζῶα μόνον διαπλάττεται· τὸ δὲ οὐ γῆς μέρος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ζῶου θήλεος, δημιουργηθὲν εἰς γένεσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ μαζοὺς καθάπερ γυναικὶ γῇ φατέον ἥνικα ἡνθρωπογόνει προσγενέσθαι, τροφήν ἔν’ ἔχωσιν οἰκείαν οἱ πρῶτον ἀποκνηθέντες· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ ποταμός, οὐ πηγὴ τις οὐδαμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνθ’ ὕδατος μνημονεύεται
 67 ποτε ὀμβρῆσαι γάλα. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις, ὥσπερ γαλακτοτροφεῖσθαι χρὴ τὸ ἀρτίγονον, οὕτως καὶ τῇ δι’ ἀμπεχόνης σκέπη χρῆσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ
 [495] κρυμοῦ | καὶ θάλπους ἐγγινομένας τοῖς σώμασι ζημίας, οὗ χάριν μαῖαι καὶ μητέρες, αἷς ἀναγκαῖα φροντὶς εἰσέρχεται¹ τῶν γεννωμένων, κατασπαργανοῦσι τὰ βρέφη. τοὺς δὲ γηγενεῖς φύντας πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις εὐθύς διέφθειρε γυμνοὺς ἐαθέντας ἢ ἀέρος κατάψυξις ἢ ἀφ’ ἡλίου φλογμός; κρυμοὶ γὰρ καὶ θάληη κρατήσαντα νόσους καὶ φθορὰς
 68 ἀπεργάζονται. ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἅπαξ ἤρξαντο ἀλογεῖν ἀληθείας οἱ μυθοπλάσται, τοὺς Σπαρτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐνόπλους ἑτερατεύσαντο ἐκφῦναι. τίς γὰρ ἦν κατὰ γῆς χαλκουργὸς ἢ τοσοῦτος Ἡφαιστος, ὥς αὐτίκα παντευχίας εὐτρεπίζεσθαι; τίς δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοις γενομένοις εἰς ὄπλισιν² οἰκειότης; ἡμερώτατον γὰρ ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, λόγον δωρησαμένης φύσεως αὐτῷ γέρας, ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἐξηγριωμένα πάθη κατεπάδεται καὶ τιθασεύεται. πολὺ βέλτιον ἦν ἀνθ’ ὅπλων κηρύκεια ἀναδύναι, συμβατηρίων

¹ mss. εἰσέρχεται.

² So Cohn and Cumont from Diels for mss. ἰσόπαις ἦν. Bernays ὀπλίσεως ἦν.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 66-68

nature,"^a as someone calls it, where alone the living are moulded into shape, and this is not a part of the earth but of a female creature framed for generation of other creatures. Folly indeed, since we should also have to say that the earth like a woman has the addition of breasts when she bore men, that the offspring when first brought to birth might have their proper sustenance. But no river or spring anywhere in the habitable earth is recorded as having ever run milk instead of water. Besides just as the newly born needs to be fed with milk, so too he needs to be sheltered by clothing to meet the harms brought upon the body by cold and heat, and therefore midwives and mothers necessarily feeling anxious to protect the offspring wrap the infants in swaddling clothes. Must not then earth-born creatures if left naked have been at once destroyed either by some refrigeration of the air or scorching of the sun, for the powers of cold and heat produce diseases and fatalities? But the myth- 68

makers having once begun to disregard truth also made out these Sown men to have been born armed, a marvel indeed, for what smith was there on earth or a Vulcan so powerful as to prepare full suits of armour straightaway? And what suitable connexion is there between the first generation of men and wearing arms? Man is the gentlest and kindest of animals, because nature has given him the prerogative of reason, with which the savage passions are charmed away and tamed. Far better would it be for a reasonable being if instead of arms, the herald

^a This phrase is used several times by Philo, *Mos.* ii. 84, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 33, 109 and *Legatio* 56. This is the only place where he indicates that it is a definite quotation.

σπονδῶν σύμβολα, λογικῇ φύσει, ὅπως εἰρήνην
πρὸ πολέμου πᾶσι τοῖς πανταχοῦ καταγγέλλῃ.

- 69 XIII. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐπιτειχιζόντων
ψευδολογίαν κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας φλυαρήματα με-
τρίως ἐξελέλεγκται. χρή δ' εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐξ
αἰδίου κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βλαστάνουσιν
ἄνθρωποι, σπείροντος μὲν εἰς μήτραν ἀνδρὸς ὡς
εἰς ἄρουραν, γυναικὸς δ' ὑποδεχομένης τὰ σπέρ-
ματα σωτηρίως, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ἀοράτως ἕκαστα
καὶ τῶν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δια-
πλαττούσης μερῶν καὶ ὅπερ οὐκ ἴσχυσε λαβεῖν
ἡμῶν ἕκαστος τοῦθ' ἅπαντι τῷ γένει δωρησαμένης,
τὸ ἀθάνατον· μένει γὰρ εἰς αἰεί, φθειρομένων τῶν
ἐν εἵδει, τεράστιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ θεῖον ἔργον.
εἰ δ' αἰδίου ἄνθρωπος, βραχεῖα μοῖρα τοῦ παντός,
ἀγέννητος δήπου καὶ ὁ κόσμος, ὥστε ἄφθαρτος.

- 70 XIV. Ἐπαγωνιζόμενος δ' ὁ Κριτόλαος ἐχρήτο
καὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ· τὸ αἷτιον αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν
ἄνοσόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αἷτιον αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀγρυ-
πνεῖν ἄγρυπνόν ἐστιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ αἷτιον
αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν αἰδιόν ἐστιν· αἷτιος δ' ὁ κόσμος
αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάρχειν, εἴ γε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν·
αἰδῖος ἄρα ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν.

- 71 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνο σκοπεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ
γενόμενον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν δεῖ πάντως ἀτελὲς εἶναι,
χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος αὖξεσθαι μέχρι παντελοῦς
τελειώσεως· ὥστε, εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος, ἦν μὲν

^a Perhaps a reminiscence of Plato, *Symp.* 206 c ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῖον τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν θνητῷ ὄντι τῷ ζῳῳ ἀθάνατον ἔνεστιν, ἢ κύησις καὶ ἡ γέννησις. See App. p. 521 (on *De Vit. Cont.* 59).

^b Alluding perhaps to the use of κομιδὴ νήπιος in § 42.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 68-71

staff, the symbol of treaties of agreement, should spring from the ground, so that it should proclaim peace instead of war to all men everywhere.

XIII. So then since the foolish imaginations of those 69 who fortify falsehood against truth have been satisfactorily refuted, we must be well assured that from everlasting men spring from men in successive generations. The man sows the seeds into a womb as into a field, the woman receives the seed for safe-keeping ; nature invisibly moulds and shapes each part of the body and soul and bestows upon the race as a whole what individually we were not able to receive, namely immortality. For the race remains for ever, though particular specimens perish, a marvel in very truth and the work of God.^a And if man, a small portion of the All, is everlasting, the world must surely be uncreated and therefore is indestructible.

XIV. Critolaus in his contention used also this 70 further kind of argument : That which causes itself to be healthy is free from disease, that which causes itself to be wakeful is wakeful, and if this is so, that which causes itself to exist is everlasting. But the world, since it causes all other things to exist, causes itself to exist, and therefore the world is everlasting.

This is not all. A further point worth considera- 71 tion is that every created thing must in its beginning be quite imperfect and only as time advances grow to its full perfection. Consequently if the world has been created it was once, if I too^b may borrow a Philo here speaks in the person of Critolaus, forgetting that Critolaus would not know what arguments had been adduced in the earlier parts of the treatise. This goes to show that Critolaus is throughout these sections paraphrased rather than quoted.

- ποθ', ἵνα καὶ γὰρ χρήσωμαι τοῖς ἡλικιῶν ὀνόμασι, κομιδῇ νήπιος, ἐπιβαίνων δ' αἰθῆς ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις καὶ μήκεσι χρόνων ὅψε καὶ μόλις ἐτελειώθη·
 72 τοῦ γὰρ μακροβιωτάτου βραδεῖα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀκμή.
 [496] τὸν δὲ | κόσμον εἴ τις νομίζει χρήσασθαι ποτε ταῖς τοιαύταις μεταβολαῖς, ἀθεραπεύτω μανίᾳ κεκρατημένος μὴ ἀγνοεῖτω¹. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦ τὸ σωματοειδὲς αὐξηθήσεται, λήψεται δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς ἐπίδοσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ φθείροντες αὐτὸν λογικόν εἶναι ὑπονοοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν ἀνθρώπου τρόπον ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν τῆς γενέσεως ἄλογος ἔσται, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀκμάζουσιν ἡλικίαν λογικός· ἅπερ οὐ μόνον λέγειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπονοεῖν ἀσεβές· τὸν γὰρ τελειότατον ὁρατῶν περίβολον καὶ <θεοὺς>² τοὺς ἐν μέρει περιέχοντα κληρούχους πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνειν αἰεὶ τέλειον κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, ἀμέτοχον κηρῶν, αἷς τὸ γενητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν πᾶν συνέξευκται;
- 74 XV. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φησὶ τριττὰς αἰτίας δίχα τῶν ἔξωθεν ὑποβεβλήσθαι ζώοις τελευτῆς, νόσον, γῆρας, ἔνδειαν, ὧν οὐδεμιᾶ τὸν κόσμον ἄλωτὸν εἶναι· πεπηγέναι τε γὰρ ἐξ ὅλων τῶν στοιχείων, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὑπολειφθέντος καὶ ἀπελευθεριάζοντος μέρους βιασθῆναι, κατακρατεῖν τε τῶν

¹ mss. ἀγνοεῖσθω.

² θεοὺς in this place is my insertion. Cumont and Cohn have τῶν ὁρατῶν <θεῶν>. It seems to me necessary, for the sense, to state that the κληρούχοι of the περίβολος are gods, and with this insertion it is not necessary with Cumont to suppose that κληρούχους is corrupt. On the other hand ὁρατῶν can stand alone. Bernays also does not insert either θεῶν or θεοὺς, translates καὶ τοὺς . . . κληρούχους "welcher die einzelnen göttlichen Theilmächte umschliesst," and περίβολος by "Tempelbezirk." He says that περίβολος is speci-

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 71-74

term from those applied to the stages of human life, a mere infant, and afterwards progressing through the revolutions of years and long stretches of time, was at long last and with difficulty brought to perfection. For the very long-lived is necessarily slow to reach its culmination. Now if anyone thinks that the world has passed through such changes, he had better recognize that he is under the sway of a fatal delusion. For clearly not only will the world's bodily parts increase but its mind also will make advances, for those who preach its destruction also suppose that it is rational. So then like a man, when it originally comes into being it will be irrational, but at the age of culmination rational. Such things are impious not merely to speak but even to think. Surely this the all-perfect which embraces things visible wherein the several occupants included are gods, deserves to be held ever perfect both in body and soul, immune from the plagues inseparable from all that is created and destructible.

XV. In addition to all this Critolaus says^a that apart from external causes of death to living creatures, there are three to which they are subject, disease, old age and privation, to none of which the world can fall a prey. For it is compacted from the whole of the elements, so that it cannot suffer violence from any part that has been left out and defies control.

^a The argument in this section is substantially the same as in §§ 20 ff., but it is expressed in a different way in many respects, particularly at the end.

ally applied to temples. But I do not think the index bears this out for Philo. Though in several places it is used with reference to the temple, it does not seem in itself to mean more than "enclosure."

PHILO

δυνάμεων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἀσθένειαι, τὰς δ' ὑπεικούσας ἄνοσον καὶ ἀγήρων αὐτὸν διαφυλάττειν, αὐταρκέστατόν τε αὐτὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνεπιδεᾶ παντὸς γεγονέναι, μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς διαμονὴν ὑστερίζοντα, τὰς κενώσεως καὶ πληρώσεως ἐν μέρει διαδοχὰς ἀπωσάμενον, αἷς διὰ τὴν ἄμουσον ἀπλησίαν τὰ ζῶα χρῆσθαι, θάνατον ἀντὶ ζωῆς μνώμενα ἢ, τό γε ἀσφαλέστερον εἰπεῖν, οἰκτρότερον βίον ἀπωλείας.

- 75 Ἔτι τοίνυν, εἰ μὲν μηδεμία φύσις αἰδίδιος ἐωρᾶτο, ἦττον ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου, μηδὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα αἰδιότητος, [ἐδόκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου ἂν] εὐπροφάσιστα ἀδικεῖν.¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη κατὰ τοὺς ἄριστα φυσιολογοῦντας ἄναρχος καὶ ἀτελεύτητός ἐστιν, εἵρουσα τὰς ἐκάστων ἀνελλιπῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως αἰτίας, τί δήποτ' οὐχὶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν λεκτέον εἶναι μακραίωνα, τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἀτάκτων, τὴν ἁρμονίαν τῶν ἀναρμόστων, τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν ἀσυμφώνων, τὴν ἔνωσιν τῶν διεστηκότων, τὴν ξύλων μὲν καὶ λίθων ἕξιν,

¹ Bernays has ἀνευ προφάσεως for the MSS. εὐπροφάσιστα, Cumont ἦττον ἂν ἡδίκουν οἱ φθορὰν εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου, μηδὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες παράδειγμ' αἰδιότητος ἐδόκουν ἂν εὐπροφάσιστα διδάσκειν. I have simply printed Cohn's text rather than adopt that of Bernays or Cumont, neither of which I feel to be quite satisfactory. Cohn discusses his text in *Hermes* (1916) and professes himself quite satisfied with it (he defends the anacoluthic γὰρ by other examples). But I cannot translate it, and the translation I have given involves either the omission of ἦττον or the substitution of ἀνευ προφάσεως for εὐπροφάσιστα.

^a This end of the section seems to be a not very happy adaptation of *Timaeus* 73 A, where the bowels are said to 236

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 74-75

It has dominion over the forces which produce infirmities, and the subservience of these forces keeps it from disease and decay of age. It is absolutely self-sufficient and independent of every need. It is lacking in nothing which can ensure permanence and has excluded the successive alternations between inanition and repletion, which living creatures experience through their gross avidity and thereby court not life but death, or to speak more cautiously, an existence more pitiful than extinction.^a

Again if there was no everlasting form of nature 75
to be seen, those who propound the destruction of the world might seem to have a good excuse for their iniquity, since they had no example of perpetual existence before them. But since according to the best professors of natural philosophy, fate has no beginning or end, being a chain^b connecting the causes of each event in unfailing continuity without a gap or break, why should we not also declare that the nature of the world or cosmic system is age-long, since it is order of the disordered, adjustment of the unadjusted, concord of the discordant, unification of the discrepant, appearing as cohesion in wood and

have been formed so that the food should not pass too quickly, and so, producing ἀπληστία, make the whole race ἀφιλόσοφον καὶ ἄμουσον through gluttony (γαστριμαργία). Grammatically ἄμουσον might agree with γαστριμαργίαν or even with ἀπληστίαν, and so perhaps Philo (or Critolaus?) took it.

^b This is an allusion to the supposed connexion between εἰμαρμένη and εἰρμός, which would involve connexion with εἶρω also, cf. *De Mut.* 135 ἡ εἰμαρμένη, ἀκολουθία καὶ ἀναλογία τῶν συμπάντων εἰρμόν ἔχουσα ἀδιάλυτον. See note there (vol. v. p. 590), where reference is given to *S. V. F.* ii. 918 ἡ εἰμαρμένη εἰρμός τις οὕσα αἰτιῶν ἀπαράβατος· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ Στωικοὶ ὀρίζονται. It may be noted that here it appears in a non-Stoical argument.

σπαρτῶν δὲ καὶ δένδρων φύσιν, ψυχὴν δὲ ζώων ἀπάντων, ἀνθρώπων δὲ νοῦν καὶ λόγον, ἀρετὴν δὲ σπουδαίων τελειοτάτην; εἰ δ' ἡ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις ἀγέννητός τε καὶ ἀφθαρτος, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ὁ κόσμος, αἰωνίῳ συνεχόμενος καὶ διακρατούμενος δεσμῷ.

- 76 Νικηθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῶν ἀντι-δοξούντων ἔνιοι μετεβάλοντο· προσκλητικὴν γὰρ
 [497] ἔχει δύναμιν τὸ κάλλος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς | δαιμονίως ἐστὶ καλόν, ὥς τὸ ψεῦδος ἐκτόπως αἰσχρόν. Βοηθὸς γοῦν ὁ Σιδώνιος¹ καὶ Παναίτιος,² ἄνδρες ἐν τοῖς Στωικοῖς δόγμασιν ἰσχυρότες, ἅτε θεόληπτοι, τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας καταλιπόντες πρὸς ὀσιώτερον³ δόγμα τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας
 77 τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς ἡντομόλησαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ
 [502] Διογένης ἡνίκα νέος ἦν συνεπιγραφάμενος | τῷ δόγματι τῆς ἐκπυρώσεως ὁπὲρ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐνδοιάσας ἐπισχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ νεότητος ἀλλὰ γήρως τὰ σεμνὰ καὶ περιμάχητα διιδεῖν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα μὴ δικάζει ἡ ἄλογος καὶ ἀπατηλὸς αἴσθησις ἀλλ' ὁ καθαρὸς
 78 τατος καὶ ἀκραιφνέστατος νοῦς. XVI. ἀποδείξεισι δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Βοηθὸν κέχρηται πιθανωτάταις, ἃς αὐτίκα λέξομεν· εἰ, φασί, γενητὸς καὶ φθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τι γενήσεται, ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς Στωικοῖς ἀτοπώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ. διὰ τί;

¹ Mangey and earlier editors read καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, which is rejected by later editors on the grounds that Boethus is elsewhere called a Sidonian and that Posidonius upheld the doctrine of ἐκπύρωσις.

² MSS. πάνεπος.

³ So Cohn following Cumont for the MSS. θειώτερον, which Bernays retains, translating "göttlicheren." I do not feel that it is impossible.

^a For the fourfold classification cf. particularly *Quod*
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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 75-78

stone, growth in crops and trees, conscious life in all animals, mind and reason in men and the perfection of virtue in the good?^a And if the nature of the world is uncreated and indestructible, clearly the world also is the same, held together as it is by the might of an eternal bond.

Some conquered by truth and the arguments of 76 their opponents have changed their views. For beauty has power to call us to it and truth is marvellously beautiful as falsehood is monstrously ugly. Thus Boethus of Sidon and Panaetius,^b powerful supporters of the Stoic doctrines, did under divine inspiration abandon the conflagrations and regenerations and deserted to the more religious doctrine that the whole world was indestructible. It is said 77 too that Diogenes^c in his youth subscribed to the doctrine of the conflagration but in later years felt doubts and suspended judgement, for it is not given to youth but to old age to discern things precious and worthy of reverence, particularly those which are judged, not by unreasoning and deceitful sense, but by mind when absolutely pure and unalloyed. XVI. The demonstrations given by the school of 78 Boethus are very convincing and I will proceed to state them. If, they say, the world is created and destructible we shall have something created out of the non-existent and even the Stoics regard this as quite preposterous. Why so? Because it is im-

Deus 35 ff. This too appears to be an exclusively Stoic theory (see Zeller, *Stoics*, p. 196). The addition of the fifth quality "virtue in the good" I have not seen elsewhere.

^b Boethus, middle of third century B.C. Panaetius, second century.

^c Diogenes (the Babylonian), late third and early second century.

[503] ὅτι οὐδεμίαν φθοροποιὸν | αἰτίαν εὐρεῖν ἔστιν, οὔτ' ἐντὸς οὔτ' ἐκτός, ἢ τὸν κόσμον ἀνελεῖ· ἐκτός μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὅτι μὴ τάχα πον κενόν, τῶν στοιχείων ἀποκριθέντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὀλοκλήρων, εἴσω δ' οὐδὲν νόσημα τοιοῦτον, ὃ γένοιτ' ἂν αἴτιον θεῶ¹ τοσούτῳ διαλύσεως. εἰ δ' ἀναιτίως φθείρεται, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἔσται ἡ γένεσις τῆς φθορᾶς, ὅπερ οὐδ' ἡ διάνοια παραδέξεται.

- 79 Καὶ μὴν φασιν, ὅτι γενικοὶ τρόποι φθορᾶς εἰσι τρεῖς· ὃ τε κατὰ διαίρεσιν καὶ ὃ κατὰ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος καὶ ὃ κατὰ σύγχυσιν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ διεστηκόντων, αἰπόλια, βουκόλια, χοροί, στρατεύματα, ἢ πάλιν ἐκ συναπτομένων² σώματα παγέντα διαστάσει καὶ διαιρέσει λύεται· κατὰ δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῆς ἐπεχούσης ποιότητος ὁ μετασχηματιζόμενος κηρὸς ἢ καταλεινόμενος,³ ἵνα μηδὲ ἑτεροειδῆ τινα παράσχη τύπον μορφῆς· κατὰ δὲ σύγχυσιν, ὡς ἡ παρὰ ἰατροῖς τετραφάρμακος· αἱ γὰρ δυνάμεις τῶν συνενεχθέντων ἠφανίσθησαν
- 80 εἰς ἐξαιρέτου μιᾶς γένεσιν ἀποτελεσθείσης. ποίῳ δὴ τούτων ἄξιον τὸν κόσμον φθείρεσθαι φάναι; τῷ κατὰ διαίρεσιν; ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκ διεστηκόντων

¹ MSS. τῷ.

² MSS. συναπτόμενον.

³ MSS. καὶ λεαινόμενος.

^a This again is to some extent the same argument as that of §§ 20 and 74. But to these dissident Stoics the main point is that since there is nothing to cause destruction either within or without the world, the destruction, if it came, would come from the non-existent, which is unthinkable.

^b Or perhaps "inherent." I have not found any examples of such a meaning nor yet of "prevailing." Bernays "umhaftenden," Mangey "primariae." Later we have simply ποιότης.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 78-80

possible to find any destructive cause either within or without to make away with the world. For there is nothing outside it except possibly a void, since the elements have been completely merged into it and within it there is no distemper such as to cause a dissolution of so great a deity. And if it is destroyed without a cause, clearly the origin of the destruction will arise from what does not exist and this the understanding will reject as not even thinkable.^a

Further they say that the methods of destruction 79 are of three kinds, namely, dismemberment, annihilation of the prevailing^b quality and amalgamation.^c Combinations of detached units, such as herds of goats or oxen, choirs and armies, or again bodies compacted of conjoined parts are disjoined by detachment and dismemberment. We find annihilation of the prevailing quality in wax when moulded into a new form or when smoothed out without taking any other different shape. We have amalgamation in the quadruple drug^d used by physicians, for the properties of the substances collected vanish and the effect thus produced is one single value of a special kind. Which of these can we say is adequate for the destruc- 80 tion of the world? Dismemberment? The world is neither composed of detached units, so that its parts

^c Cf. *De Conf.* 183-187, where the use of the word throughout the treatise makes it necessary to translate "confusion," but here it can be avoided. But I do not know of any word which suggests the *φθορά τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιότητων*. Possibly "fusion" may be better than "amalgamation," cf. the quotation from Chrysippus in *S. V. F.* ii. 473, given in vol. iv. p. 558.

^d The same illustration is given in *De Conf.* 187, where the drug is said to be a compound of wax, tallow, resin and pitch.

- ἐστίν, ὡς τὰ μέρη σκεδασθῆναι, οὔτε ἐκ συναπτο-
μένων, ὡς διαλυθῆναι, οὔτε τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς
ἡμετέροις ἦνται σώμασι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπικήρως
τε ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχει καὶ δυναστεύεται πρὸς μυρίων
ὑφ' ὧν βλέπεται, τοῦ δ' ἀήτητος ἡ ῥώμη πολλῇ
- 81 τινι περιουσίᾳ πάντων κατακρατοῦσα. ἀλλ' ἀν-
αιρέσει παντελεῖ τῆς ποιότητος; ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον
τοῦτό γε· μένει γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς τάναντία αἵρου-
μένους ἡ τῆς διακοσμήσεως ποιότης ἐπ' ἐλάττονος
οὐσίας τῆς τοῦ Διὸς σταλεῖσα¹ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρω-
- 82 σιν. ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ σύγχυσιν; ἄπαγε, δεήσει γὰρ
πάλιν εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν γίνεσθαι τὴν φθορὰν παρα-
δέχεσθαι. τοῦ χάριν; ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἕκαστον ἐν μέ-
ρει τῶν στοιχείων ἐφθείρετο, μεταβολὴν ἐδύνατο
τὴν εἰς ἕτερον δέχεσθαι, πάντων δὲ συλλήβδην
ἀθρώων κατὰ σύγχυσιν ἀναιρουμένων, ἀναγκαῖον²
ὑπονοεῖν τὸ ἀδύνατον.
- 83 Ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, εἰ ἐκπυρωθῇ, φασί, τὰ
πάντα, τί κατ' ἐκείνον ὁ θεὸς πράξει τὸν χρόνον;
ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν; καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· νυνὶ
μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστα ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντων οἶα γνήσιος
πατὴρ ἐπιτροπεύει καί, εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν,
ἡνιόχου καὶ κυβερνήτου τρόπον ἡνιοχεῖ καὶ πηδα-
λιουχεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα, ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις πλάνησι καὶ ἀπλανέσιν ἔτι δ' ἀέρι καὶ τοῖς

¹ So Bernays from τῇ τούτου ἰδιοσταλεῖσα found in the corresponding passage of the *De Mundo*, the spurious work made up of centos from Philo. The mss. themselves leave blanks of various length before σταλεῖσα. See note a.

² MSS. ἀνάγκη.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 80-83

can be dispersed, nor of conjoint parts which can be disjoined, nor is it a unity of the same kind as that of our bodies, for they are in themselves perishable, and under the sway of innumerable instruments of mischief, while the world's strength is invincible and far more than sufficient to give it domination over all. What of a complete annihilation of its quality? 81 This is impossible, for according to those who hold the opposite view, the quality of its original construction remains at the conflagration, though contracted, in a diminished substance, namely, Zeus.^a What of amalgamation? Nonsense. For again we 82 shall have to admit that destruction passes into non-existence. Why? Because if each of the elements were severally destroyed each might be capable of changing into something else, but if all are annihilated in a body together by amalgamation we should be obliged to suppose something which is impossible.

Moreover if all things are as they say consumed 83 in the conflagration, what will God be doing during that time? Will He do nothing at all? That surely is the natural inference. For at present He surveys each thing, guardian of all as though He were indeed their father, guiding in very truth the chariot and steering the bark of the universe, the defender of the sun and moon and stars whether fixed or wandering, and also the air and the other parts of the world, co-

sovereign of the world and subordinate gods; in other words, between the universal divine power as a Unity working in the world and its individual parts and manifestations. The former they denoted by the term Zeus; to the latter they applied the names of the subordinate gods" (Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. trans.), p. 328). Thus at the *ἐκπύρωσις*, such Unity alone remained.

〈ἄλλοις〉 μέρεσι τοῦ κόσμου παριστάμενος καὶ
 συνδρῶν ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὅλου διαμονὴν καὶ τὴν
 84 κατ' ὀρθὸν λόγον ἀνυπαίτιον διοίκησιν. πάντων
 [504] δ' ἀναιρεθέντων, ὑπ' ἀργίας καὶ ἀπραξίας | δεινῆς
 ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ χρήσεται· οὐ τί γένοιτ' ἂν ἀτοπώ-
 τερον; ὁκνῶ λέγειν, ὃ μηδὲ θέμις ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι
 ἀκολουθήσει θεῷ θάνατος, εἴ γε καὶ ἡρεμία· τὸ
 γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἔαν ἀνέλῃς ψυχῆς, καὶ αὐτὴν πάν-
 τως συνανελεῖς· ψυχὴ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου κατὰ τοὺς
 ἀντιδοξοῦντας ὁ θεός.

- 85 XVII. Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐκ ἀνάξιον¹ διαπορῆσαι, τίνα
 τρόπον ἔσται παλιγγενεσία, πάντων εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυ-
 θέντων· ἐξαναλωθείσης γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας ὑπὸ πυρός,
 ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐκέτ' ἔχον τροφὴν ἀποσβε-
 σθῆναι. μένοντος μὲν οὖν, ὃ σπερματικὸς τῆς
 διακοσμήσεως ἐσώζेत' 〈ἂν〉 λόγος, ἀναιρεθέντος
 δὲ συνανήρηται. τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἔκθεσμον καὶ ἀσέβημα
 ἤδη διπλοῦν, μὴ μόνον φθορὰν τοῦ κόσμου κατη-
 γορεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ παλιγγενεσίαν ἀναιρεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν
 ἀκοσμίᾳ καὶ ἀπραξίᾳ καὶ τοῖς πλημμελέσι πᾶσι
 86 χαίροντος θεοῦ. τὸν δὲ λόγον ἀκρι-
 βέστερον ὧδε διερευνητέον· πυρὸς τριττὸν εἶδος·
 τὸ μὲν ἄνθραξ, τὸ δὲ φλόξ, τὸ δὲ αὐγὴ. ἄνθραξ
 μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πῦρ ἐν οὐσίᾳ γεώδει, ὃ τρόπον ἕξεως

¹ MSS. οὐκ ἄξιον.

^a The thought of God as "the soul of the world" is mentioned by Philo, *Leg. All.* i. 91, *De Mig.* 179 and 181, in each case with a certain amount of disapproval (see note on *Leg. All.* i. 91, vol. i. p. 478). The words κατὰ τοὺς ἀντι-
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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 83-86

operating in all that is needful for the preservation of the whole and the faultless management of it which right reason demands. But if all things are 84 annihilated inactivity and dire unemployment will render His life unworthy of the name and what could be more monstrous than this ? I shrink from saying, for the very thought is a blasphemy, that quiescence will entail as a consequence the death of God, for if you annihilate the perpetual motion of the soul you will annihilate the soul itself also and, according to our opponents, God is the soul of the world.^a

XVII. Another question worthy of examination is : 85 How will the rebirth come about if all things are resolved into fire ? For if the substance is consumed by fire, the fire too must be extinguished having nothing any longer to feed it. Now if the fire remains the seminal principle ^b of the ordered construction would be preserved, but if the fire perishes that principle perishes with it, and it is an enormity, a twofold sacrilege, not only to predicate destruction of the world but to do away with the rebirth as though God rejoiced in disorder and inactivity and every kind of faultiness. But we must examine 86 it more carefully. Consider it from this point of view. Fire takes three forms : these are the live coal, the flame and the fire-light. Now live coal is fire embodied in an earthy substance, a sort of

δοξούντας quite suit Boethus, if we are still having his opinion. For he definitely rejected the common Stoic view that God was contained in the universe (Zeller, p. 152).

^b Or "Generative Reason" or "Seed Power" (Arnold). By the term "Generative Reason" must be understood the creative and forming forces in nature, which have collectively produced the universe, and particular exercises of which (*σπερματικοὶ λόγοι*) produce individual things (Zeller).

πνευματικῆς πεφώλευκε καὶ ἔλλοχᾶ δι' ὅλης ἄχρι
 περάτων τεταμένον· φλόξ δέ ἐστιν ὅπερ ἐκ τροφῆς
 αἴρεται μετεωριζόμενον· αὐγὴ δὲ τὸ ἀποστελλό-
 μενον ἐκ φλογός, συνεργὸν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν
 ὁρατῶν ἀντίληψιν. μέσην δὲ χώραν αὐγῆς τε καὶ
 ἄνθρακος εἵληχε φλόξ· σβεσθεῖσα μὲν γὰρ εἰς
 ἄνθρακα τελευτᾷ, ζωπυρουμένη δ' ἔχει φέγγος, ὃ
 87 τὴν καυστικὴν ἀφηρημένον δύναμιν ἀστράπτει. εἰ
 κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν οὖν τὸν κόσμον ἀναλύεσθαι
 φαῖμεν, ἄνθραξ μὲν οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο, διότι παμ-
 πληθὲς ὑπολείπεται τοῦ γεώδους, ᾧ τὸ πῦρ ἐγ-
 κατειληφθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀρέσκει δὲ μηδὲν τότε
 τῶν ἄλλων ὑφεστάναι σωμαίων, ἀλλὰ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ
 88 καὶ αἶρα εἰς ἄκρατον πῦρ ἀναελύσθαι. καὶ μὴν
 οὐδὲ φλόξ· ἄμμα¹ γὰρ τροφῆς ἐστι, μηδενὸς δὲ
 καταλειφθέντος, ἀτροφήσασα αὐτίκα ἀποσβεσθή-
 σεται. τούτοις ἔπεται τὸ μηδ' αὐγὴν ἀποτελεῖσθαι·
 καθ' ἑαυτὴν γὰρ ὑπόστασιν οὐκ ἔχει, ρεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ
 τῶν προτέρων, ἄνθρακος καὶ φλογός, ἀφ' οὗ μὲν
 ἐλάττων, πολλή δ' ἀπὸ φλογός· χεῖται γὰρ ἐπὶ
 μήκιστον· ἐκείνων δ', ὡς ἐδείχθη, κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύ-
 ρωσιν οὐκ ὄντων, οὐδ' ἂν αὐγὴ γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ
 ἡ μεθημερινὴ πολλή καὶ βαθεῖα αὐγὴ, τὸν ὑπὸ
 γῆς ἡλίου δρόμον ἰόντος, εὐθὺς ἀφανίζεται νυκτὶ

¹ Some mss. ἄμα.

^a Bernays "geistiger Zusammenhalt." But see the definition of *ἔξις* in *Quod Deus* 35 as πνεῦμα ἀναστρέφον ἐφ' ἑαυτό, and note on *Quis Rerum* 242 "the three terms πνεῦμα, ἔξις, τόνος for a permeating and binding force seem more or less convertible." See *S.V.F.* ii. 439-462.

^b Or "kindled by." The word ἄμμα is common enough

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 86-88

permeating current ^a which has taken the fuel for its lair and lurks there extending through it from end to end. Flame is what rises up into the air from that which feeds it. Fire-light is what is sent out from the flame and co-operates with the eyes to give apprehension of things visible. The middle place between the light and the coal is held by flame, for when it is extinguished it dies away into coal, but when kindled into a blaze it has a radiance which flashes from it, though destitute of combusive force. If we say that at the conflagration the world is dis- 87solved there would be no coal there, because if there were the great quantity of earthy matter which is the substance in which fire is contained will be still remaining and it is one of their tenets that nothing else of other bodies then subsists and that earth, water and air are resolved into fire pure and simple. Further there is no flame either, for flame is linked 88on to ^b the fuel and when nothing is left it will be extinguished for lack of sustenance. It follows also that the light is not produced. For it has no existence of itself but issues from the first two, the coal and the flame, in a smaller stream from the coal but a great outflow from the flame, for it is diffused to a very great distance. But since the other two, as has been shown, do not exist at the conflagration, there will be no light either. For when the sun takes its course under the earth, the daylight, great and far-reaching as it is, is immediately hidden from our sight by the night, especially if it is moonless.

for a knot or fastening, but there is no example = "the thing fastened," though such a meaning might easily have been developed. Nor is there any example = "the thing kindled," though there is *ἀναμμα* in this sense. Perhaps we should read *ἀναμμα*.

[505] καὶ μάλιστα ἀσελήνω. | οὐ τοίνυν ἐκπυροῦται ὁ κόσμος, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀφθαρτος· εἰ δ' ἐκπυρωθήσεται, ἕτερος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο.

89 XVIII. Διὸ καὶ τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ὀξύδερκέστερον ἐκ μακροῦ θεασάμενοι τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ἔλεγχον ἠξίωσαν ὥσπερ θανατῶντι κεφαλαίῳ βοηθήματα προευτρεπίζεσθαι· τὰ δ' οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἷτιον κινήσεως ἐστι τὸ πῦρ, κίνησις δὲ γενέσεως ἀρχή, γενέσθαι δ' ἄνευ κινήσεως ὀτιοῦν ἀδύνατον, ἔφασαν ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, ἐπειδὴν ὁ νέος κόσμος μέλλῃ δημιουργεῖσθαι, σύμπαν μὲν τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται, ποσὴ δὲ τις αὐτοῦ μοῖρα ὑπολείπεται· πάνυ γὰρ ἠύλαβήθησαν, μὴ σβεσθέντος ἀθροῦς μείνῃ τὰ πάντα ἡσυχάσαντα ἀδιακόσμητα, τοῦ τῆς κινήσεως
90 αἰτίου μηκέτ' ὄντος. εὐρεσιλογούντων δὲ πλάσματα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας τεχνάζοντων. τί δήποτε; ὅτι τὸν κόσμον ἐκπυρωθέντα γενέσθαι μὲν ἀνθρακι παραπλήσιον ἀμήχανον, ὡς δέδεικται, γεώδους πολλῆς ἂν ὑπολειφθείσης οὐσίας, ἣ δεήσει τὸ πῦρ ἔλλοχᾶν, ἴσως δ' οὐδ' ἐκπυρώσεως τότε κρατούσης, εἴ γε¹ μένει τὸ στοιχείων βαρύτατον καὶ δυσαναλωτότατον ἔτι, γῇ μὴ διαλυθεῖσα, μεταβάλλειν δὲ ἢ εἰς φλόγα ἢ εἰς αὐγὴν ἀναγκαῖον, εἰς μὲν φλόγα, ὡς ᾤετο Κλεάνθης, εἰς δ' αὐγὴν, ὡς
91 ὁ Χρύσιππος. ἀλλ' εἴ γε φλόξ γίνεται, τραπομένη πρὸς σβέσιν ἅπαξ οὐκ ἐκ μέρους ἀλλ' ἀθροᾶ σβεσθήσεται· συνυπάρχει γὰρ τῇ τροφῇ²· διὸ πολλῆς μὲν οὐσσης ἐπιδίδωσι καὶ χεῖται, στελλομένης δὲ

¹ MSS. εἴτε.

² MSS. ἡ τροφή.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 88-91

Therefore the world is not consumed by conflagration but is indestructible, and if it should be so consumed another world could not come into existence.

XVIII. This has induced some of the Stoic school, 89 whose keener sight discerned from a distance the oncoming refutation, to assist their cardinal doctrine when lying as it were at the point of death, but without avail. They said that since fire is the cause of motion and motion the origin of generation, without which it is impossible that anything should be generated, after the conflagration when the new world has to be created all the fire in it is not extinguished but a part of it of some amount remains. For they were filled with great alarm lest, if the whole mass was extinguished, the universe would remain at a standstill and not be reconstructed, since there was no longer anything to cause motion. But 90 these are the fictions of ingenious quibblers who are scheming to overthrow truth. Why so? Because the world when consumed by fire cannot become like live coal, as has been shown, since a lot of earthy matter would be left in which the fire will be bound to lurk encamped, and in that case perhaps we may say that the conflagration has still to establish its power, since the heaviest and most resistant of the elements, namely, earth, remains undissolved. It must therefore either change into fire as Cleanthes or light as Chrysippus thought. But if it becomes 91 flame, once it starts being extinguished it will not be extinguished partially but altogether.^a For its existence is bound up with its feeder and therefore if that feeder is plentiful it increases and diffuses

^a Or "totally and simultaneously," and so below, § 92.

- μειοῦται. τεκμηριώσαιοιτο δ' ἂν τις ἀπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ γινόμενον· ὁ λύχνος, ἕως μὲν τις ἔλαιον ἄρδει, περιφεγγεστάτην δίδωσι φλόγα, ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπίσχη, δαπανήσας ὅσον τῆς τροφῆς λείψανον αὐτίκα κατεσβέσθη, μηδὲν μέρος ταμειυσάμενος
- 92 τῆς φλογός. εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ἀλλ' αὐγὴ γίνεται, πάλιν ἄθρόα μεταβάλλει. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑπόστασιν ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχει, γεννᾶται δ' ἐκ φλογός, ἧς ὅλης δι' ὅλων σβέσιν λαμβανούσης, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν αὐγὴν μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἀλλ' ἄθρόαν ἀναιρεῖσθαι· ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τροφήν φλόξ, τοῦτο αὐγὴ πρὸς φλόγα· καθάπερ οὖν τροφῇ συναναιρεῖται φλόξ, καὶ αὐγὴ
- 93 φλογί. ὥστ' ἀμήχανον παλιγγενεσίαν τὸν κόσμον λαβεῖν, μηδεὶς ἐντυφομένου σπερματικοῦ λόγου, πάντων δὲ δαπανηθέντων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑπὸ πυρός, αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπ' ἐνδείας. ἐξ ὧν ἐστι δῆλον, ὅτι ἀγέννητος καὶ ἄφθαρτος ὧν διατελεῖ.
- 94 XIX. Φέρε δ' οὖν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Χρύσιππος, τὸ ἀναστοιχειῶσαν τὴν διακόσμησιν εἰς αὐτὸ πῦρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποτελεῖσθαι κόσμου σπέρμα εἶναι καὶ ὧν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεφιλοσόφηκε μηδὲν ἐψεῦσθαι, πρῶτον
- [506] μὲν ὅτι καὶ ἐκ | σπέρματος ἢ γένεσις καὶ εἰς σπέρμα ἢ ἀνάλυσις, ἔπειτα δ' ὅτι φυσιολογεῖται ὁ κόσμος καὶ φύσις λογική, οὐ μόνον ἔμφυχος ὧν ἀλλὰ καὶ νοερός, πρὸς δὲ καὶ φρόνιμος, ἐκ τούτων τοῦναντίον οὐ βούλεται κατασκευάζεται, τὸ μηδέ-
- 95 ποτε φθαρῆσθαι. αἱ δὲ πίστεις προχειρόταται τοῖς συνεξετάζειν μὴ ἀποκνοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν ὁ κόσμος

^a Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 142 ζῶν ὁ κόσμος καὶ λογικὸν καὶ ἔμφυχον καὶ νοερόν. The argument that follows does not depend upon these higher qualities, but they make it still
250

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itself, but if that shrinks it diminishes. We can judge the result from our own experience. A lamp as long as we feed it with oil gives a very brilliant light, but if we cease to do so after using up what little of the feeder remains, it goes out at once as it has no reserve of flame to fall back upon. Alter- 92
natively if it becomes light, again the change is total. Why? Because it has no definite existence of its own but is generated from flame, and if the flame is wholly and absolutely extinguished the light must also perish not partially but totally. For what the flame is to the feeder that the light is to the flame. Therefore, just as the flame perishes with its feeder, the light perishes with the flame. Therefore it is im- 93
possible that the world should have a rebirth, as no embers of the seminal principle are alive within it, but all have been exhausted, the rest by the fire, the seminal principle by lack of sustenance. These facts show clearly that it continues uncreated and indestructible.

XIX. Now suppose that as Chrysippus says the 94
fire which has resolved the world as constructed into itself is the seed of the world which will result and that there is no fallacy in his theories on the subject, primarily that its generation comes from seed and its resolution passes into seed; secondly that natural philosophy shows the world to be also a rational being, having not only life but mind, and further a wise mind,^a still these establish nothing of what he wishes to prove but its opposite, namely that it will never be destroyed. The proofs of this lie ready 95
at hand for those who do not shrink from examining

more impossible that its qualities should be below even those of a plant.

ἢ φυτόν, (ὥς) ἔοικεν,¹ ἢ ζῶον· ἀλλ' εἴτε φυτόν
 ἐστὶν εἴτε καὶ ζῶον, κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν φθαρεῖς
 οὐδέποτε αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γενήσεται σπέρμα. μαρτυρεῖ
 δὲ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὧν οὐδέν οὐκ ἔλαττον οὐ μείζον
 96 ποτε φθαρὲν εἰς σπέρματος ἀπεκρίθη γένεσιν. οὐχ
 ὁρᾷς ὅσαι μὲν ἡμέρων φυτῶν ὕλαι, ὅσαι δὲ ἀγρίων
 κατὰ πᾶν μέρος τῆς γῆς ἀνακέχυνται; τούτων
 τῶν δένδρων ἕκαστον, ἄχρι μὲν ὑγιαίνει τὸ στέ-
 λεχος, ἅμα τῷ καρπῷ καὶ τὸ ὄχυμα² τίκτει,
 μήκει δὲ χρόνων ἀφανανθὲν (ἢ) καὶ ἄλλως αὐταῖς
 ρίζαις φθαρὲν οὐδέποτε τὴν ἀνάλυσιν εἰς σπέρμα
 97 ἔλαβεν. τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ τὰ γένη
 τῶν ζώων, ἃ μὴδὲ εἰπεῖν διὰ πλήθος ῥάδιον, ἄχρι
 μὲν περίεστι καὶ ἡβᾶ, σπέρμα προὔεται γόνιμον,
 τελευτήσαντα δ' οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς γίνεται σπέρμα·
 καὶ γὰρ εὐήθες ἄνθρωπον ζῶντα μὲν ὀγδόῳ μέρει
 ψυχῆς, ὃ καλεῖται γόνιμον, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου
 σπορὰν χρῆσθαι, τελευτήσαντα δὲ ὄλῳ³ ἑαυτῷ·
 98 θάνατος γὰρ οὐτι ζωῆς ἀννυσιμώτερος. ἄλλως τε
 τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν ἐκ μόνου σπέρματος δίχα τῆς
 οἰκείας τροφῆς ἀποτελεῖται· σπέρμα γὰρ ἔοικεν
 ἀρχῇ, ἀρχὴ δὲ καθ' αὐτὴν οὐ τελειογονεῖ. μὴ γὰρ
 αὐτονομίᾳ τὸν στάχυν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ καταβληθέντος
 ὑπὸ γεωργῶν εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας βλαστάνειν πυροῦ,
 τὸ δὲ πλείστον εἰς αὐξήσειν αὐτοῦ⁴ συνεργεῖν ὑγρὰν
 τε καὶ ξηρὰν διττὴν ἐκ γῆς τροφήν· καὶ τὰ ἐν
 μήτραις μέντοι διαπλαττόμενα πέφυκεν οὐκ ἐκ

¹ MSS. φυτῷ ἔοικεν.² MSS. ὄχημα.³ MSS. ὄλον.⁴ MSS. αὐτῶν.

^a Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 110. The eight parts are the five senses, speech, the rational faculty and the generative.

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them. The world has evidently either plant-life or animal-life, but whether it has one or the other, if it is destroyed at the conflagration it will never become seed to itself. Take the testimony of the plants and animals in our experience; none of them lesser or greater ever when destroyed pass into the condition of producing seed. We see how many types of 96 cultivated trees and of uncultivated also are spread over every part of the earth. Each of these trees so long as the stem is sound produces with its fruit the germ of impregnation also. But when it withers away by length of time, or is destroyed in some other way with its roots as well it is never anywhere capable of being resolved into seed. In the same 97 way also the different kinds of animals so numerous that it would be difficult even to give their names, while they survive and are vigorous, emit generating seed, but when they are dead they never anywhere become seed. For it is foolish to suppose that a man when alive uses the eighth part ^a of his life principle, called the generative, to produce his like, but when dead uses his whole self. For death is not more efficacious than life. Besides nothing that exists is made 98 completely out of seed alone without its proper sustenance. Seed is analogous to beginning and the beginning by itself does not generate fullness. For neither must you suppose that the ear of wheat grows only from the seed laid down in the field by the husbandmen. The double sustenance from the earth, moist and dry is a very great factor in its growth and the embryos moulded in the womb cannot

Philo has given the same classification in *De Op.* 117, though there the point is that the *irrational* soul has seven parts. So too *De Agr.* 30, *Quod Det.* 168, *Quis Rerum* 232.

- μόνου ζωογονεῖσθαι σπέρματος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
 ἔξωθεν ἀρδομένης τροφῆς, ἣν ἡ κύουσα προσ-
 99 φέρεται. πρὸς δὴ τί ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι κατὰ τὴν
 ἐκπύρωσιν σπέρμα μόνον ὑπολειφθήσεται, τροφῆς
 μὴ ὑπαρχούσης, ἀπάντων ὅσα τρέφειν ἔμελλεν εἰς
 πῦρ ἀναλυθέντων, ὥσθ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν
 ἀποτελούμενος κόσμος χολὴν καὶ ἀτελῇ γένεσιν
 ἔξει, τοῦ μάλιστα πρὸς τελείωσιν συνεργούντος, ᾧ
 καθάπερ βάκτρῳ τινὶ τὴν σπερματικὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἐφιδρύνεσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἐφθαρμένου. τοῦτο δ' ἦν
 100 ἄτοπον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐλεγχόμενον τῆς ἐναργείας.¹ ἔτι
 τοίνυν ὅσα λαμβάνει τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ σπέρματος,
 μείζονα τὸν ὄγκον ἐστὶ τοῦ πεποιηκότος καὶ ἐν
 τόπῳ μείζονι θεωρεῖται· δένδρα γοῦν οὐρανομήκη
 πολλάκις ἀναβλαστάνει ἐκ βραχυτάτης κέγχρου καὶ
 ζῶα πιότατα καὶ περιμηκέστατα ἐξ ὀλίγου τοῦ
 προεθέντος ὑγροῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μικρῷ πρότερον
 [507] εἰρημένον | συμβαίνει, κατὰ μὲν τὸν γειτνιῶντα
 τῇ γενέσει χρόνον βραχύτερα τὰ γεννηθέντα εἶναι,
 μεγεθύνεσθαι δ' αὖθις ἄχρι παντελοῦς τελειώσεως.
 101 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς γενήσεται τούναντίον· τὸ μὲν
 γὰρ σπέρμα καὶ μείζον ἔσται καὶ πλείονα τόπον
 ἐφέξει, τὸ δ' ἀποτέλεσμα βραχύτερον καὶ ἐν
 ἐλάττονι φανεῖται τόπῳ, καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐκ σπέρ-
 ματος συνιστάμενος οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπι-
 δώσει πρὸς αὔξησιν, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν ἐξ ὄγκου
 102 μείζονος εἰς ἐλάττονα συναιρεθήσεται. τὸ δὲ λεγό-
 μενον ῥάδιον συνιδεῖν· ἅπαν σῶμα ἀναλυόμενον

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be brought to life merely from the seed, but need also the fostering sustenance from outside which the pregnant mother administers. What is the purpose 99 of these remarks? It is to show that at the conflagration seed alone will remain and nothing will exist to nourish it, as all things that would give nourishment are resolved into fire, and lame and imperfect therefore will be the genesis of the world brought about at the rebirth, since that which could best co-operate in its consummation, which the originating seed takes as a staff for its support, has been destroyed. The absurdity of this is self-evident and needs no further refutation. Again all things 100 which originate from seed are greater in bulk than that which made them and visibly occupy a greater space. Thus trees which soar to heaven often spring from a very small grain, and animals of great corpulence and stature come from the emission of a little moisture. Also there is the fact mentioned a little above^a that during the time following closely on the birth the things generated are smaller but afterwards increase in size till they reach their full consummation. But in the universe the opposite 101 will take place. The seed will both be greater and will occupy more space, but the result produced will be smaller, and will be seen to take up less space, and the Cosmos which forms itself from the seed will not gradually advance in growth but on the contrary will be reduced from a greater bulk to a lesser. The truth of this statement can be easily seen. 102 Every body which is resolved into fire is diffused as

^a *i.e.* in § 71.

¹ MSS. *ἐπεργείας*.

εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύεται¹ τε καὶ χεῖται, σβεννυμένης δὲ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φλογός, στέλλεται καὶ συνάγεται· πίστεων δὲ τοῖς οὕτως ἐμφανέσι πρὸς μαρτυρίαν ὡς ἀδηλουμένοις οὐδεμία χρεία. καὶ μὴν ὁ κόσμος ὁ πυρωθεὶς γενήσεται μείζων, ἅτε συμπάσης τῆς οὐσίας εἰς τὸν λεπτότατον ἀναλυθείσης αἰθέρα. ὁ μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ προϊδόμενοι κενὸν ἄπειρον ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου τῷ λόγῳ καταλιπεῖν, ἴν', ἐπειδὴ χύσιν ἀπέραντόν τινα ἔμελλε λήψεσθαι, μὴ ἀπορῇ τοῦ δεξομένου χωρίου τὴν ἀνάχυσιν.

103 ὅτε μὲν οὖν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐπιδέδωκε καὶ συνηύξηται, ὡς μονονουχὶ τῇ ἀορίστῳ τοῦ κενοῦ φύσει τῷ τῆς ἐλάσεως ἀπειρομεγέθει συνδραμεῖν, σπέρματος ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο λόγον, ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν ἐκ τελείων τῶν μερῶν² τῆς συμπάσης οὐσίας * * *, στελλομένου μὲν κατὰ τὴν σβέσειν τοῦ πυρὸς εἰς παχὺν ἀέρα, στελλομένου δ' ἀέρος εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ συνίζοντος, παχυνομένου δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὕδατος κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν, τὸ πυκνότατον τῶν στοιχείων, μεταβολήν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ἐννοίας τῶν δυναμένων ἀκολουθίαν πραγμάτων ἐκλογίζεσθαι.

¹ Cohn pronounces ἀναλύεται to be corrupt. Alternatives suggested are ἐλαύνεται (based on ἐλάσεως in § 103), ἀναδίδεται and διαλύεται, which Bernays reads. I do not feel that ἀναλ. is quite impossible; see translation.

² Cumont ἐκτελειούται μείων, in which case there is no lacuna, ἔχει λόγον being understood before τῆς συμπάσης οὐσίας. See note b.

^a Cf. Diog. Laert. vii. 140 ἔξωθεν δ' αὐτοῦ περικεχυμένον εἶναι τὸ κένον ἀπειρον, ὅπερ ἀσώματον εἶναι.

^b The text as printed gives "when at the rebirth it . . .

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well as resolved, but when the flame in it is being quenched, it is contracted and drawn in. Facts so clear as these need no proofs to testify to them as though they were matters of uncertainty. Assuredly the world when consumed by fire will become greater because its whole substance is resolved into very fine ether. This the Stoics seem to me to have foreseen and therefore left room in their theory for an infinite void outside the Cosmos,^a so that when it had to accept a sort of infinite diffusion, it might not lack a place to receive the overflow. So then 103 when it has advanced and grown to such an extent that, under the infinite magnitude of the pressure forcing it, it extends its course almost to the illimitable existence of the void, even this ranks as seed, but when at the rebirth it is brought to its consummation in a diminished condition it ranks as a whole substance,^b though the fire at its extinction is contracted into the thickness of air and the air is contracted and subsides into water and the water condenses still more as it changes into the most compressed of the elements, earth. These conclusions are contrary to the accepted principles^c of those who are capable of judging the sequence of events aright.

of the whole substance . . .", i.e. we must supply some verb as *συνίσταται* = "consisting of" to complete the protasis, and then something more = "it will take up less room." This does not give any real antithesis to *σπέρματος*. Cumont's suggestion (see note 2) was not accepted by Cohn, but seems to me very probable, and as it avoids the lacuna I have translated it.

^c "Common notions," otherwise translated as "primary conceptions." According to Zeller, *Stoics*, pp. 79 f., they are not innate ideas, but "those conceptions which from the nature of thought can be equally formed by all men out of experience."

- 104 XX. Δίχα τοίνυν τῶν εἰρημένων κακείνῳ χρή-
σαιτ' ἄν τις εἰς πίστιν, ὃ καὶ τοὺς μὴ πέρα τοῦ
μετρίου φιλονεικεῖν αἵρουμένους ἐπισπάσεται. τῶν
ἐν ταῖς συζυγίαις ἐναντίων ἀμήχανον τὸ μὲν εἶναι,
τὸ δὲ μὴ· λευκοῦ γὰρ ὄντος ἀνάγκη καὶ μέλαν
ὑπάρχειν καὶ μεγάλου βραχὺ καὶ περιττοῦ ἄρτιον
καὶ γλυκέος πικρὸν καὶ ἡμέρας νύκτα καὶ ὅσα
τούτοις ὁμοιότροπα. γενομένης δ' ἐκπυρώσεως,
ἀδύνατόν τι συμβήσεται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ὑπάρξει
τῶν ἐν ταῖς συζυγίαις, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οὐκ ἔσται.
- 105 φέρε δ' οὕτωςι θεασώμεθα· πάντων εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυ-
θέντων, κοῦφον μὲν ἔσται τι καὶ μανὸν καὶ θερμόν
—ἴδια γὰρ πυρὸς ταῦτα—, βαρὺ δ' οὐδὲν ἢ πυκνὸν
ἢ ψυχρόν, τὰ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἐναντία. πῶς οὖν ἄν
τις ἐπιδείξαι¹ μᾶλλον τὴν πεπλεγμένην ἐκ τῆς
ἐκπυρώσεως ἀκοσμίαν ἢ τὰ φύσει συνυπάρχοντα
δεικνὺς ἀπαρτῶμενα τῆς συζυγίας; ἢ δ' ἄλλο-
τρίωσις ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κεχώρηκεν, ὥς τοῖς μὲν
[508] αἰδιόττητα | προσομολογεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἀνύπαρκτον.
- 106 Ἔτι τοίνυν κακείνό μοι δοκεῖ μὴ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ
τοῖς ἰχνηλατοῦσι τάληθές εἰρῆσθαι· φθειρόμενος ὁ
κόσμος ἦτοι ὑπὸ τινος ἐτέρας φθαρήσεται αἰτίας
ἢ ὑπὸ θεοῦ. ὑπ' ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν
δέξεται διάλυσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ὃ μὴ περιέχει·
τὸ δὲ περιεχόμενον καὶ κατακρατούμενον² ἀσθενέ-
στερον δήπου τοῦ περιέχοντος, ὅφ' οὐ καὶ κατα-
κρατεῖται. ὑπὸ δὲ θεοῦ φθειρεσθαι λέγειν αὐτὸν
πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς οὐκ ἀταξίας καὶ
ἀκοσμίας καὶ φθορᾶς ἀλλὰ τάξεως καὶ εὐκοσμίας

¹ MSS. ἐπιχῆται or ἐπισχῆται.² MSS. κρατούμενον.

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XX. Besides those already mentioned, there is 104 another argument which may be used to prove the point, and this, too, will win the assent of those who prefer not to carry their contentiousness to an immoderate extent. In couples of opposites, it is impossible that one member should exist and the other not. If there is white there must be black also, if there is great there must be small, and so with odd and even, bitter and sweet, night and day, and the like. But when the conflagration has taken place we shall have an impossibility. For one of the opposites in couples will exist and the other will not. Consider the following facts. When all things are 105 resolved into fire, there will be something light, rare and hot, since these qualities belong to fire, but nothing of their opposites, heavy, dense and cold. How could we better express the disorder woven by the conflagration theory than by showing that things naturally coexistent are disjoined from the coupling which holds them, and so far does this dissociation extend that we have to predicate perpetuity of the one set and non-existence of the other.

Still further, a good point I think is made by the 106 investigators of truth when they say that if the world is destroyed, it will be destroyed either by some other cause or by God. Nothing else at all will cause it to undergo dissolution. For there is nothing which it does not encompass and what is encompassed and dominated is surely weaker than what encompasses and therefore also dominates it. On the other hand, to say that it is destroyed by God is the worst of profanities. For those who hold the true creed acknowledge Him to be the cause,

καὶ ζωῆς καὶ παντὸς αἵτιος ἀνωμολόγηται τοῦ ἀρίστου παρὰ τοῖς τάληθῇ δοξάζουσι.

107 XXI. Θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις τοὺς τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας θρυλοῦντας οὐ μόνον ἔνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων, οἷς ἀπελέγχονται ψευδοδοξοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐκείνο μάλιστα. τεττάρων γὰρ ὄντων στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκε, γῆς, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, πυρός, τίνος ἔνεκα πάντων ἀποκληρωσάμενοι τὸ πῦρ τὰ ἄλλα φασὶν εἰς τοῦτο μόνον ἀναλυθήσεσθαι; δέον γάρ, εἴποι τις ἂν,—πῶς οὐκ;—εἰς ἀέρα ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆν· ὑπερβάλλουσαι γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις εἰσὶ δυνάμεις. ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐξαερούσθαι ἢ ἐξυδατοῦσθαι ἢ ἀπογεοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον εἶπεν, ὥστ' εἰκὸς ἦν μηδὲ ἐκπυροῦσθαι φάναι.

108 Χρῆ μέντοι καὶ τὴν ἐνυπάρχουσαν ἰσονομίαν τῷ κόσμῳ κατανοήσαντας ἢ δεῖσαι ἢ αἰδεσθῆναι τοσούτου θεοῦ¹ κατηγορεῖν θάνατον· ὑπερβάλλουσα γάρ τις τῶν τεττάρων ἀντέκτισις δυνάμεων ἰσότητος κανόσι καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὅροις σταθμωμένων

109 τὰς ἀμοιβάς. καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ ἐτήσιοι ὥραι κύκλον ἀμείβουσιν ἀλλήλας ἀντιπαραδεχόμεναι πρὸς τὰς ἐνιαυτῶν οὐδέποτε ληγόντων περιόδους, [εἰς] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον [τίθῃσι]² καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ταῖς εἰς ἀλλήλα μεταβολαῖς, τὸ παραδοξότατον, θνήσκειν δοκοῦντα ἀθανατίζεται δολιχεύοντα αἰεὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἄνω καὶ κάτω συνεχῶς ἀμεί-
110 βοντα. ἡ μὲν οὖν προσάντης ὁδὸς ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρχεται·

¹ mss. θείου.

² Cumont reads αἰεὶ for εἰς, and περιθέει for τίθῃσι, but the latter has little resemblance to the word which it replaces. Bernays φησί, but the introduction of the disputant at this point seems unlikely. But the mere omission is equally unsatisfactory.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 106-110

not of disorder, disharmony and destruction, but of order and harmony and life and all that is most excellent.

XXI. The people whose talk is for ever of con- 107
flagration and rebirth may well excite our wonder, not only for the aforesaid reasons which prove the falsity of their creed, but particularly on the following grounds. As there are four elements, earth, water, air and fire, of which the world is composed, why out of all these do they pick out fire and assert that it will be resolved into that alone? Surely it may be said that it is just as right that it should be resolved into earth or water or air, for all these have transcendent powers, and yet no one has declared that the world is converted into any of the three, and therefore the natural conclusion is that it is not turned into fire either.

Indeed also observation of the equality inherent in 108
the world should make them afraid or ashamed to affirm the death of so great a deity. For there is a vast reciprocation between the four powers and they regulate their interchanges according to the standards of equality and the bounds laid down by justice. For just as the annual seasons circle round and round, 109
each making room for its successor as the years ceaselessly revolve, so, too, the elements of the world in their mutual interchanges seem to die, yet, strangest of contradictions, are made immortal as they ever run their race backwards and forwards and continually pass along the same road up and down. The 110
uphill journey begins from earth.^a Earth is trans-

^a The idea of the "uphill" and "downhill" journey comes from Heracleitus, see Diog. Laert. ix. 9, where they are called *ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω* and *ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω ὁδός*.

- τηκομένη γὰρ εἰς ὕδωρ [μετα]λαμβάνει¹ τὴν μεταβολήν, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ἐξατμιζόμενον εἰς αέρα, ὃ δ' ἄηρ λεπτυνόμενος εἰς πῦρ· ἡ δὲ κατάντης ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς, συνίζοντος μὲν πυρὸς κατὰ τὴν σβέσιν εἰς αέρα, συνίζοντος δ' ὁπότε συνθλίβεται εἰς ὕδωρ [509] αἶρος, ὕδατος δὲ [τὴν πολλήν | ἀνάχουσιν]² κατὰ τὴν εἰς γῆν πυκνουμένου μεταβολήν. εἶ καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ἐν οἷς φησι· “ψυχῇσι θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι.” ψυχὴν γὰρ οἰόμενος εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὴν μὲν αἶρος τελευτήν γένεσιν ὕδατος, τὴν δὲ ὕδατος γῆς πάλιν γένεσιν αἰνίττεται, θάνατον οὐ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν ἀν-αίρεσιν ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς ἕτερον στοιχεῖον [111] μεταβολήν. ἀπαραβάτου³ δὲ καὶ συνεχοῦς τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἰσονομίας ταύτης αἰεὶ φυλαττομένης, ὥσπερ οὐκ εἰκὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἄνισον ἄδικον, τὸ δ' ἄδικον κακίας ἔγγονον, κακία δ' ἐξ οἴκου τῆς ἀθανασίας πεφυγάδεται, θεῖον δέ τι <διὰ τὸ> μέγεθος⁴ ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἶκος θεῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποδέδεικται, τὸ δὲ φάσκειν ὅτι φθείρεται μὴ συνωρῶντων ἐστὶ φύσεως εἰρμὸν καὶ πραγμάτων συνηρημένην ἀκολουθίαν.
- [112] XXII. Προσφιλοτεχνούντες δὲ τινες τῶν αἰδίων ὑπολαμβάνοντων τὸν κόσμον εἶναι καὶ τοιούτω

¹ The other editors retain *μεταλαμβάνει*, which gives a fair sense, “has, like the other elements, its share of change.”

² Here again the omission is drastic. Cumont declares the text to be right, possibly regarding τὴν πολλήν ἀνάχουσιν as an accusative of respect. Bernays τῇ πολλῇ ἀναχύσει, corresponding to *μετὰ σβέσιν* and *ὅποτε θλίβεται*. (If so why not <διὰ> τὴν πολλήν ἀνάχουσιν?) The mss. have *πυκνουμένην* (one *πηγνυμένου*).

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 110-113

formed by melting into water, water by evaporation into air, air by rarefaction into fire. The downhill path leads from the top, the fire as it is extinguished subsides into air; air as it is compressed subsides into water, while water is condensed as it changes into earth. Well, too, spoke Heracleitus 111 when he says, "death for souls is to become water, death for water to become earth," for conceiving that soul^a is breath he indicates that the final end of air is to become water and again of water to become earth, while by the term death he does not mean complete annihilation but transmutation into another element. That this self-determined equality should 112 be maintained for ever inviolate and constant is not only natural but necessary. And, therefore, since inequality is unjust and injustice is the child of wickedness, and wickedness is banished from the dwelling-place of immortality, while the world is divine in its vastness and has been shown to be the dwelling-place of visible deities, the assertion that it is destroyed shows inability to descry the chain of nature and the unbroken sequence of events.

XXII. Some of those who consider that the world 113 is everlasting carry their ingenuity still farther and

^a Philo is apparently mistaken here, and Heracleitus by "soul" meant fire, not air, which he did not consider to be one of the fundamental elements. See Zeller, *Presocratics*, vol. ii. p. 50.

³ MSS. ἀπαραβλήτου (-ους) or ἀπεριβλήτου.

⁴ Bernays θεῖον δέ τι τέμενος, Cumont θεῖος δὲ τὸ μέγεθος. The objection to this and Cohn's is that size is a poor reason for the divinity of the Cosmos. Perhaps the most plausible suggestion is Wendland's θεῖον δέ τι <μᾶλλον δὲ> μέγας θεός, which might perhaps be simplified with ἦ instead of μᾶλλον δέ.

- πρὸς κατασκευὴν λόγῳ χρώνται· φθορὰς τέτταρας εἶναι τρόπους τοὺς ἀνωτάτω συμβέβηκε, πρόσθεσιν ἀφαίρεσιν μετάθεσιν ἀλλοίωσιν. δυνὰς μὲν οὖν προσθέσει μονάδος εἰς τριάδα φθείρεται μηκέτι μένουσα δυνὰς, τετρὰς δ' ἀφαιρέσει μονάδος εἰς τριάδα, μεταθέσει δὲ τὸ Γ^1 στοιχείον εἰς Η, ὅταν αἱ μὲν ἐγκάρσιοι παράλληλοι πρὸς ὀρθὰς διαναστώσιν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ὀρθὰς ἐπεζευγμένη πλαγιασθεῖσα συνάψῃ τὰς παρ' ἐκάτερα, κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν δὲ μετα-
- 114 βάλλων οἶνος εἰς ὄξος. τῶν δὲ κατειλεγμένων τρόπων οὐδεὶς ἐφάπτεται τοῦ κόσμου τὸ παράπαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τί φώμεν; προστίθεσθαι τι τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν; ἀλλ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐκτός, ὃ μὴ μέρος γέγονεν αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> ὅλου· περιέχεται γὰρ καὶ κατακρατεῖται. ἀλλ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι; πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἀφαιρεθὲν πάλιν κόσμος ἔσται, τοῦ νῦν βραχύτερος· ἔπειτα <δ'> ἀμήχανον ἔξω τι σῶμα τοῦ ὅλου διαρτηθὲν τῆς συμφυΐας σκεδασθῆναι.
- 115 ἀλλὰ τὰ μέρη μετατίθεσθαι; μενεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁμοίῳ τοὺς τόπους οὐκ ἐναλλάττοντα· οὐ γὰρ ἐποχήσεται ποτε οὔτε² ὕδατι πᾶσα γῆ οὔθ' ὕδωρ ἀέρι οὔτε ἀήρ πυρί, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν φύσει βαρέα, γῆ³ καὶ ὕδωρ, τὸν μέσον ἐφέξει τόπον, γῆς μὲν θεμελίου τρόπον ὑπερειδούσης, ὕδατος δ' ἐπιπολάζοντος,
- [510] ἀήρ δὲ καὶ πῦρ, τὰ φύσει κοῦφα, | τὸν ἄνω, πλὴν οὐχ ὁμοίως· ἀήρ γὰρ πυρὸς ὄχημα γέγονε, τὸ

¹ MSS. ζ or ζῆτα . . . ἥ or ῆτα (the letter printed here for zeta is an old form which accords with the argument).

² MSS. ἔτι.

³ MSS. ἐν γῆ.

^a "The four ways of destruction are Peripatetic and

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 113-115

employ an argument of the following kind to establish their view. We find, they say, four principal ways in which destruction occurs, addition, subtraction, transposition, transmutation.^a Thus two is destroyed and becomes three by the addition of one and similarly four by subtraction of one becomes three. The letter Γ becomes H by transposition when the horizontal parallels rise vertically and the line which joined them vertically has been turned sideways to connect the lines on either side of it. By transmutation wine perishes and becomes vinegar. But none of the ways enumerated affects 114 the world at all. For can we say that anything can be added to the world to destroy it? No, there is nothing outside it, nothing which is not a part of itself, that is of the whole, since each thing is encompassed and dominated by it. What of subtraction? In the first place anything subtracted will in its turn be a world only smaller than the present world. Secondly, it is impossible that any body should be detached from its fellow substance and dispersed outside the whole. Can its parts be 115 transposed? No, they will remain as they are and do not change their relative positions. For earth will never anywhere stand mounted on water, nor water on air, nor air on fire. But the naturally heavy elements, earth and water, will occupy the central position, with earth forming the support like a foundation and water floating on its surface, while the naturally light air and fire occupy the upper position though with a difference, for air is the vehicle on which fire rests and that which rests on a

Atomistic as contrasted with the three of the Stoics given in § 79" (Bernays).

116 δ' ἐποχούμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑπερφέρεται. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν φθείρεσθαι νομιστέον· ἰσοκρατῆς γὰρ ἡ τῶν στοιχείων μεταβολή, τὸ δ' ἰσοκρατὲς ἀκλινοῦς βεβαιότητος καὶ ἀσαλεύτου μονῆς αἴτιον, ἅτε μήτε πλεονεκτοῦν μήτε πλεονεκτούμενον· ὥσθ' ἡ ἀντίδοσις καὶ ἡ ἀντέκτισις τῶν δυνάμεων ἀναλογίας¹ ἐξισουμένη κανόνισιν ὑγιείας καὶ ἀτελευτήτου σωτηρίας δημιουργός. ἐξ ὧν αἰδίου ὁ κόσμος ἀποδείκνυται.

117 XXIII. Θεόφραστος μέντοι φησὶ τοὺς γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν τοῦ κόσμου κατηγοροῦντας ὑπὸ τεττάρων ἀπατηθῆναι τῶν μεγίστων, γῆς ἀνωμαλίας, θαλάττης ἀναχωρήσεως, ἐκάστου τῶν τοῦ ὅλου μερῶν διαλύσεως, χερσαίων φθορᾶς κατὰ γένη
118 ζώων. κατασκευάζειν² δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὕτως· εἰ μὴ γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ γῆ, μέρος ὑπανεστὸς οὐδὲν ἂν ἔτι αὐτῆς ἐωρᾶτο, χθαμαλὰ δ' ἤδη τὰ ὄρη πάντα ἐγεγένητο καὶ οἱ γεώλοφοι πάντες ἰσόπεδοι τῇ πεδιάδι· τοσούτων γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὄμβρων ἐξ αἰδίου φερομένων, εἰκὸς ἦν τῶν διηρμένων πρὸς ὕψος τὰ μὲν χεῖμαρροις ἀπερρῆχθαι, τὰ δ' ὑπονοστήσαντα κεχαλάσθαι, πάντα δὲ διὰ πάντων ἤδη λελεῖάνθαι.

¹ MSS. ἀναλογίας.

² MSS. κατασκευάζει. See note b.

^a Or more exactly "those who affirm of the world that it is subject to *γένεσις* and *φθορά*," with the suggestion perhaps that such an idea is depreciatory (*κατηγοροῦντας*).

^b Bernays retains the indicative *κατασκευάζει*, which is I think quite defensible. In either case the statement is

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 116-118

vehicle is necessarily carried above it. Once more 116 we must not suppose that the world is destroyed by transmutation, for there is a balance of powers in the interchange of the elements and such a balance produces unswerving stability and unshaken permanence, since it neither encroaches nor is encroached on. And thus the reciprocation, the giving and taking of values, equalized according to the standards of proportion creates sound health and perpetual security. These things show the world to be everlasting.

XXIII. Further, Theophrastus says that those who 117 maintain the creation and future destruction of the world^a are misled by four main considerations, the unevenness of the earth's surface, the withdrawal of the sea, the dissolution of each several part of the universe, and the perishing of whole species of land animals. The proof which they base on the first 118 of these is according to him the following.^b If the earth had no beginning in which it came into being, no part of it would still be seen to be elevated above the rest. The mountains would now all be quite low, the hills all on a level with the plain, for with the great rains pouring down from everlasting each year, objects elevated to a height would naturally in some cases have been broken off by winter storms, in others would have subsided into a loose condition and would all of them have been completely planed

loosely worded. The "first part" may be either that the surface of the world is uneven, or that they are deceived by this unevenness. Taking the infinitive, they prove neither of these, but that the unevenness shows that the world is everlasting. Taking the indicative, Theophrastus states their reason for holding this opinion, but the proof that it is misleading is deferred till § 143.

119 νυνὶ δὲ συνεχεῖς ἀνωμαλῖαι καὶ παμπόλλων ὁρῶν
αἱ πρὸς αἰθέριον ὕψος ὑπερβολαὶ μηνύματ' ἐστὶ
τοῦ τὴν γῆν μὴ αἰδῖον εἶναι. πάλαι γάρ, ὥς ἔφην,
ἐν ἀπείρῳ χρόνῳ ταῖς ἐπομβρίαις ἀπὸ περάτων
ἐπὶ πέρατα πᾶσ' ἂν λεωφόρος ἐγεγένητο· πέφυκε
γὰρ ἡ ὕδατος φύσις καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ ὑψηλοτάτων
καταράττουσα τὰ μὲν ἐξωθεῖν τῇ βίᾳ, τὰ δὲ τῷ
συνεχεῖ τῶν ψεκάδων κολάπτουσα κοιλαίνειν ὑπ-
εργάζεσθαι τε τὴν σκληρόγεω καὶ λιθωδεστάτην
ὀρυκτῆρων οὐκ ἔλαττον.

120 Καὶ μὴν ἥ γε θάλασσα, φασίν, ἤδη μεμείωται.
μάρτυρες δ' αἱ νήσων εὐδοκιμώταται Ῥόδος τε
καὶ Δῆλος· αὐταὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἠφανισμένοι
κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἐδεδύκεσαν ἐπικλυζόμεναι,
χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον ἐλαττουμένης ἡρέμα, κατ' ὀλίγον
ἀνίσχουσαι διεφάνησαν, ὥς αἱ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνα-
121 γραφεῖσαι μηνύουσιν ἱστορίαι. τὴν δὲ Δῆλον καὶ
'Ανάφην¹ ὠνόμασαν δι' ἀμφοτέρων ὀνομάτων πι-
στούμενοι τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀναφανείσα
δήλη ἐγένετο, ἀδηλουμένη καὶ ἀφανῆς οὖσα τὸ
πάλαι. ² διὸ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐπὶ τῆς Δήλου φησί·

¹ mss. ἀναγραφὴν (-ειν).

² διὸ . . . αἰνιττόμενος appears in the mss. after ἀποβράτ-
τεσθαι at the end of § 122. It certainly is less appropriate
there. Both Bernays and Cumont however retain it there.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 119-121

down. As it is, the constant unevennesses and the 119
great multitude of mountains with their vast heights
soaring to heaven are indications that the earth is
not from everlasting. For in the course of infinite
time it would long ago as I have said ^a have under the
rain-pour become an open, level road from end to
end. For it is a natural characteristic of water that
sometimes, particularly when it dashes down from
a great height, it drives everything out before it by
its force, sometimes by constant dripping it scoops
out and hollows and so completely undermines the
hardest and stoniest ground quite as much as a
digger would.

Again, they say, the sea is already diminished. 120
Witness the most famous of the islands, Rhodes and
Delos. For these in old times had disappeared,
sunk and submerged below the sea, but in the
course of time as the sea was slowly diminishing
they gradually emerged and became conspicuous, as
we read in the narratives written about them. Men 121
also gave the name of Anaphe to Delos,^b using both
names to vouch for the fact here stated, because ^c it
became apparent and visible, while in the past it
was unapparent and invisible, and so Pindar says
of Delos.

^a Note the first person singular, an illustration of Philo's tendency to identify himself with the argument he is stating, even though he disagrees with it. See on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 6 ff. It can hardly be that he is verbally reproducing Theophrastus, for this is not what Theophrastus says but what he says the Stoics say.

^b Apparently a mistake. Delos and Anaphe are different islands.

^c The anacoluthic *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ* is read by all three editors (though *γὰρ* is omitted by some mss.). Cf. § 75.

PHILO

“ Χαῖρ’, ὦ θεοδμάτα, λιπαροπλοκάμου
παίδεσσι Λατοῦς ἡμεροέστατον ἔρνος,
πόντου θύγατερ, χθονὸς εὐρείας ἀκίνητον τέρας,
ἄν τε βροτοὶ
Δᾶλον κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ’ ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον.”

122 θυγατέρα γὰρ πόντου τὴν Δῆλον εἶρηκε τὸ λεχθὲν
[511] αἰνιττόμενος. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μεγάλων | πελαγῶν
μεγάλους κόλπους καὶ βαθεῖς ἀναξηρανθέντας ἡπει-
ρῶσθαι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι τῆς παρακειμένης χώρας
μοῖραν οὐ λυπρὰν σπειρομένους καὶ φ’ τευομένους,
οἷς σημεί’ ἄττα¹ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐναπολελείφθαι θαλατ-
τώσεως ψηφιδάς τε καὶ κόγχας καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα
123 πρὸς αἰγιαλούς εἶωθεν ἀποβράττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μει-
οῦται ἢ θάλαττα, μειωθήσεται μὲν καὶ ἡ γῆ,
μακραῖς δ’ ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις καὶ εἰς ἅπαν ἐκά-
τερον στοιχεῖον ἀναλωθήσεται, δαπανθήσεται δὲ
καὶ ὁ σύμπας ἀῆρ ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐλαττού-
μενος, ἀποκριθήσεται δὲ τὰ πάντα εἰς μίαν οὐσίαν
τὴν πυρός.

124 XXIV. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ τρίτου κεφαλαίου κατα-
σκευὴν χρῶνται² λόγῳ τοιῷδε· φθείρεται πάντως
ἐκεῖνο, οὗ πάντα τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ
κόσμου πάντα τὰ μέρη φθαρτά ἐστι, φθαρτὸς ἄρα
125 ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν. ὁ δ’ ὑπερεθέμεθα, νῦν ἐπι-

¹ MSS. σημεία τὰ.

² Bernays χρῆται with some ms. authority. Cf. § 117.

^a The idea is supposed to be that earth seems dark-blue to the gods, as heaven seems to us, and that Delos shines like a
270

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 121-125

Hail, island built by gods,
Thou scion best beloved by those
Whom lustrous-haired Latona bore,
Daughter of Ocean, marvel of broad earth,
Whose base no power can shake.
Delos we mortals name thee, but on high,
Where dwell the blessed ones, they call thee Star
Seen in the distance of the azure earth.^a

By calling Delos the daughter of the sea he suggests what has been said above. In addition to this they 122 point out that belonging to great tracts of sea there are deep and great bays which have dried up and turned into mainland and become a part of the adjoining cō^untry, by no means barren but sown and planted, yet have left in them some signs that they once were sea—pebbles and shells and all things of the same sort which are so often thrown up upon the seashore. Now if the sea diminishes 123 the earth will diminish also and after many a long cycle of years both elements will be utterly exhausted. So, too, will the whole air be gradually lessened and waste away and all things will be drafted off into one single substance, namely, fire.

XXIV. To establish their third point they employ 124 an argument of this sort. Anything, the parts of which are all perishable, necessarily perishes itself. All the parts of the world are perishable, therefore, the world itself is perishable.^b This point which we 125 reserved for future argument ^c must now be examined.

star in it. See Sandys's note on Pindar, fr. 87 (Loeb translation). Asteria was another name of Delos.

^b This argument is stated by Diog. Laert. vii. 141 in almost the same words as here, but the reason given there for believing that the parts are perishable is that they change into each other.

^c Or simply "assumed in this syllogism," cf. § 56.

σκεπτέον. ποῖον μέρος τῆς γῆς, ἵνα ἀπὸ ταύτης ἀρξώμεθα, μείζον ἢ ἔλαττον, οὐ χρόνῳ διαλύεται; λίθων οἱ κραταιότατοι ἀρ' οὐ μυδῶσι καὶ σήπονται <καὶ> κατὰ τὴν ἕξεως ἀσθένειαν—ἢ δ' ἐστὶ πνευματικὸς τόνος, δεσμός οὐκ ἄρρηκτος ἀλλὰ μόνον δυσδιάλυτος—θρυπτόμενοι καὶ ῥέοντες εἰς λεπτὴν τὸ πρῶτον ἀναλύονται κόνιν, εἴθ' ὕστερον δαπανηθέντες ἐξαναλοῦνται;¹ τί δ', εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἀνέμων ῥιπίζοιτο τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀκίνητον ἑαθὲν οὐχ ὑφ' ἡσυχίας νεκροῦται; μεταβάλλει γοῦν καὶ δυσωδέστατον γίνε-
 126 νεται, οἷα ψυχὴν ἀφηρημένον ζῶον. ἢ γε μὴν ἀέρος φθορὰ παντὶ τῷ δῆλον· νοσεῖν γὰρ καὶ φθίνειν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀποθνήσκειν πέφυκεν. ἐπεὶ τί ἂν τις μὴ στοχασάμενος ὀνομάτων εὐπρεπείας ἀλλὰ τὰλη-
 127 θοῦς εἴποι λοιμὸν εἶναι πλὴν ἀέρος θάνατον τὸ οἰκεῖον πάθος ἀναχέοντος ἐπὶ φθορᾷ πάντων ὅσα ψυχῆς μεμοίραται; τί χρὴ μακρηγορεῖν περὶ πυρός; ἀτροφῆσαν γὰρ αὐτίκα σβέννυται, χωλόν,
 [512] | ἢ φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, γεγονὸς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ· διὸ σκηριπτόμενον² ὀρθοῦται κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναφθείσης
 128 ὕλης μονήν,³ ἐξαναλωθείσης δ' ἀφανίζεται. τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν δράκοντάς φασι πάσχειν· ἀνέρποντας γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ

¹ MSS. ἐξαναλύονται.

² Cumont reads χωλὸς Ἡφαιστος . . . γεγονὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 Διὸς σκηριπτόμενος. See App. p. 529. ³ Cumont νομῆν.

^a See on § 86.

^b The lameness of Hephaestus (*cf. Il. xviii. 397*) was interpreted by the allegorists as the inability of the earthly fire (in contrast to the heavenly) to go on without the support of fuel. See App. p. 529.

^c This story, which is found also in Pliny and Aelian, seems very inappropriate. The fire consumes the fuel and
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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 125-128

To begin with earth. What part of it, great or small, is there which is not dissolved by the action of time ? Do not the strongest stones become dank and decay through the weakness of their cohesiveness, that current of spirit force,^a that bond which is not unbreakable but merely difficult to loose ? They break in pieces and first disintegrate into a stream of fine dust and afterwards waste away till there is nothing left of them. Again if water is not whipped by the wind but left unmoved, does it not become like a dead thing through its inactivity ? It certainly changes and becomes very malodorous like an animal bereft of its vital force. As for the air, its destruction 126 is evident to everybody, for sickness and decay and what may be called death is natural to it. How, indeed, could anyone, who aimed at truth rather than elegance of language, describe a pestilence save as a death of the air which diffuses its own distemper to destroy all things to which the life force has been given ? We need not spend many words on fire, for 127 when it has lost its sustenance it is extinguished at once, in itself lame as the poets say.^b While with a support it stands erect because the kindled fuel is still there ; when that is used up it is seen no more. Much the same is said to happen with the snakes in 128 India.^c They creep up to those hugest of animals, then perishes. The snakes suck the blood and then perish also ; but not because they can get no blood, though Philo seems to suggest this by *μηκέτ' ἔχοντες τροφήν*, but because the fallen elephants stifle them. We may suppose that the story interested him so much that he brought it in without considering whether it really illustrated his point. Cumont aptly quotes the account in *De Ebr.* 174 of the elk, which camouflages its colours to illustrate the different impressions which an object makes on different people, and the same may be said of the polypus and chameleon in the same context.

- μέγιστα τῶν ζώων, ἐλέφαντας, περὶ νῶτα καὶ νηδὺν ἅπασαν εἰλεῖσθαι, φλέβα δ' ἦν ἂν τύχη διελόντας ἐμπίνειν τοῦ αἵματος, ἀπλήστως ἐπισπωμένους βιαίῳ πνεύματι καὶ συντόνῳ ροίζῳ, μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος ἐξαναλουμένους ἐκείνους ἀντέχειν ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας ἀνασκιρτῶντας καὶ τῇ προνομαίᾳ τὴν πλευρὰν τύπτοντας. ὥς καθιζομένους τῶν δρακόντων, εἶτα αἰὲν κενουμένου τοῦ ζωτικοῦ, πηδᾶν μὲν μηκέτι δύνασθαι, κραδαινομένους δ' ἐστάναι, μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον καὶ τῶν σκελῶν ἐξασθενησάντων, κατασεισθέντας ὑπὸ λιφαιμίας ἀποψύχειν, πεσόντας δὲ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ θανάτου
- 129 συναπολλύναι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· μηκέτ' ἔχοντες τροφήν οἱ δράκοντες ὃν περιέθεσαν δεσμὸν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐκλύειν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἥδη ποθοῦντες, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βάρους τῶν ἐλεφάντων θλιβόμενοι πιέζονται, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπειδὰν τύχη στέριφον καὶ λιθῶδες τὸ ἔδαφος· ἰλυσπώμενοι γὰρ καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες εἰς διάλυσιν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πιέσαντος βίας πεδηθέντες, ἑαυτοὺς πολυτρόπως ἐν ἀμηχάνοις καὶ ἀπόροις γυμνάσαντες ἐξασθενοῦσι <καὶ> καθάπερ οἱ καταλευσθέντες ἢ τείχους αἰφνίδιον ἐπενεχθέντος προκαταληφθέντες, οὐδ' ὅσον ἀνακύβαι δυνάμενοι, πνιγῇ τελευτῶσιν. εἰ δὴ τῶν μερῶν ἕκαστον τοῦ κόσμου φθορὰν ὑπομένει, δηλὸν ὅτι καὶ ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν παγεῖς κόσμος ἄφθαρτος οὐκ ἔσται.
- 130 Τὸν δὲ τέταρτον καὶ λοιπὸν λόγον ἀκριβωτέον ὦδε, φασίν· εἰ ὁ κόσμος αἰδῖος ἦν, ἦν ἂν καὶ τὰ ζῶα αἰδία καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ὅσω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄμεινον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀψίγονον φανῆναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐρευνᾶν τὰ

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the elephants, and wind themselves round their backs and the whole of their belly. Then making an incision in a vein, as chance directs, they imbibe the blood, sucking it in greedily with violent inhalations and continuous hissing. For a time the elephants hold out, leaping about in their helplessness, and beating their sides with the trunk to try and reach the snakes, then as their life-power is continually being drained, they can leap no more but stand still quivering. Soon afterwards when their legs have lost all strength they drop down through lack of blood and expire. But in their fall they involve the authors of their death in the same fate. The way of it is as follows : the snakes no longer getting their ¹²⁹ nourishment try to loosen the bond which they have drawn round their victims, as they now desire release, but being squeezed and pressed down by the weight of the elephants, most especially when the ground happens to be hard and stony, they wriggle about and do everything they can to free themselves but are fettered by the force of the weight upon them. In their helpless straits, their manifold exertions only exhaust them, and like people stoned to death or caught by the sudden fall of a wall, unable even to free their heads ^a they are stifled and die. Now if each part of the world suffers destruction, clearly the world compacted from them will not be indestructible.

The fourth and last proposition must, they tell us, ¹³⁰ be argued out as follows. If the world was everlasting, the animals in it would be everlasting also, and most especially the human race inasmuch as it is superior to the rest. But man also is seen to be of late origin by those who wish to search into the

^a See App. p. 530.

PHILO

- φύσεως· εἰκὸς γὰρ μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις
 συνυπάρξαι τὰς τέχνας ὡς ἂν ἰσηλικας, οὐ μόνον
 ὅτι λογικῇ φύσει τὸ ἐμμέθοδον οἰκεῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 131 ὅτι ζῆν ἄνευ τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν. ἴδωμεν οὖν τοὺς
 ἐκάστων χρόνους ἀλογήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτραγωδου-
 μένων θεοῖς μύθων * * * εἰ <δὲ> μὴ αἰδῖος ἀνθρω-
 πος, οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ζῶον, ὥστ' οὐδ' αἱ δεδεγμέναι
 ταῦτα χῶραι, γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀήρ· ἐξ ὧν τὸ
 φθαρτὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον δῆλόν ἐστιν.
- 132 XXV. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην εὗρε-
 σιλογίαν ἀπαντῆσαι, μή τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων
 ἐνδoὺς ὑπαχθῇ· καὶ ἀρκτέον γε τῆς ἀντιρρήσεως
 [513] ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης | οἱ σοφισταί. τὰς ἀνω-
 μαλίας οὐκέτ' ἐχρῆν εἶναι τῆς γῆς, εἴπερ αἰδῖος
 ἦν ὁ κόσμος; διὰ τί, ὦ γενναῖοι; φήσουσι γὰρ
 ἕτεροι παρελθόντες, ὅτι δένδρων οὐδὲν αἱ φύσεις
 τῶν ὀρῶν διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα καιροῖς
 μὲν τισι φυλλορροεῖ καιροῖς δὲ πάλιν ἀνηβᾶ—διὸ
 καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν εὖ εἴρηται
- “ φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ
 θ' ὕλη
 τηλεθώσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη ”—,
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰ μὲν ἀπο-
 133 θραύεται μέρη, τὰ δὲ προσφύεται. μακροῖς δὲ
 χρόνοις ἢ πρόσφυσις καθίσταται γνώριμος, διότι

^a Presumably some words followed showing that the arts were invented by particular men who lived at one particular time and not by the gods, as Hermes is said to have invented the lyre and Hephaestus and Pallas artistic work (*cf.* *Od.* vi. 233). Bernays' suggestion that no such passage ever

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THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 130-133

facts of nature. For it is probable or rather necessary that the existence of the arts should coincide with that of man, that they are in fact coeval, not only because system and method are natural to a rational being but also because it is impossible to live without them. Let us observe then the dates ¹³¹ of each of the arts, disregarding the myths palmed off on the gods by the play-wrights.^a . . . But if man is not from everlasting, so neither is any other living creature, therefore neither the regions which have given them a habitat, earth and water and air. This shows clearly that the world is destructible.

XXV. All this special pleading must be en- ¹³² countered lest any of the less proficient should yield to its authority. And the refutation must begin with that with which the sophistical speakers also opened their delusive argument. "The unevennesses of the earth would no longer exist if the world was from everlasting." Why so, my dear sirs? For others will come forward to say that trees and mountains differ not in nature. The trees shed their leaves at some seasons and then bloom again at others. And so there is truth in the poet's lines which tell us that

Driven by the wind the leaves pour down to earth,
But others come when spring returns and brings
Fresh life into the forest.^b

In the same way the mountains, too, have parts broken off but others come as accretions. But the ¹³³ accretions take long periods of time to become re-

appeared in this treatise and that though it was in his source the author left it because the details were too much for him, depreciates the "Compiler," as he calls him, far too much.

^b *Il.* vi. 147 f.

- τὰ μὲν δένδρα ὠκυτέρα χρώμενα τῇ φύσει θάπτον καταλαμβανομένην ἔχει τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, τὰ δ' ὄρη βραδυτέρα,¹ διὸ καὶ τὰς ἐκφύσεις αὐτῶν αἰσθητὰς ὅτι μὴ χρόνῳ μακρῷ μόλις εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.
- 134 εἰκόασί γε τὸν τρόπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῶν ἀγνοεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἴσως αἰδεσθέντες ἡσύχασαν. φθόνος δ' οὐδεὶς ἀναδιδάσκειν· ἔστι δ' οὔτε νέον τὸ λεγόμενον οὔτε ῥήμαθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἷς οὐδὲν ἀδιερεύνητον τῶν εἰς ἐπιστήμην
- 135 ἀναγκαίων ἀπολέλειπται. ὅταν τὸ κατακεκλεισμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ πυρῶδες ἄνω τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐλαύνηται φυσικῇ δυνάμει, πρὸς τὸν οἰκείον τόπον στείχει, καὶ τινος λάβηται βραχείας ἀναπνοῆς, ἄνω μὲν συνανασπᾷ πολλὴν τῆς γεώδους οὐσίας, ὅσην ἂν οἶόν τε ᾖ, ἔξω δ' ἐπιγενόμενον φέρεται βραδυτέρον,² [ἢ] καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ συμπαρελθεῖν βιασθεῖσα, πρὸς μῆκιστον ἀρθεῖσα ὕψος, στέλλεται κορυφουμένη καὶ πρὸς ὀξείαν ἀποτελευτᾷ κορυφὴν
- 136 τὸ πυρὸς σχῆμα μιμουμένη. γίνεται γὰρ τοῦ κουφοτάτου καὶ βαρυτάτου τότε, τῶν φύσει ἀντιπάλων, ἀναγκαῖα συρραξάντων διαμάχῃ, πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐκατέρου χώραν ἐπειγομένου καὶ <πρὸς> τὸ βιαζόμενον ἀντιτείνοντος· τὸ μὲν δὴ πῦρ συνανέλκον γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν νευστικοῦ βρίθειν ἀναγκάζεται, ἡ δὲ γῆ κατωτάτω ταλαντεύουσα τῷ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνωφοίτῳ συνεπελαφρισθεῖσα μετέωρος ἐξαίρεται καὶ κρατηθεῖσα μόλις ὑπὸ δυνατω-

¹ MSS. βραχύτερα.

² MSS. ἔξω δ' ἐπιγενόμενον φέρεσθαι βραχύτερον. Cohn pronounces ἐπιγενόμενον to be corrupt, but does not suggest any

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cognizable, because as the process of growth in trees is more rapid their advance is apprehended more quickly, while in mountains that process is slower, and, therefore, their after-growths become just perceptible only after a long time. These people seem 134 to have no knowledge of the way in which mountains come to be, otherwise they would probably have held their tongues for shame. But we shall not grudge giving them instruction, for the tale is nothing new, nor are the words ours, but old-time sayings of wise men, who left nothing uninvestigated that was necessary for knowledge. When the fiery element 135 enclosed in the earth is driven upward by the natural force of fire, it travels towards its proper place, and if it gets a little breathing space, it pulls up with it a large quantity of earthy stuff, as much as it can, but with this outside and on it it moves more slowly. This earthy substance forced to travel with it for a long distance, rises to a great height and contracts and tapers, and passes finally into a pointed peak with the shape of fire for its pattern. For there is 136 necessarily then a conflict when the natural antagonists, the heaviest and the lightest, clash. Each presses on to its proper location and resists the force applied by the other. The fire which is dragging the earth with it is necessarily weighted by the counter-pull which the earth exerts upon it, while the earth though gravitating ever downwards lightened by the upward tendency of the fire rises aloft, and, compelled at last to yield to the stronger power which

emendation; nor does Cumont, who also retains it. Bernays ἡ δ' ἐξωθεν ἐπιγενομένη. The translation I have given supposes ἐπιγενομένης (sc. οὐράς) and ἡ or ἡ δὲ for the ἡ expunged by Cohn.

- τέρας τῆς ἐπικουφιζούσης ἰσχύος ἄνω πρὸς τὴν
 137 τοῦ πυρὸς ἔδραν ὠθεῖται καὶ ἴσταται.¹ τί οὖν
 θαυμαστόν, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὄρη ταῖς τῶν ὑετῶν φοραῖς
 ἐξανήλωται, τῆς συνεχούσης αὐτὰ δυνάμεως, ὑφ'
 ἧς καὶ διανίσταται, μάλα παγίως καὶ κραταιῶς
 ἐνείλημμένης; λυθέντος γὰρ δεσμοῦ τοῦ συν-
 έχοντος, εἰκὸς ἦν διαλυθῆναι καὶ πρὸς ὕδατος
 σκεδασθῆναι, δυνάμει δὲ σφιγγόμενα τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς
 στεγανώτερον πρὸς τὰς τῶν ὑετῶν φορὰς ἀντέχει.
 [514] XXVI. | ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν λελέχθω περὶ τοῦ τὴν
 ἄνωμαλίαν τῆς γῆς πίστιν οὐκ εἶναι γενέσεως καὶ
 φθορᾶς κόσμου.
 138 Πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μειώσεως τῆς θαλάττης
 ἐπιχειρηθὲν ἐκεῖνο δεόντως ἂν λέγοιτο· μὴ τὰς
 ἀνασχούσας νήσους αὐτὸ μόνον αἰεὶ μηδ' εἴ τινες
 ἀποτομαὶ κατακλυζόμεναι τὸ πάλαι χρόνοις αὖθις
 ἡπειρώθησαν σκοπεῖτε—φυσιολογίας γὰρ ἀντί-
 παλον φιλονεικία τριπόθητον ἡγουμένης ἀλήθειαν
 ἰχνηλατεῖν—, ἀλλὰ πολυπραγμονεῖτε² καὶ τοῦναν-
 τίον, ὅσαι μὲν ἐν ἡπείροις οὐ παράλιοι μόνον ἀλλὰ
 καὶ μεσόγειοι μοῖραι κατεπόθησαν, ὅση δὲ χέρσος
 139 θαλαττωθεῖσα μυριοφόροις ναυσὶν ἐμπλεῖται. <ἦ>
 τὴν περὶ τὸν ἱερώτατον Σικελικὸν πορθμὸν ᾄδο-
 μένην ἱστορίαν ἀγνοεῖτε; <ἦν μὲν γὰρ> τὸ

¹ So MSS., to which I can see no objection. Cohnⁿ and Cumont κἀνίσταται.

² MSS. πολυπραγμονεῖται or πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔτι.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 136-139

buoys it up, is pushed up into the seat of fire and takes its stand there. Why should we wonder then 137 that the mountains are not destroyed by the onrush of the rain,^a since the power which holds them together, which also makes them rise as they do, embraces them so firmly and stoutly? For if the bond which held them together were loosened, they might naturally be dissolved and dispersed by the water. As it is, kept tight by the force of fire they hold their own and show themselves weather-proof in face of the onrush of the rains. XXVI. This is what we have to say to show that the unevennesses of the earth are no proof that the world is created and will be destroyed.

To the proof which they attempt to draw from 138 the diminution of the sea, the following answer may justly be given. Do not perpetually fix your eyes merely on the islands which have emerged or any segments which were submerged long ago and in the course of time have been rejoined to the mainland. For contentiousness is a foe to the nature study which holds the investigation of truth to be profoundly desirable. Busy yourselves also with the converse of this, namely, all the parts of the mainland, not only on the sea-coast but in the centre, which have been swallowed up, and all the dry land which has been turned into sea and is the sailing ground of ships of considerable tonnage. Do you 139 not know the celebrated story of the sacred Sicilian

theory here stated to account for the permanence of mountains from that in § 132. Philo might reply that the two reasons though different are not inconsistent. The fire prevents them from being destroyed just as the trunk stands when the leaves go, but does not prevent the breaking-off of pieces, which are replaced by new accretions.

PHILO

παλαιὸν ἡπείρῳ Ἰταλία Σικελία συνάπτουσα,
 μεγάλων δὲ τῶν παρ' ἑκάτερα πελαγῶν βιαίους
 πνεύμασιν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπιδραμόντων, ἡ μεθόριος
 ἐπεκλύσθη καὶ ἀνερράγη, παρ' ἣν καὶ πόλις ἐπώ-
 νυμος τοῦ πάθους Ῥήγιον κτισθεῖσα ὠνομάσθη.
 καὶ τοῦναντίον οὐ προσεδόκησεν ἂν τις ἀπέβη·
 συνεζεύχθη μὲν γὰρ τὰ τέως διεστῶτα πελάγη
 κατὰ τὴν σύρρυσιν ἐνωθέντα, ἡ δὲ ἡνωμένη γῆ τῷ
 μεθορίῳ πορθμῷ διεζεύχθη, παρ' ὃν ἡπειρος οὖσα
 140 Σικελία νήσος ἐβιάσθη γενέσθαι. πολλὰς δὲ καὶ
 ἄλλας λόγος τῆς θαλάττης ὑπερσχούσης ἠφανίσθαι
 πόλεις καταποθείσας, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ Πελοπόννησόν
 φασι τρεῖς

“ Ἀἴγειραν Βοῦράν τε καὶ ὑψηλὴν Ἑλίκειαν,
 τείχεσιν ἢ τάχ' ἔμελλε περὶ βρύα μυρία φύσειν,”

εὐδαίμονας τὸ πάλαι γενομένας πολλῇ τοῦ πελάγους
 141 ἐπικλυσθῆναι φορᾷ. ἡ δὲ Ἀτλαντὶς νήσος, “ ἅμα
 Λιβύης καὶ Ἀσίας μείζων,” ἢ φησιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ
 Πλάτων, ἡμέρα μιᾷ καὶ νυκτὶ “ σεισμῶν ἐξαισίων
 καὶ κατακλυσμῶν γενομένων δῦσα κατὰ τῆς θα-
 λάττης ἐξαίφνης ἠφανίσθη,” γενομένη πέλαγος, οὐ

* This belief including the derivation of the name Rhegium
 is mentioned by Diodorus, Strabo, Seneca and Pliny.

THE ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, 139-141

straits? In old days Sicily joined on to the mainland of Italy but under the assault on either side of great seas driven by violent winds from opposite directions, the land between them was inundated and broken up and at its side a city was founded, whose name of Rhegium records what happened to it. The result was the opposite of what one would have expected. The seas which were hitherto divided joined together through their confluence, while the land once united was divided by the intervening straits, by which Sicily, which had been mainland, was forced to become an island.^a Many other cities also are stated 140 to have been swallowed up and to have disappeared overwhelmed by the sea. And so too in Peloponnese they say that the three,

Aegira, Bura, lofty Heliceia,
Whose walls would soon be clad with thick sea-moss,^b

which were most flourishing in old times were inundated by a great inroad of the sea. And the 141 island of Atlantis "greater than Libya and Asia put together," as Plato says in the *Timaeus*, "in a single day and night through extraordinary earthquakes and floods sank below the sea and suddenly disappeared," turning into a sea which was not navigable but full

Strabo's notice, vi. 6, shows that it was also mentioned by Aeschylus, from whom he quotes the line ἀφ' οὗ δὴ 'Ρήγιον κικλήσκειται.

^b The source of these lines is unknown. In themselves they do not imply the submersion of any except Heliceia, and nothing is said elsewhere of that of Aegira. Bura (Buris) and Heliceia (Helice) are mentioned as submerged by later writers, including Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* vi. 23. 4 and vii. 5. 3), where he gives Callisthenes as his authority, as well as an unknown treatise of Aristotle.

- 142 πλωτόν, ἀλλὰ βαραθρῶδες. οὐδὲν οὖν εἰς τὸ φθεί-
 ρεσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἢ πλασθεῖσα τῷ λόγῳ μείωσις
 τῆς θαλάττης συνεργεῖ· φαίνεται γὰρ ὦν μὲν ἐξ-
 αναχωροῦσα, τὰ δ' ἐπικλύζουσα. ἐχρῆν δὲ μὴ
 θάτερον τῶν γινομένων ἀλλὰ συνάμφω θεωροῦντας
 ἐπικρίνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς περὶ βίον ἀμφισβητήμασιν
 [515] | ὁ νόμιμος δικαστής, πρὶν [παρὰ] τῶν ἀντιδίκων
 ἀκοῦσαι, γνώμην οὐκ ἀποφανεῖται.
- 143 XXVII. Καὶ μὴν ὁ τρίτος λόγος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
 διελέγχεται, μὴ ὑγιῶς ἐρωτηθεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐθύς
 ἐν ἀρχῇ φάσεως. οὐ γὰρ δήπουθεν οὐδὲ πάντα τὰ
 μέρη φθείρεται φθαρτόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖνο, ἀλλ' οὐ
 πάντα τὰ μέρη ἅμα καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ <καὶ> ἀθρόα
 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄκρον ἀποκοπεῖς
 τις δάκτυλον ζῆν οὐ κεκώλυται, εἰ δὲ τὴν κοινωνίαν
 τῶν μερῶν καὶ μελῶν πᾶσαν, αὐτίκα τελευτήσῃ.
- 144 τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον, εἰ μὲν συλλήβδην ἀπαξ-
 ἅπαντα τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑφ' ἑνα καιρὸν ἠφανίζετο,
 φάσκειν ἐνδέχασθαι τὸν κόσμον φθορὰν ἦν ἀναγ-
 καῖον· εἰ δ' ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γείτονος

^a Taken partly verbatim from *Timaeus* 24 E and 25 C-D. The meaning of βαραθρῶδης is doubtful. Philo is paraphrasing Plato's ἀπορον καὶ ἀδιερεύνητον . . . πηλοῦ κάρτα βραχέος (v.l. βαθέος) ἐμποδῶν ὄντος, ὃν ἡ νῆσος ἰζομένη παρ-έσχετο. L. & S. (revised) give (for this passage) "dangerous." Bernays has "mit Untiefen besäete Wasserfläche."

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of abysses.^a So then the fiction which they propound 142 that the sea is diminished contributes nothing to show that the world is destroyed, for it is clear that the sea withdraws from some places and inundates others. And judgement should not be given on observation of one of the phenomena but of both together, just as also in the disputes of ordinary life the law-abiding judge will not declare his decision until he has heard both litigants.

XXVII. Further, their third argument stands self- 143 convicted as an unsound proposition^b from the very terms of the enunciation with which it begins. For the truth surely is not that a thing is destructible if all its parts are destroyed, but if all its parts are destroyed together and simultaneously, just as one who has had the tip of his finger cut away is not prevented from living, but if the whole system of his parts and limbs is cut away, he will die at once. In the same way, if the elements one and all were 144 put out of existence at one and the same time, it would be necessary to admit that the world is liable to destruction. But if each of them separately is

Dr. Rouse suggests that he may mean hidden reefs, which he thinks of as sunken ravines. Stephanus quoting this passage says "fortasse coenosus," and cites *De Agr.* 144 *θολερῶ δὲ καὶ βαραθρῶδει βίω.* There Mangey's correction to *βορβορῶδει* has been generally accepted. Is it possible that the same correction should be made here?

^b This use of *ἐρωτάω* = "to state a proposition or syllogism not in the form of a question," is described as a late usage by L. & S. (revised), who cite Galen v. 327. Stephanus speaks of it as a known usage, but after giving some examples of *συνερωτάω*, gives one example of the simple verb, Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh.* iii. 13 *οἱ κατὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως ἠρωτημένοι λόγοι.* Our passage seems to be a clear example, and cf. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 53, though that may only apply to the question asked by Zeno. See also App. p. 530.

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μεταβάλλει φύσιν, ἀθανατίζεται μᾶλλον ἢ φθείρεται
κατὰ τὸ φιλοσοφηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραγικοῦ

“ θνήσκει δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων,
διακρινόμενον δ’ ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
μορφήν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν.”

- 145 Παντελής γε μὴν εὐήθεια τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι· τῇ γὰρ περὶ τὸν
λόγον ἀτοπία τις ἀκολουθήσας νέον τὸν κόσμον
ἀποφανεῖ κομιδῇ μόλις πρὸ χιλίων παγέντα ἐνιαυ-
τῶν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οὓς παρειλήφμεν τῶν ἐπιστημῶν
εὐρετὰς τὸν λεχθέντα τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀριθμὸν οὐχ
146 ὑπερβάλλουσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ λεκτέον τὰς τέχνας
ισήλικας ἀνθρώπων γένει, μεθ’ ἱστορίας φυσικῆς
ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ῥαθύμως λεκτέον. ἡ
δ’ ἱστορία τίς; φθοραὶ τῶν κατὰ γῆν, οὐκ
ἀθρόων ἀπάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν πλείστων, δυσὶ ταῖς
μεγίσταις αἰτίαις ἀνατίθενται, πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος
ἀλέκτοις φοραῖς· κατασκήπτειν δ’ ἑκατέραν ἐν
μέρει φασὶν ἐν πάνυ μακραῖς ἐνιαυτῶν περιόδοις.
147 ὅταν μὲν οὖν ἔμπρησις καταλαμβάνῃ, ρεῦμα αἰθε-

^a See on § 30. The citation of these three lines for the third time must be regarded as a piece of careless composition.

^b With this sentence begins the answer to the fourth argument. It is abruptly introduced and very imperfectly carried through. The fourth argument was (1) that as men could not exist without the arts and the arts are known to have been invented by definite persons at definite times, man could not have existed from everlasting and therefore (2) neither the inferior animals, (3) nor their habitats. The answer to the first point is given at length and it might be said that, with the refutation of this, that of the second and third follows at once, but we should have expected Philo to indicate it.

^c Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 96 A σοφίαν, ἣν δὴ καλοῦσι περὶ φύσεως

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changed into the nature of its neighbour, it is not destroyed but rather rendered immortal, as says the tragic poet philosophizing

Nothing that is born can die,
Hither and thither its parts disperse
And take another form.^a

Finally it is the height of folly to take the arts as ¹⁴⁵ the standard of measurement for mankind.^b Anyone who follows this topsy-turvey line of reasoning will make out that the world is quite new, framed hardly a thousand years ago, since those who tradition tells us were the inventors of the sciences do not go back farther than that number of years. And if they must ¹⁴⁶ say that the arts are coeval with the human race, they must do so not carelessly and perfunctorily but with the aid of natural history.^c And what does natural history tell us? ^d Destructions of things on earth, destructions not of all at once but of a very large number, are attributed by it to two principal causes, to tremendous onslaughts of fire and water. These two visitations, we are told, descend in turns after very long cycles of years. When the agent is ¹⁴⁷

ἰστορίαν. The phrase covers both the research as here and the result obtained as in the next sentence.

^a The substance of the next four sections is drawn from Plato, *Laws* iii. 676, 677, and *Timaeus* 22 A f. In the former we have the periodical destruction of mankind by deluge and other causes, and the consequent extinction of the arts, and also the remark that the traditional discoveries of the arts as we have them go back at most to a thousand or two thousand years. In the *Timaeus* nothing is said about the arts (though it is noted that the records and traditions of a nation perish in the destruction), but we have a more specific account of the destruction by fire and deluge, and the different ways in which the two affect the inhabitants of the highlands and the lowlands. See also App. p. 530.

ρίου πυρὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκχεόμενον πολλαχῇ σκεδάν-
 νυσθαι, μεγάλα κλίματα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπιτρέχον·
 ὅταν δὲ κατακλυσμός, ἅπασαν τὴν ὕδατος [κατομ-
 βρίαν] κατασύρειν¹ φύσιν, αὐθιγενῶν καὶ χειμάρρων
 ποταμῶν οὐ πλημμυρούντων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
 καθεστὸς προσυπερβαλλόντων τῆς ἐπιβάσεως καὶ
 τὰς ὄχθας ἢ τῇ βίᾳ παραρρηγνύντων ἢ ὑπερ-
 πηδῶντων ἀναβάσει τῇ πρὸς μήκιστον ὕψος· ὅθεν
 ὑπερβλύσαντας εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην ἀναχεῖσθαι
 πεδιάδα, τὴν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς μεγάλας λίμνας
 διανέμεσθαι, πρὸς τὰ κοιλότερα αἰετοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος
 συνίζοντος, αὐθις δ' ἐπιρρέοντος καὶ τοὺς μεθορίους
 [516] ἰσθμοὺς | κατακλύζοντος, οἷς διεκρίνοντο αἱ λίμναι,
 εἰς μέγεθος ἀχανοῦς πελάγους κατὰ τὴν πολλῶν
 148 ἔνωσιν ἀποκρίνεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ μαχομένων δυνά-
 μewn ἐν μέρει τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις οἰκοῦντας
 τόποις ἀπόλλυσθαι, πυρὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐν ὄρεσι καὶ
 γεωλόφοις καὶ δυσύδροις χωρίοις, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχοντας
 φύσει² πυρὸς ἀμυντήριον ἀφθονον ὕδωρ, ἔμπαλιν δ'
 ὕδατι τοὺς παρὰ ποταμοῖς ἢ λίμναις ἢ θαλάττῃ·
 γειτόνων γὰρ ἄπτεσθαι φιλεῖ τὰ κακὰ πρῶτων ἢ
 149 καὶ μόνων.³ κατὰ δὲ τοὺς λεχθέντας τρόπους δίχα
 μυρίων ἄλλων βραχυτέρων φθειρομένου τοῦ πλεί-
 στου μέρους ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλείπειν⁴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ
 τὰς τέχνας· δίχα γὰρ τοῦ μεθοδεύοντος οὐκ εἶναι
 καθ' αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν ἐπιστήμην. ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἱ μὲν
 κοιναὶ νόσοι χαλάσωσιν, ἄρξεται δὲ ἀνηβᾶν καὶ
 βλαστάνειν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν μὴ προκαταληφθέντων

¹ MSS. κατασύρει (-η).

² MSS. φησὶ which Bernays retains.

³ MSS. ἡγεμόνων or ἡγουμένων

⁴ MSS. ἐπιλιπεῖν.

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the conflagration, a stream of heaven-sent fire pours out from above and spreads over many places and over-runs great regions of the inhabited earth. When it is the deluge, it sweeps along in every form which water takes. The rivers, either spring fed or winter torrents, not only flow with a full volume but exceed the usual level to which they rise and either break down their banks by force or over-leap them mounting to a very great height. Then streaming over they are diffused into the adjoining lowland, which is at first divided into great lakes as the water always subsides into the deeper hollows, then again as it flows on and submerges the intervening isthmuses which divide the lakes, making many into one, is converted into a great expanse of boundless sea. Through these contending powers the inhabitants of 148 contrasted regions have perished alternately. Fire is fatal to the dwellers in the mountains and hills and places ill-supplied with water, as they do not possess the abundance of water which is the natural instrument of defence against fire. Water, on the other hand, destroys those who live near rivers, or lakes, or the sea, for it is a way that evils have, that those who live close to them are the first if not the only ones to feel their power. Since the chief part 149 of mankind perish in the way here mentioned apart from numberless minor ways^a the arts, too, necessarily fail. Science in itself is lost to sight, without someone to put it in practice. But when the epidemics of evil have abated and from those who have not fallen victims to their overwhelming terrors a new race begins to bloom again and grow, the arts

^a So *Timaeus* 22 c φθοραὶ . . . πυρὶ μὲν καὶ ὕδατι μέγιστα, μυρίοις δὲ ἄλλοις ἔτεραι βραχύτεραι.

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τοῖς ἐπιβρίσασι δεινοῖς, ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τὰς τέχνας
πάλιν συνίστασθαι, οὐ τότε¹ πρῶτον γενομένης, ἀλλὰ
τῇ μειώσει τῶν ἐχόντων ὑποσπανισθείσας.

150 Ἄ μὲν οὖν περὶ ἀφθαρσίας τοῦ κόσμου παρειλή-
φαμεν, εἴρηται κατὰ δύναμιν. τὰς δὲ πρὸς ἕκαστον
ἐναντιώσεις ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα δηλωτέον.

¹ MSS. οὔτε.

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also, which are not then born for the first time but have sunk into insignificance through the diminution of persons possessing them, establish themselves once more.

We have described to the best of our abilities the 150 arguments transmitted to us to maintain the indestructibility of the world. In what follows we have to expound the answers given in opposition to each point.^a

^a See Introduction, p. 177 note *a*.

FLACCUS
(IN FLACCUM)

INTRODUCTION TO *IN FLACCUM*

THE story told in this treatise ^a is as follows.

Flaccus, whose misgovernment and cruelty to the Jews and ultimate fate are here described, was appointed prefect of Alexandria and Egypt in or about A.D. 32 near the end of the principate of Tiberius. Philo tells us that he showed considerable ability and industry during his first five years of office. He remarks that he praises him to exhibit his villainy in a clearer light, and he might have added that his description goes to prove that his toleration of the abominable cruelty shown to the Jews by the Alexandrian populace was not due to weakness but to definite intention (1-7). He had stood well with Tiberius, but the accession of Gaius in 37 endangered his position, for he had been a partisan of Tiberius Gemellus, the rival candidate for the succession, had been concerned in the steps taken to prosecute Agrippina, Gaius's mother, and was friendly with Macro, who, though he had done much to protect Gaius from the distrust and dislike of Tiberius, soon

^a It is generally accepted that this is the second part of a work of which the first part has been lost. For (1) the opening words suggest that it follows on an account of the accusations brought against the Jews by Sejanus which are alluded to in *Legatio* 160; (2) the closing sentence "Flaccus *also* suffered" implies that the fate of some or other persecutor has been told; (3) a passage not to be found in the extant work, but stated to come from the *Flaccus*, is cited by St. John Damascene (see *Prolegomena* to Cohn-Reiter, vol. vi. pp. xlix f.).

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fell into disfavour with Gaius and was put to death (8-15). This last event reduced Flaccus to despair, and it was at this point that according to Philo the anti-Semitic party in Alexandria, though they included some who at bottom were his enemies, approached him and suggested that if he would give them his support they and the city as a whole would stand by him to protect him against the hostility of the Emperor (16-24). All this may be partially or even wholly true, but it is compatible with the view held by some, who have more right to pronounce an opinion than I, that behind it lies a movement on the part of the Jews to enlarge to full citizenship the special privileges which they had as a *πολίτευμα*, and that it was this which roused the Greeks to take action and enlist Flaccus's support.^a

Philo represents Flaccus as only gradually throwing his lot in with them and exhibiting his hostility to the Jews (24). The climax came when Herod Agrippa, recently appointed by Gaius to the kingship of his uncle Philip's tetrarchy, visited Alexandria on his way to his kingdom, and the Alexandrians deeply resenting this exaltation of a Jew and (though Philo does not tell us this) further exasperated by the enthusiasm with which the Jews welcomed their compatriot,^b staged an insulting mockery by bringing the lunatic Carabas into the Gymnasium and greeting him with royal honours. Philo does not accuse Flaccus of taking an active part in this, and, indeed, admits that in public he behaved to Agrippa with courtesy and friendliness, but charges him with abetting it in as much as he took no steps to suppress the demonstration or punish the offenders (25-40).

^a See note to § 54, App. p. 534.

^b See note to § 30.

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The Alexandrians, presumably aware that they might compromise themselves by insulting Gaius's favourite, then proceeded to a step which would naturally be gratifying to the Emperor. They desecrated the synagogues by setting up images of Gaius in them. We are told very little about this in this treatise.^a Philo enlarges upon the consequences it entailed, on the danger of such a movement extending beyond Alexandria, and on its futility because the desecrated synagogues would cease to exist as synagogues and the Jews would be unable to pay the homage which they were accustomed to pay by dedicating them in honour of the Emperor or installing such emblems as had been lawfully installed in them in the past (41-52).^b He passes on to a second wrong, a certain proclamation issued by Flaccus. This which is vaguely described as denouncing the Jews as foreigners and aliens may be fairly connected with the eviction from four of the five "letters" or quarters of the city which is mentioned in the same section (53-54).^c Then comes a third wrong. He permitted the mob not merely to evict the householders but to plunder their houses, and one consequence of the evictions was that the Jews were unable to carry on their businesses. In fact, a regular

^a In the *Legatio* 132 ff. we hear a good deal more. There the desecration seems to follow the pogrom, not precede it, as here, and we are told that there was a wholesale destruction and burning of the synagogues. It is only where the density of the Jewish inhabitants resisted this that the images were installed, though one would have thought that this might have been prevented more easily than the other.

^b Cf. *Legatio* 133, where the destruction of the synagogues is said to have involved the destruction of many shields and inscriptions of this sort.

^c See note to § 54, App. p. 534.

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pogrom ensued and its brutalities are described in lurid terms. The items selected are somewhat different from those of the *Legatio* but the story is substantially the same (54-72). One point on which Philo dwells with considerable length is the treatment of the Jewish senators. Apparently these as a body were accused of some offences and, though only about half of the members were arrested, they were cruelly flogged. In particular some of them had lost all their property in the sack, and though Flaccus had already been informed of this they were scourged none the less (73-77). A further indignity was the instruments used. Alexandrian citizens were scourged with blades, and hitherto Alexandrian Jews had had the same privilege, but on this occasion there were substituted the scourges used on the Egyptians (78-80). Further, apparently all this took place on or about the Emperor's birthday, which was usually considered an occasion for mercy, but on this occasion brutal treatment of Jews was actually made part of the birthday celebrations (81-85).

The next outrage seems far less serious. The Jews or some of them were accused of having stocks of arms. Their houses were searched and according to Philo none were found, in marked contrast to the huge number taken when a similar investigation had been held of the Egyptians. His indignation seems overdone,^a and, indeed, the only specific complaint he makes is that the modesty of the women was offended by a military investigation of their intimate belong-

^a If the Jews, as stated in *Legatio* 134, effectively resisted in some cases the attacks upon the synagogues, they must have had weapons of some kind, and though these may not have been of the kinds enumerated in § 90, the suspicion that they were such was natural.

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ings, and in connexion with this he mentions other ill-treatment which the women had received in the pogrom (86-96).

The last item in the list of Flaccus's crimes is that he suppressed the resolution of congratulation which the Jewish senate had passed at Gaius's accession and which he had promised to transmit to the Emperor. The Jews suspecting that he had not sent it on had consulted Agrippa when he visited Alexandria and received from him an undertaking which they believed ^a that he had carried out (97-103).

So much for Flaccus's offences. We pass on to his punishment. The story of his arrest with a detailed account of the circumstances and of the exultation felt by the Jews, is related with all the vividness of which Philo is a master. We note that this occurred during the Feast of Tabernacles, not much more than a month after the birthday of the emperor and that his journey to Rome, during which he suffered from stormy weather, was at the beginning of winter (104-125). We do not know exactly what he was charged with, but are told that Isidorus and Lampo, who were mentioned earlier as leaders of the faction which urged him to secure his position by persecuting the Jews, now appeared as his accusers (126-127). And here Philo interrupts his narrative to tell us something about these two. His tirade against Lampo amounts to a charge that as secretary to the prefect acting as judge he persistently perverted justice, though we also incidentally learn that he had been for a time in serious trouble under Tiberius (128-134). As to Isidorus, we have a lengthy account of an incident belonging to the early days of Flaccus's prefectship.

^a ὡς ἀκούομεν. Does this imply some uncertainty?

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Flaccus had originally shown him considerable favour. When he became less cordial Isidorus took umbrage and organized a gathering of his touts, who brought baseless slanders against Flaccus here represented as behaving with moderation and good sense. A meeting to which the respectable part of the people were summoned brought the whole city together full of indignation against the slanderers and sympathy with the governor. Isidorus was completely exposed and had to flee from the city (135-145). He must have reappeared and, surprising as it seems, must, if Philo's account is true, have persuaded Flaccus that he was a friend on whose advice he could rely. What charges he and Lampo brought against Flaccus we are not told, but a trial was held in which Flaccus was condemned, his property confiscated and himself sentenced to deportation (146-150).

From this point the story proceeds straightforwardly to the end. We are given an account of his journey to Andros and his miserable plight after his arrival, interspersed with speeches and soliloquies in which he laments his fall and acknowledges that his punishment is just. Whether this last represents his feeling may be doubted. We have not and probably Philo had not any means of judging. The end came when Gaius, who is said to have come to the conclusion that the life of the deported was too mild a punishment for him, determined to have him executed. The treatise closes with a description of the way in which this was carried out, followed by the assertion that the fate of Flaccus shows that God still watches over the Jews (151-191).

The Flaccus has considerable literary merits. The narrative, particularly in the last forty sections, is

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exceedingly vivid. It is also, no doubt, historically valuable in so far as it gives a substantially true account of events of which we know very little from other sources. How far it is good history, in the sense of giving a reliable account of the motives and feelings of the actors in the story, I leave to those more competent than myself to assess. Also it is a powerful embodiment of that profound conviction that the nation is under the special Providence of God which has been the life and soul of Judaism throughout the centuries. This conviction naturally entails a belief that the enemies of Judaism are the enemies of God and their punishment a divine visitation. But this belief has its evil side, which seems to me to be very strongly exhibited in this treatise. In § 117 the Jews are represented as saying "We do not rejoice at the punishment of an enemy because we have been taught by the Holy Laws to have human sympathy." This is easily said but not so easily done, and if Philo believed that he himself had learnt this lesson I think he deceived himself. He gloats over the misery of Flaccus in his fall, exile, and death, with a vindictiveness which I feel to be repulsive.^a While, as I have said in the preface, none of the treatises in this volume have any great value nor would probably have survived but for the high esteem given to his main work, this is the only one which those who admire the beauty and spirituality so often shown both in the Commentary and Exposition might well wish to have been left unwritten.

^a See also the conclusion to the *De Praemiis*.

ΕΙΣ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΝ

[517] I. Δεύτερος μετὰ Σηιανὸν Φλάκκος Ἀουίλλιος

- ¹ διαδέχεται τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλήν, σύμπαν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸ ἔθνος ὥσπερ ἐκείνος ἀντικρὺς οὐ δυνηθεῖς—ἐλάττους γὰρ εἶχε τὰς εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφορμάς—, ἐφ' ὅσους δ' ἔφθανεν, ἀθρόους ἀνηκέστοις περιέπειρε κακοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρει δόξας ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπιὼν τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας διὰ τέχνης τὸ πλεον ἢ δυνάμεως· οἷς γὰρ ἰσχὺς οὐ πρόσσεσι τῶν τὰς φύσεις τυραννικῶν, πανουργίαις τὰς ἐπιβουλάς κατ-
- ² ὀρθοῦσιν. ὁ Φλάκκος οὖν οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἐταίροις κριθεὶς παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι μετὰ τὴν Ἰβήρου¹ τελευτήν, ὃς ἐπετέτραπτο Αἴγυπτον, καθίσταται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος, ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀρχῇ μυρία καλοκαγαθίας ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐξενεγκῶν δείγματα· πυκνὸς τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ συνεχὴς καὶ ὀξὺς νοῆσαι καὶ τὰ βουλευθέντα πράξαι καὶ προχειρότατος εἰπεῖν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ
- ³ λεγομένου τὸ ἡσυχάζομενον αἰσθῆσθαι. παντάπασιν οὖν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον

¹ So Reiter for mss. βήρου or σεβήρου. See note b.

^a For Sejanus's hostility to the Jews cf. *Legatio* 159-161, and see further App. p. 531.

^b The name of Iberus is mentioned by Dio Cass. lviii. 19. 6

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I. The policy of attacking the Jews begun by 1
Sejanus^a was taken over by Flaccus Avillius. He had
not like his predecessor the power to ill-treat out-
right the whole nation, for he had less opportunities
of doing so, but those whom he reached suffered
the direst misery from the stabs which he dealt to
them one and all. And, indeed, though his assault
appeared to be only partial, by employing craft
rather than power he brought them all wherever they
were within the scope of his hostility. For persons
naturally tyrannical who have not the addition of
strength achieve their malignant designs through
cunning. This Flaccus then, who had been given a 2
place in the suite of Tiberius Caesar, was after the
death of Iberus,^b who had been prefect of Egypt,
made prefect of Alexandria and the country round it.
He was a man who at first gave to all appearance
a multitude of proofs of high excellence. He was
sagacious and assiduous, quick to think out and
execute his plans, very ready at speaking, and at
understanding what was left unspoken better even
than what was said. So in quite a short time he 3
became thoroughly familiar with Egyptian affairs,

as succeeding Vitrasius Pollio as prefect of Egypt. Older
editions adopting the reading of most of the mss. called him
Severus. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 123 and note, vol. v. p. 609.

πραγματειῶν ἐθὰς γίνεται· πολύτροποι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ποικίλοι, μόλις τοῖς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτήδευμα πεπονημένοις γνωριζόμεναι. περιττὸς ὄχλος ἦσαν οἱ γραμματεῖς, ἤδη πρὸς πάντα μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα φθάνοντος αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις, ὥς μὴ μόνον ὑπερβαλεῖν ἀλλὰ χάριν ἀκριβείας ἀντὶ γνωρίμου διδάσκαλον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν τέως ὑφηγη-
 4 τῶν. καὶ ὅσα μὲν περὶ λογισμοὺς καὶ τὴν τῶν προσοδομένων κατ' ὧρθου διοίκησιν, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδέν γε δεῖγμα
 [518] | ψυχῆς ὑπέφαινε ἡγεμονικῆς, ἃ δὲ λαμπροτέραν καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐδήλου φύσιν, μετὰ πλείονος παρρη-
 σίας ἐπεδείκνυτο· οἷον σεμνότερον ἦγεν αὐτόν—
 ἄρχοντι δὲ λυσιτελέστατον ὁ τύφος—, ἐδίκαζε τὰ
 μεγάλα μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει, τοὺς ὑπεραύχους καθήρει, μιγᾶδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων ὄχλον
 ἐκώλυνεν ἐπισυνίστασθαι· τὰς τε ἑταιρείας καὶ
 5 συνόδους, αἱ αἰεὶ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν εἰστιῶντο
 τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμπαροινούσαι, διέλυε τοῖς ἀφηγία-
 ζουσιν ἐμβριθῶς καὶ εὐτόνως προσφερόμενος. εἴτ'
 ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνέπλησεν εὐνο-
 μίας, ἐν μέρει πάλιν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν
 ἐφῆδρευν ἐκτάττων, συγκροτῶν, γυμνάζων πεζούς,

^a Cf. § 133.

^b *παρρησία* seems to be used here in a wider sense than the ordinary "frankness of speech" and to describe a person who shows his mind by actions as well as speech.

^c Or simply "behaved in matters generally like drunkards." So Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 12. 7 uses the phrase of Saul's general conduct. Cf. *De Ios.* 45, where the adulterer ἐμπαροινεῖ ταῖς ἑλπίσιν of the husband. But the description of the θίασοι in § 136 suggests that drunkenness in the literal sense is intended.

^d This is a curious use of ἐφεδρεύω. The regular sense of

intricate and diversified as they are and hardly grasped even by those who have made a business of studying them from their earliest years. His crowd of secretaries were a superfluity, since nothing small or great was beyond the reach of his experience, so that he not only surpassed them but thanks to his mastery of detail became the teacher instead of the pupil of his erstwhile instructors. And 4 all matters connected with accountancy and administration of the revenue he managed successfully.^a These indeed, great and vital though they were, did not supply proof that he possessed the soul of a leader of men, but in a more open way ^b he displayed qualities which revealed a more brilliant and kingly nature. Thus he bore himself with dignity, for outward pomp is very useful to a ruler. He judged important cases with the help of those in authority, humbled the arrogant and prevented any motley promiscuous horde of people from combining in opposition. The sodalities and clubs, which were constantly holding feasts under pretext of sacrifice in which drunkenness vented itself in political intrigue,^c he dissolved and dealt sternly and vigorously with the refractory. Then when he had fully 5 established good order throughout the city and the country he began to turn his attention to supporting^d the armed forces. He set them in array,^e drilled, exercised them, cavalry, infantry and light-

of the word in Philo is to watch or wait generally for an opportunity to attack, sometimes to help. So in *De Mig.* 57 πρὸς βοήθειαν δύναμις ἀρωγὸς ἐφεδρεύει παρὰ θεῷ. In other writers the sense of waiting seems sometimes to be lost, and it is used more generally for "help" or "reinforce," though hardly in the sense required here of improving the morale of the troops. ^e Box gives "detail to special duties."

ἱππεῖς, τοὺς τῆς κούφης ὀπλίσεως, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἵνα μὴ τὰς μισθοφορὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι πρὸς ληστείας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς αὐτοὺς ἀλείψωσι, πάλιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν περιεργάζεταιται μεμνημένος, ὅτι τέτακται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην διαφυλάττειν.

- 6 II. Ἴσως δ' ἂν τις εἴποι· "σὺ δ', ὦ οὗτος, ἐγνωκῶς ἀνθρώπου κατηγορεῖν ἐγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν διεξῆλθες, μακροὺς δ' ἐπαίνους συνείρεις· μὴ ἄρα παραπαίεις καὶ μέμνηνας;"—οὐ μέμνηνα, ὦ οὗτος, οὐδ' ἡλίθιός τίς εἰμι, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι πράγματος
7 ἀκολουθίαν ἰδεῖν. ἐπαινῶ τὸν Φλάκκον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν ἐχθρὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀριδηλοτέραν παραστήσω· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοία τοῦ κρείττονος διαμαρτάνοντι συγγνώμη δίδοται, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἀδικῶν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ ἔχει προεαλωκῶς ἐν τῷ τοῦ συν-
8 εἰδότος δικαστηρίῳ. III. ἐξαιτίαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν λαβὼν πέντε μὲν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα, ζῶντος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τὴν τε εἰρήνην διεφύλαξε καὶ οὕτως εὐτόνως καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀφηγήσατο, ὥς
9 τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖν. τῷ δ' ὑστάτῳ, Τιβερίου μὲν τελευτήσαντος, Γαίῳ δ' ἀποδειχθέντος αὐτοκράτορος, ὑφίεναι καὶ χαλᾶν ἤρξατο τὰ πάντα εἴτε διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Τιβερίῳ βαρύτατον πένθος—δῆλος γὰρ ἦν ὥς ἐπ' οἰκειοτάτῳ περιπαθῶν ἔκ τε τῆς συνεχοῦς κατηφείας καὶ τῆς τῶν δακρύων φορᾶς, ἃ καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀπαύστως ἐξεχέιτο

^a Box takes μεμνημένος as agreeing with Flaccus instead of the individual soldier. This is grammatically possible, but I think the run of the sentence is against it, and

FLACCUS, 5-9

armed alike, training the officers not to withhold the pay of their men and so incite them to pillage and rapine, and also each single soldier not to interfere in things outside his military duties but remember^a that he had been appointed also to maintain the peace.

II. Possibly someone may say " My dear sir, after 6 deciding to accuse a man you have stated no charge but come out with a long string of praises. Are you out of your senses and gone quite mad ? " No, my friend, I have not gone mad and I am not a silly person who cannot see what the sequence of an argument demands. I praise Flaccus not because I 7 thought it right to laud an enemy but to show his villainy in a clearer light. For to one who sins through ignorance of a better course pardon may be given, but a wrongdoer who has knowledge has no defence but stands already convicted at the bar of his conscience. III. Flaccus held his prefectship 8 for six years and for the first five of these while Tiberius Caesar was alive maintained peace and held command with such activity and vigour that he excelled all his predecessors. But in the last year 9 when Tiberius was dead and Gaius had been appointed Emperor he began to let everything slip from his hands. This may have been due to his profound grief at the death of Tiberius. For how greatly he mourned the loss of one whom he looked on as his closest friend was shown by his constant depression and the stream of tears which poured ceaselessly from

" remembered " is hardly the word we should expect. I doubt also whether the sense is much, if at all, better. The soldier may very properly be admonished to remember that he is a policeman as well.

PHILO

- εἴτε καὶ κακόνους ὧν τῷ διαδόχῳ διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν γνησίων πρὸ τῆς τῶν θετῶν τεθεραπευκέναι μερίδα εἴτε καὶ τῶν συνεπιθεμένων τῇ Γαῖου μητρί, καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἶχε τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' αἷς ἀνηρέθη, γεγονὼς καὶ διὰ φόβον ἀλώσεως ἐπιλελησμένος.¹
- 10 καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἔτ' ἀντεῖχε μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς μεθιέμενος τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντίληψιν. ὥς δ' ἤκουσε τὸν Τιβερίου μὲν νύωνόν
- [519] κοινωνόν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναιρεθέντα | Γαῖου κελεύσαντος, ἀλέκτῳ πληγείς συμφορᾷ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀχανὲς ἔκειτο, τῆς διανοίας πολὺ πρότερον
- 11 ἀπειρηκυίας καὶ παρειμένης αὐτῷ. ζῶντος μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μειρακίου τὰ ζώπυρα τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐκ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ συντεθνάναι καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἐλπίδας ἔδοξεν, εἰ καὶ μικρά τις ἀπελείπετο αὖρα βοηθείας, ἢ πρὸς Μάκρωνα φιλία τὰ σύμπαντα παρὰ Γαίῳ κατ' ἀρχὰς δυνηθέντα καὶ πλείστην μοῖραν ὥς λόγος εἰσενεγκάμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς
- 12 τὸ σωθῆναι, πολλάκις μὲν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι

¹ The translation is based on the suggestion that some such phrase as ὧν ἔδει has fallen out. The simplest emendation perhaps would be to change καὶ to καίπερ or, according to Philo's common use, to καίτοι "though he had neglected later" (to take an active part). But can ἐπιλελησμένος mean this?

^a For this use of γνήσιος see note on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 87.

^b Tiberius Gemellus. For him and other historical points in these sections see App. p. 531.

^c The statement seems hardly consistent with what has been said just before. A better sense can be got if πολὺ πρότερον can be taken as a "much graver matter," i.e. the effect of the news upon him extended much beyond the refusal to speak. There are other passages in Philo which

him as from a fountain. Or it may have been the ill-will he bore to his successor, since he had been a devoted partisan of the actual^a rather than the adopted children. Or again as he had been one of those who had attacked Gaius's mother when she lay under the charges for which she was put to death, his fear of being held guilty on this count caused him to neglect his duties. And for a time he held out 10 and did not entirely lose his grasp of affairs, but when he heard that the grandson of Tiberius,^b who shared the sovereignty, had been killed by Gaius's orders, this misfortune was so terrible a blow that he threw himself down and lay speechless, and for a considerable time before^c this his thinking powers had become feeble and paralysed. For while the youth lived, 11 his hopes of preserving his own safety were still alight, but with his death it seemed that his personal hopes had died also, even though some little waft of possible assistance still reached him in his friendship with Macro, who originally was all-powerful with Gaius, said to have contributed more than anyone to his gaining the principate and still more to his preservation.^d For Tiberius had been often minded to 12

point to some such meaning for the phrase. In *Spec. Leg.* i. 101 (of priests marrying) we have "he is a man *πολὺ πρότερον* than a priest and therefore must feel the desire for mating." Here the idea may be that manhood is a wider thing than priesthood. In *De Mig.* 87, "there is no use in seeming to be so and so, unless you are it *πολὺ πρότερον*." Here "*long* before" is rather pointless and a better sense is got if the phrase emphasizes the necessity of "being." In *Legatio* 115 the Jews have been taught from the cradle to worship the one God, by their parents and teachers and *πολὺ πρότερον* by the holy laws. So also perhaps *Mos.* i. 162, *De Praem.* 88.

^d On Macro see *Legatio* 32-61, where what is stated here is given much more fully.

- τὸν Γάιον διανοηθέντος Τιβερίου ὡς κακοήθη καὶ οὐ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἀρχήν, καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱωνῷ φόβον—ἐδεδίδει γάρ, μὴ παρανάλωμα γένηται τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ—, πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ Μάκρωνος τὰς ὑπονοίας ὑπεξαιρουμένου καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐπαινοῦντος ὡς ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀπόνηρον καὶ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ μάλιστα ἡττημένον, ὡς ἢ μόνῳ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι παραχωρῆσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ πάντως
- 13 τὰ πρωτεῖα. ὑφ' ὧν ἀπατηθεὶς ἔλαθεν ἄσπονδον ἐχθρὸν ἐαυτῷ καὶ υἱωνῷ καὶ γένει καὶ παρακλήτῳ Μάκρωνι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατα-
- 14 λιπών. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Μάκρων ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐκδιαιτώμενον καὶ ἀχαλίνοις ταῖς ὁρμαῖς, ἐφ' ἃ ἂν τύχη καὶ ὡς ἂν τύχη, χρώμενον ἐνουθέτει καὶ παρηγόρει νομίζων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι Γάιον τόν, ἡνίκ' ἔτ' ἔζη Τιβέριος, ἐπιεικῇ καὶ πειθαρχικόν, ὁ κακοδαίμων εὐνοίας περιττῆς ἔδωκε τὰς ἀνωτάτω δίκας πανοίκιος αὐτῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις συναναιρεθεὶς
- 15 ὡς περιττὸν ἄχθος καὶ παρενόχλημα. καὶ γὰρ ὁπότε πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἀφικνούμενον ἴδοι, τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας διεξήει· “μὴ μειδιῶμεν, κατηφῶμεν· ὁ νουθετητῆς παραγίνεται, ὁ αὐθέκαστος, ὁ ἀνδρὸς τελείου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενος νῦν εἶναι παιδαγωγός, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ὁ καιρὸς ἀπήλασε καὶ διέξευξεν.”
- 16 IV. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτον ἔγνων προσανηρη-

^a The word παρανάλωμα recurs in *Legatio* 369, but in a different sense. There life is sacrificed for no profitable purpose is a παρανάλωμα. Here the idea may be as in the translation, or perhaps simply “an extra expenditure,” i.e. “having got rid of Tiberius let us get rid of his kin too.”

FLACCUS, 12-16

get Gaius out of the way as a person ill-disposed and devoid of natural gifts for rulership, and also because he was concerned for his grandson, who he feared might at his death be got rid of as an encumbrance.^a But Macro often tried to eliminate his suspicions and would praise Gaius as straight-forward and free from vice and liberal and particularly devoted to his cousin, so much so that he would willingly relinquish the principate to his sole charge, or, at any rate, the premier place.

Deceived by these representations Tiberius unwittingly left behind him an implacable enemy to himself, his grandson, his family, Macro the intercessor and all mankind. For when Macro saw him straying from the regular way and letting his impulses range unbridled anywhere and in any way he would admonish and exhort him, thinking that he was the same Gaius who while Tiberius still lived was reasonable and docile. But, alas, poor wretch, for his excessive goodwill he paid the extreme penalty, being slain with his whole house, wife and children as a burden, a superfluity and a nuisance. For whenever Gaius caught sight of him at a distance he would talk in this strain to his companions, "Let us not smile, let us look downcast, for here comes the monitor, the stickler for straight speaking,^b who has begun to take charge as tutor of a grown man and an emperor, at this very time which has dismissed and set aside those who tutored him from his earliest years."

IV. So when Flaccus learnt that Macro too had

^b Or simply "martinet," "strict disciplinarian." The word is coupled by Plutarch with *ὑμφοκλῆς* and *στρυφνός* in describing a harsh father. For other examples see Stephanus, who explains it as meaning a person who reckons *αὐτὰ ἕκαστα* and leaves nothing out.

- μένον ὁ Φλάκκος, τὴν λοιπὴν ἐλπίδα κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεγνώκει καὶ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων οἷός τε ἦν ἐξασθενῶν
- 17 καὶ διαρρέων τὴν γνώμην. ὅταν δ' ὁ ἄρχων ἀπογνῶ τὸ δύνασθαι κρατεῖν, ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐθὺς ἀφηνιάζειν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ μικρῶν καὶ τῶν τυχόντων πεφυκότας ἀνερεθίζεσθαι· ἐν οἷς τὸ Αἰγυπτιακὸν τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται διὰ βραχυτάτου
- 18 σπινθήρος εἰωθὸς ἐκφυσᾶν στάσεις μεγάλας. ἐν ἀμηχάνοις δὲ καὶ ἀπόροις γεγονὼς ἐσφάδαζε καὶ τὰ πρὸ μικροῦ πάντα¹ ἥλλαξεν ἅμα τῇ τοῦ λογισμοῦ
- [520] | πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῇ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν συνηθεστάτων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὖνους καὶ μάλιστα φίλους ὑφωρᾶτο καὶ διωθεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνομολογηθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐσπένδετο καὶ
- 19 συμβούλοις περὶ πάντων ἐχρῆτο. οἱ δ'—ἐγκότως γὰρ εἶχον—τὸ κατηλλάχθαι δοκεῖν λόγῳ μόνον ἐπιμορφάσαντες, ἔργοις δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀσύμβατα μνησικακοῦντες καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ καθυποκρινόμενοι γνησίαν φιλίαν ὅλον αὐτὸν συναρπάζουσι· καὶ γίνεται ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ὑπήκοος, οἱ δ' ὑπήκοοι ἡγεμόνες, εἰσηγούμενοι μὲν ἀλυσιτελεστάτας γνώ-
- 20 μας, εὐθὺς δὲ ταύτας ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι. βεβαιωταὶ γὰρ ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο πάντων ἐγίνοντο κωφὸν ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς προσωπεῖον ἔνεκα προσχήματος αὐτὸ μόνον παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὄνομα ἀρχῆς, Διονύσιοι δημοκόποι, Λάμπωνες γραμμα-

¹ Some word or phrase to express policy seems to be needed. Reiter suggests *δόξαντα*.

been put to death he completely lost any hope that he still had and could no longer keep any grip of affairs, so utterly enfeebled was he and incapable of solid judgement. And when the ruler despairs of 17 keeping control the subjects necessarily at once become restive, particularly those who are naturally excited by quite small and ordinary occurrences. Among such the Egyptian nation holds the first place, accustomed as it is to blow up the tiniest spark into grave seditions. Flaccus, thus left without help 18 or resources, was much agitated and at the same time as his reasoning powers deteriorated made changes in all his recent policy, beginning with his treatment of his closest companions. For he suspected and repelled those who were well disposed and particularly friendly to him, while he allied himself to those who from the first had been his avowed enemies and took them for his counsellors in every matter. But their rancour was still there. The 19 apparent reconciliation was a counterfeit, existing only in words. In real fact they cherished an implacable vindictiveness and acting as in a theatre the part of genuine friends they carried him off into complete captivity. The ruler became the subject, the subjects leaders, who put forward very pernicious proposals and straightway set on them the seal of reality. They proceeded to confirm all their plans, 20 and took Flaccus like a masked dummy on the stage with the title of government inscribed upon him merely for show, to be an instrument in the hands of a popularity-hunting Dionysius,^a a paper-

^a Dionysius's name does not recur again in this treatise, but see App. p. 532, on him as well as on Isidorus and Lampo.

- τοκούφωνες, Ἰσίδωροι στασιάρχαι, φιλοπράγμονες, κακῶν εὐρεταί, ταραξιπόλιδες· τοῦτο γὰρ κεκρά-
 21 τηκέ πως τοῦνομα. συνταξάμενοι πάντες οὗτοι βούλευμα βουλεύουσι κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀργαλεώτατον καὶ τῷ Φλάκκῳ προσελθόντες ἰδίᾳ
 22 φασίν· “ ἔρρει μὲν σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος τοῦ παιδός, ἔρρει δὲ καὶ ἡ μετ’ ἐκείνον ἐλπίς, ὁ ἐταῖρός σου Μάκρων, αἴσια δ’ οὐκ ἔστι σοι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος· δεῖ δὴ παράκλητον ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν
 23 δυνατώτατον, ὃς οὐ Γάιος ἐξευμενισθήσεται. ὁ δὲ παράκλητος ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐστίν, ἣν τετίμηκε μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπας ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος, διαφερόντως δ’ ὁ νῦν ἡμῶν δεσπότης. παρακλητεύσει δὲ τυχοῦσά τινος παρὰ σοῦ δωρεᾶς· μείζον δ’ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῇ παρέξεις ἢ τοὺς
 24 Ἰουδαίους ἐκδοὺς καὶ προέμενος.” ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀφείλων ἀπώσασθαι καὶ δυσχερᾶναι τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς νεωτεροποιοὺς καὶ κοινοὺς πολεμίους συνεπιγράφεται τοῖς λεχθεῖσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδηλοτέρας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς μήτ’ ἴσον παρέχων καὶ κοινὸν ἀκροατὴν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θάτερον ἀποκλίνων μέρος, μήτ’ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσηγορίαν διδούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποτε προσίοι τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀποστρεφόμενος καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον ἐπιτηδεύων

^a Or perhaps “paper-nosing,” if that is not too slangy. “Paper-porer” is a variation on L. & S.’s “record-porer.” This epithet, which recurs again in § 131, is taken from *De*
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FLACCUS, 20-24

poring^a Lampo, an Isidorus, faction leader, busy intriguer, mischief contriver and a name which has gained special currency—state embroiler.^b All 21 these combining concerted a plot of the most damaging kind against the Jews and coming to Flaccus privately said, “Lost are your prospects from the 22 boy Tiberius Nero, lost too the hope that you had next to him in your comrade Macro, and your expectations from the Emperor are anything but favourable. We must find you a really powerful intercessor to propitiate Gaius. Such an intercessor 23 is the city of the Alexandrians which has been honoured from the first by all the Augustan house and especially by our present master ; and intercede it will if it receives from you some boon, and you can give it no greater benefaction than by surrendering and sacrificing the Jews.” Though on hearing these 24 words it was his duty to repulse and frown upon the speakers as sedition-makers and enemies of the commonwealth he subscribed to their suggestions. At first he showed his hostile intentions in a somewhat less obvious way by refusing to give a fair and impartial hearing to the parties in disputes and leaning to one side only, while in all other matters he gave them no right of free speech, but whenever any Jew approached he turned away, while to all others he

Cor. 209. Though it is uncertain whether Demosthenes applies it to Aeschines as a scribe, or as an usher in his father's school, Philo clearly takes it in the first sense. No effective rendering has been suggested to my knowledge for the term which describes a pedant hunching his shoulders over writings. Kennedy translates it by “scribbler,” Abbott by “hack of a scribe.” Dr. Rouse suggests to me a number of renderings of which I select “ledger-dredger” as the most effective.

^b This epithet is again applied to Isidorus in § 137.

ἐπὶ μόνων τούτων· αὐθις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ
τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐπεδείξατο.

- 25 V. Προσεπέρρωσε δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ μαθήσεως
τὸ πλεόν ἢ φύσεως ἐπιτετηδευμένην ἀπόνοιαν καὶ
συντυχία τις τοιαύτη. Γάιος Καῖσαρ Ἀγρίππα
τῷ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως υἱωνῷ δίδωσι βασιλείαν
[521] | τῆς παππῶας λήξεως τρίτην μοῖραν, ἣν Φίλιππος
τετράρχης θεῖος ὢν αὐτῷ πρὸς πατρὸς ἐκαρποῦτο.
26 μέλλοντι δ' ἀπαίρειν συνεβούλευσεν ὁ Γάιος τὸν
μὲν ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου μέχρι Συρίας πλοῦν μακρὸν
ὄντα καὶ καματηρὸν παραιτήσασθαι, χρῆσθαι δ'
ἐπιτόμῳ τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀναμείναντι τῷ διὰ τῆς
Ἀλεξανδρείας· τὰς τε γὰρ ἐκείθεν ὁλκάδας ταχυ-
ναυτεῖν ἔφασκε καὶ ἐμπειροτάτους εἶναι κυβερνήτας,
οἱ καθάπερ ἀθλητὰς ἵππους ἡνιοχοῦσιν ἀπλανῆ
παρέχοντες τὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας δρόμον. ὁ δὲ πει-
θαρχεῖ ὡς δεσπότη τε ἅμα καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα συμ-
27 φέρειν παραγγέλλοντι. καταβὰς δ' εἰς Δικαι-
άρχειαν καὶ ναῦς ὑφόρμους Ἀλεξανδρίδας ἰδὼν
εὐτρεπεῖς πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν, ἐπιβὰς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων,
εὐπλοῖα χρησάμενος, ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις
ἀνεπιφάτως καὶ ἀφωράτως κατάγεται, κελεύσας
τοῖς κυβερνήταις—περὶ γὰρ δείλην ὥραν ὁ Φάρος
ἀναφαίνεται—τὰ μὲν ἰστία συνάγειν, ἔξω δὲ περὶ
αὐτὸν μὴ μακρὰν ἀφισταμένους θαλαττεύειν ἄχρι
τοῦ βαθείαν ἐσπέραν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς τοῖς
λιμέσι προσσχεῖν, ἵν' ἀποβὰς ἤδη τετραμμένων
<ἀπάντων> πρὸς ὕπνον, μηδενὸς ὀρώντος, ἀφίκηται
28 πρὸς τὸν ξενοδόχον. ὁ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοσαύτης
αἰδοῦς ἐπεδήμησε βουλόμενος εἴ πως οἶόν τε ἦν,

^a For Agrippa see App. p. 532.

^b Puteoli.

FLACCUS, 24-28

made himself easily accessible. But later he also showed his ill-will openly.

V. The infatuation due to instruction from others 25 rather than to his own nature, which thus was shown in his conduct, was further strengthened by the following incident. Gaius Caesar gave to Agrippa, the grandson of King Herod, the kingship over that third part of his grandfather's territory, the revenues of which were taken by Philip the tetrarch, Agrippa's paternal uncle.^a When he was about to set out 26 thither Gaius advised him not to undertake the voyage from Brundisium to Syria which was long and wearisome but wait for the etesian winds and take the short route through Alexandria. He told him that thence there were swift-sailing merchant vessels and highly skilled pilots who manage them as a charioteer manages race-horses and provide a straightforward passage along the direct route. Agrippa did as he was told, partly out of deference to his lord and master, and also because the course he enjoined seemed to be advisable. He went down 27 to Dicaearchia,^b and seeing there some ships of Alexandria lying at anchor and ready to sail he embarked with his retinue, and after a good voyage came to land a few days later without being expected or his purposes detected. He had ordered the pilots when they sighted Pharos in the late afternoon to furl the sails and lie outside round about it and not far off until the evening had well set in, and then by night to put in at the harbour, so that he might disembark when everyone had settled down to sleep and reach the house of his host without anyone seeing him. His reason for making his visit in such an unassuming 28 way was that he wished if possible to slip out of the

- ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαθὼν ὑπεξελεῖν· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀφίκτο τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιδε-
 δημηκῶς αὐτῇ πρότερον, ἡνίκα τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης
 πλοῦν ἐστέλλετο πρὸς Τιβέριον, ἀλλ' ὁδῶ χρησό-
 29 μενος ἐπιτόμῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ἀφίξεως. οἱ δ' ὑπὸ
 φθόνου ῥηγνύμενοι—βάσκανον γὰρ φύσει τὸ Αἰγυ-
 πτιακόν—καὶ τὰς ἐτέρων εὐτυχίας ἰδίας ὑπελάμ-
 βανον εἶναι κακοπραγίας καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν
 καὶ τρόπον τινὰ <φύσει> γεγεννημένην¹ πρὸς Ἰου-
 δαίους ἀπέχθειαν ἥσχαλλον ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενῆσθαι τινα
 βασιλέα Ἰουδαῖον οὐχ ἤττον, ἢ εἰ αὐτός τις
 30 ἕκαστος βασιλείαν προγονικὴν ἀφῆρητο. καὶ τὸν
 ἄθλιον Φλάκκον πάλιν οἱ συνόντες ἀνηρέθιζον εἰς
 τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνάγοντες καὶ προκαλοῦμενοι² φθόνον,
 “σὴ κατάλυσις ἐστὶ” φάσκοντες “ἢ ἐπιδημία
 τούτου· μείζονα τιμῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ὄγκον ἢ σὺ
 περιβέβληται· πάντας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει τὴν
 δορυφόρον τῶν σωματοφυλάκων στρατιὰν ὀρῶντας
 ἐπαργύροις καὶ ἐπιχρύσοις ὅπλοις διακεκοσμημένην.
 31 ἔδει γὰρ ἦκειν εἰς ἐπικράτειαν ἐτέρου δυνάμενον
 πλῶ χρησάμενον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς παρα-
 πεμφθῆναι; καὶ γὰρ εἰ Γάιος ἐπέτρεπε, μᾶλλον
 δ' ἠνάγκαζεν, ἐχρῆν ἐκλιπαρήσαντα παραιτήσασθαι
 τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀφίξιν, ἵνα μὴ παρενυμερηθεῖς ὁ τῆς
 32 χώρας ἡγεμὼν ἀδοξῇ.” ταῦτα ἀκούων ἔτι μᾶλλον

¹ Other suggestions are *συγγεγεννημένην* or *ἐγγεγεννημένην*.
 (Perhaps *συγγεγεννημένην* as Cohn in *De Praem.* 62.)

² MSS. *προσκαλοῦμενοι*.

^a This and indeed the general excitement caused by Agrippa's visit seem inconsistent with his attempt to remain incognito. The explanation presumably is that the Jews forced this change of attitude on him. We find later (§ 103)

city quietly and unobserved by the whole population. For he had not come to see Alexandria as he had stayed there before on his voyage to Rome to join Tiberius, and he only wanted to get a short route for his journey home. But jealousy is part of the 29 Egyptian nature, and the citizens were bursting with envy and considered that any good luck to others was misfortune to themselves, and in their ancient, and we might say innate hostility to the Jews, they resented a Jew having been made a king just as much as if each of them had thereby been deprived of an ancestral throne. And the unhappy Flaccus 30 was again stirred up by his companions with incitements and appeals calculated to make him as envious as themselves. "His stay here," they said, "is your deposition. The dignity of the honour and prestige which invest him surpasses yours; he is attracting all men to him by the sight of his bodyguard of spearmen, decked in armour overlaid with gold and silver.^a Was it right for him to come to another 31 ruler's domain when a fair wind^b could have carried him safely by sea to his own? For if Gaius gave him permission or rather put compulsion on him to do so, he ought to have earnestly entreated to be excused from coming here, so that the governor of the country would not be thrown into the background and lose prestige." Such words made his temper 32

that they took the occasion to lay before him their grievance against Flaccus for failing to transmit their address to Gaius and doubtless were as ready to make much of his royal status as the Alexandrines were to resent it.

^b *πλῶ* here = *εὐπλοία*. See examples in L. & S. revised, e.g. *πλοῦς ἡμῖν γίγνεται*, and the same phrase as here *πλῶ χρήσασθαι* Thuc. iii. 3. 5. Cf. also *εὐπλοία χρησάμενος* § 27 above.

ἢ πρότερον ᾧδει καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερωῷ τὸν ἐταῖρον
καὶ φίλον καθυπεκρίνετο διὰ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πέμψαντος
φόβον, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐξηλοτύπει καὶ ἐξελάλει τὸ μῖσος
[522] καὶ πλαγίως | αὐτὸν ὕβριζεν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἄντικρυς
33 οὐκ ἐθάρρει. τῷ γὰρ ἀργοῦντι καὶ σχολάζοντι
τῆς πόλεως ὄχλῳ—πλήθος δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιτετηδευκὸς
γλωσσαλγίαν καὶ ἐνευκαιροῦν διαβολαῖς καὶ βλασ-
φημίαις—ἐπιτρέπει κακηγορεῖν τὸν βασιλέα εἴτε
ἀρξάμενος δι' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν λοιδοριῶν εἴτε προτρεψά-
μενος καὶ ἐναγαγὼν αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετεῖν τὰ
34 τοιαῦτα εἰωθότων. οἱ δ' ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι
διημέρευον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ χλευάζοντες τὸν
βασιλέα καὶ σκώμματα συνείροντες· πῇ δὲ καὶ
ποιηταῖς μίμων καὶ γελοίων διδασκάλοις χρώμενοι
τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς εὐφυΐαν ἐπεδείκνυντο, βραδεῖς
μὲν ὄντες τὰ καλὰ παιδεύεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐναντία
35 μαρθάνειν ὀξύτατοι καὶ προχειρότατοι. διὰ τί γὰρ
οὐκ ἡγανάκτησεν, οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν, οὐκ ἐπέπληξε
τῆς αὐθάδους βλασφημίας; εἰ δὲ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν,
ἀλλὰ τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, οὐκ ὥφειλε
προνομίαν τινὰ καὶ τιμὴν ἔχειν; ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' εἰσὶ
πίστεις ἐναργεῖς τοῦ συναίτιον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν
βλασφημιῶν Φλάκκον· ὁ γὰρ ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ τὸ
πανύστατον ἐπέχειν ἂν δυνηθεὶς εἰ μὴ κεκώλυκε,
δῆλος ἦν ἐφιεῖς καὶ ἐπιτρέπων αὐτός. πρὸς ὃ
τι δ' ἂν ὄχλος ἀσύντακτος ἀφορμὴν λάβῃ τῶν

^a i.e. "took a leaf from their book," referring to the

FLACCUS, 32-35

rise still more, and while in public he played the part of friend and comrade to Agrippa through fear of him who had sent him there, in private he vented his jealousy and gave full utterance to his hatred by insulting him indirectly since he had not the courage to do so outright. For the lazy and unoccupied mob 33 in the city, a multitude well practised in idle talk, who devote their leisure to slandering and evil speaking, was permitted by him to vilify the king, whether the abuse was actually begun by himself or caused by his incitement and provocation addressed to those who were his regular ministers in such matters. Thus started on their course they spent 34 their days in the gymnasium jeering at the king and bringing out a succession of gibes against him. In fact they took the authors of farces and jests for their instructors^a and thereby showed their natural ability in things of shame, slow to be schooled in anything good but exceedingly quick and ready in learning the opposite. Why did Flaccus show no 35 indignation? Why did he not arrest them? Why did he not chastise them for their presumptuous evil-speaking? Even if Agrippa had not been a king, yet as a member of Caesar's household, did he not deserve to have some precedence and marks of honour? No, these are clear proofs that Flaccus was a party to the defamation. For it is evident that if he who could have chastised or at the very least stopped them did nothing to prevent them from acting in this way they did it with the full permission and consent of him himself. And if the undisciplined mob get a starting point for their misconduct in any

Carabas incident which was a sort of "mime." See Box's notes on §§ 34 and 38.

ἀμαρτημάτων, οὐχ ἴσταται, μέτεισι δ' ἀφ' ἐτέρων εἰς ἕτερα προσεπεξεργαζόμενος αἰεί τι νεώτερον.

- 36 VI. Ἦν τις μεμνηὼς ὄνομα Καραβᾶς οὐ τὴν ἀγρίαν καὶ θηριώδη μανίαν—ἄσκηπτος¹ γὰρ αὕτη γε καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν—, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνειμένην καὶ μαλακωτέραν. οὗτος διημέρευε καὶ διενυκτέρευε γυμνὸς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς οὔτε θάλπος οὔτε κρυμὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος, ἄθυρμα νηπίων καὶ 37 μειρακίων σχολαζόντων. συνελάσαντες τὸν ἄθλιον ἄχρι τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ στήσαντες μετέωρον, ἵνα καθορῶτο πρὸς πάντων, βύβλον μὲν εὐρύναντες ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπιτιθέασιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, χαμαιστρώτῳ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβάλλουσιν ἀντὶ χλαμύδος, ἀντὶ δὲ σκήπτρου βραχύ τι παπύρου τμήμα τῆς ἐγχωρίου καθ' ὁδὸν ἐρριμμένον ἰδὼν 38 τις ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλείας ἀνειλήφει καὶ δι-εκεκόσμητο εἰς βασιλέα, νεανίαι ράβδους ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες ἀντὶ λογχόφορων ἐκατέρωθεν εἰστήκεσαν μιμούμενοι δορυφόρους. εἴθ' ἕτεροι προσήεσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀσπασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ὡς δικασόμενοι, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐντευξόμενοι περὶ κοινῶν 39 πραγμάτων. εἴτ' ἐκ τοῦ περιστῶτος ἐν κύκλῳ πλήθους ἐξήχει βοή τις ἄτοπος Μάριν ἀποκαλούντων—οὕτως δέ φασι τὸν κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις—· ἥδεσαν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν καὶ γένει

¹ So mss. This otherwise unknown word, for which L. & S. gives "which cannot be feigned," makes nonsense here. So also does ἄσκεπτος, which Mangey adopts and translates "improvisus." I think that another suggestion ἀσκεπής (better in the equivalent form ἀσκέπαστος) is not quite hopeless. From its natural meaning of "uncovered" it

direction, they do not halt there but pass on from one thing to another, always engaging in some fresh form of violence.

VI. There was a certain lunatic named Carabas, 36 whose madness was not of the fierce and savage kind, which is dangerous both to the madmen themselves and those who approach them, but of the easy-going, gentler style. He spent day and night in the streets naked, shunning neither heat nor cold, made game of by the children and the lads who were idling about. The rioters drove the poor fellow into the gymnasium 37 and set him up on high to be seen of all and put on his head a sheet of byblus spread out wide for a diadem, clothed the rest of his body with a rug for a royal robe, while someone who had noticed a piece of the native papyrus thrown away in the road gave it to him for his sceptre. And when as in some theatrical 38 farce he had received the insignia of kingship and had been tricked out as a king, young men carrying rods on their shoulders as spearmen stood on either side of him in imitation of a bodyguard. Then others approached him, some pretending to salute him, others to sue for justice, others to consult him on state affairs. Then from the multitudes standing 39 round him there rang out a tremendous shout hailing him as Marin,^a which is said to be the name for "lord" in Syria. For they knew that Agrippa was both a

^a Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 22. R.V. "Maranatha," with marginal note, "That is, our Lord cometh."

might come to mean "defenceless" and so as applied to a position "indefensible" and therefore "dangerous," which seems to be what we want here. But we have no knowledge of any such development. Box very tentatively suggests ἀστέκτος = "insufferable."

PHILO

- [523] Σύρον καὶ Συρίας μεγάλην | ἀποτομὴν ἔχοντα,
 40 ἥς ἐβασίλευε. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁρῶν
 ὁ Φλάκκος, δεόντως ἂν καὶ τὸν μεμνηνότεν συλλαβὼν
 καὶ καθείρξας, ἵνα μὴ παρέχῃ τοῖς κατακερτομοῦσιν
 ἀφορμὴν εἰς ὕβριν τῶν βελτιόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐνσκευά-
 σαντας τιμωρησάμενος, ὅτι γε βασιλέα καὶ φίλον
 Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τιμη-
 μένον στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἔργοις
 καὶ λόγοις καὶ φανερώς καὶ πλαγίως ὑβρίζειν, οὐ
 μόνον οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίωσεν
 ἄδειαν καὶ ἐκχειρίαν διδούσας τοῖς ἐθελοκακοῦσι καὶ
 ἐθελέχθως ἔχουσι, προσποιούμενος ἃ τε ἑώρα μὴ
 41 ὁρᾶν καὶ ὧν ἤκουε μὴ ἀκούειν. ὅπερ συναισθό-
 μενος ὁ ὄχλος—οὐχ ὁ καθεστὼς καὶ δημοτικός,
 ἀλλ' ὁ πάντα θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς εἰσθὼς ἀναπιμ-
 πλάναι διὰ φιλοπραγμοσύνην καὶ ζῆλον ἀβιώτου
 βίου καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἔθους ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν, πρᾶγμα
 ἐπίβουλον—συρρνέντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐξ ἑωθिनὸς
 Φλάκκον ἤδη τιμῶν ἀθλίων ἐωνημένοι, ὥς ὁ
 δοξομανὴς καὶ παλὶμπρατος ἐλάμβανεν οὐ καθ'
 αὐτοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας,
 ἀνεβόησαν ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς
 προσευχαῖς ἀνατιθέναι, καινότερον καὶ μηδέπω
 42πραχθὲν εἰσηγούμενοι παρανόμημα. καὶ τοῦτ'
 εἰδότες—ὀξύτατοι γὰρ τὴν μοχθηρίαν εἰσὶ—κατα-
 σοφίζονται τὸ Καίσαρος ὄνομα προκάλυμμα ποιη-
 σάμενοι, ᾧ προσάπτειν τι τῶν ἐπαιτίων οὐ θεμιτόν.
 43 τί οὖν ὁ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος; ἐπι-

^a Hardly, I think, as Box "called upon *him*." Flaccus is only accused here of not taking any steps to stop it, cf.

Syrian by birth and had a great piece of Syria over which he was king. When Flaccus heard, or rather 40 saw all this, it was his duty to take and keep the mad-man in charge, to prevent him from providing an occasion to the railers for insulting their betters and then to punish those who had arrayed him thus, because they had dared both in word and deed both openly and indirectly to insult a king, a friend of Caesar's, a person who had received Praetorian honours from the Roman Senate. Instead of this not merely did he refrain from chastising them but even shrank from restraining them, thereby giving immunity and free-play to those who displayed evil intentions and hostile feeling by pretending not to see what he saw nor hear what he heard. When 41 the crowd perceived this, not the peaceful, public-spirited crowd, but the crowd which regularly fills everything with confusion and turmoil, which by its love of meddling, its eager pursuit of the worthless life, its habitual laziness and idling, is a thing that means mischief, they streamed into the theatre at early dawn, and having Flaccus purchased by the miserable price which he crazy for fame and ever-ready to be sold took to the destruction not only of himself but of the public safety, called out with one accord ^a for installing images in the meeting-houses. What they proposed was a breach of the law en- 42 tirely novel and unprecedented and knowing this, quick-witted as they are for villainy, they cunningly glozed it by using the name of Caesar as a screen, that name with which no guilty action can lawfully be associated. What then did the governor 43

Legatio 132 f. Later in § 53 a more active participation is suggested.

στάμενος, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις οἰκήτορας ἔχει διττούς, ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους, καὶ πᾶσα Αἴγυπτος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν οἱ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὀρίων Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ ὡς ἡ πείρα κατὰ πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς οὐ λυσιτελὲς ἔθνη πάτρια κινεῖν, ἀμελήσας ἀπάντων ἐπιτρέπει ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μυρία καὶ πάντα προνοητικὰ δυνάμενος ἢ ὡς ἄρχων κελεύειν ἢ συμβουλεύειν ὡς φίλος.

- 44 VII. Ὁ δέ—συνεχειρουργεῖ γὰρ ἕκαστα τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων—καὶ ἀπὸ μείζονος ἐξουσίας ἀναρριπίζειν καινοτέραις αἰεὶ κακῶν προσθήκαις τὴν στάσιν ἡξίου καὶ τό γ' ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος ἅπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν φάναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμφυλίων
45 πολέμων ἐπλήρωσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον, ὅτι ἡ περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν προσευχῶν φήμη λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διαδοθήσεται μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νομούς, δραμεῖται
[524] | δ' ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰγύπτου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἐῷα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὑποταυνίου καὶ Μαρείας, αἱ Λιβύης εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, πρὸς δυσμᾶς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἐσπέρια. Ἰουδαίους γὰρ χώρα μία διὰ πολυανθρω-
46 πῖαν οὐ χωρεῖ. ἥς αἰτίας ἔνεκα τὰς πλείστας καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτας τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κατὰ τε νήσους καὶ ἡπείρους ἐκνέμονται μητρόπολιν μὲν

^a As to what is implied by this word, see App. p. 533.

^b Or district below the coastal strip (Box, see his note on the geography). Mangey has "ora maritima."

^c Lit. "the most and most prosperous." So in § 51 "the most and most necessary," and in *De Aet.* 64 τὰ πλείστα καὶ

of the country do? He knew that both Alexandria and the whole of Egypt had two kinds of inhabitants, us and them, and that there were no less than a million Jews resident in Alexandria and the country from the slope into Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia; also that this was an attack against them all, and that ancestral customs cannot be disturbed without harm, yet he disregarded all these facts and permitted the installation of the images though there were a host of considerations all tending to caution which he might have set before them either as orders from a ruler or advice from a friend.

VII. But since he worked hand in hand with them 44 in all their misdeeds he did not scruple to use his superior power to fan the flames of sedition perpetually by still more novel additions of evil, and as far as lay in his power filled, one may also say, the whole habitable world with racial conflict. For it was perfectly clear that the rumour of the overthrowing^a of the synagogues beginning at Alexandria would spread at once to the nomes of Egypt and speed from Egypt to the East and the nations of the East and from the Hypotaenia^b and Marea, which are the outskirts of Libya, to the West and the nations of the West. For so populous are the Jews that no one country can hold them, and therefore they settle in 46 very many of the most prosperous countries^c in Europe and Asia both in the islands and on the mainland, and while they hold the Holy City where

μέγιστα τῶν ὀρῶν. Here Box gives "the most extensive and wealthiest," and below "the greatest and most important." I am not sure whether πλείστα can mean this and at any rate it does not fit in with *De Aet.* 64. I think that in all three places it is a curious way of expressing "most of the wealthiest, greatest," etc.

τὴν ἱερόπολιν ἡγούμενοι, καθ' ἣν ἱδρυται ὁ τοῦ
 ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὼς ἅγιος, ὃς δ' ἔλαχον ἐκ πατέρων
 καὶ πάππων καὶ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἔτι ἄνω
 προγόνων οἰκεῖν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας νομίζοντες, ἐν
 αἷς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτρέφθησαν· εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ
 κτιζομένας εὐθὺς ἦλθον ἀποικίαν στειλάμενοι, τοῖς
 47 κτίσταις χαριζόμενοι. καὶ δέος ἦν, μὴ οἱ πανταχοῦ
 τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐκεῖθεν λαβόντες ἐπηρεάζωσι τοῖς
 πολίταις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίοις εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς καὶ
 48 τὰ πάτρια νεωτερίζοντες. οἱ δέ—οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλον
 ἄχρι παντὸς ἡσυχάζειν καίτοι πεφυκότες εὖ πρὸς
 εἰρήνην, οὐ μόνον ὅτι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ
 περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀγῶνες καὶ τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς κινδύ-
 νους ὑπερβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι τῶν ὑφ'
 ἡλίον ἅμα ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν εἰς
 τοὺς εὐεργέτας εὐσέβειαν, ὃ μυρίων θανάτων
 ἐτετίμηντο ἂν—οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱεροὺς περιβόλους, οἷς
 ἐνδιαθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον,¹ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιου-
 49 μένοις εἶπον ἄν· “λελήθατε ἑαυτοὺς οὐ προστι-
 θέντες τοῖς κυρίοις τιμὴν, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι, οὐκ
 εἰδότες ὡς τοῖς πανταχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἰου-
 δαίοις ὁρμητήρια τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν οἶκον

¹ It would perhaps be better to omit the marks of the parenthesis, and put a colon or full stop at εὐχάριστον. In this case we have the same anacoluthic γὰρ as in *De Aet.* 75, and the verb to which οἱ δέ is subject is ἔμελλον. See note b.

^a The thought here seems confused. The point in which the Jews were unique is that they believed that the admission of an image into a place of worship desecrated it, and assuming as Philo does that εὐσέβεια can only be adequately shown in a place of worship, they would be deprived of the means of
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stands the sacred Temple of the most high God to be their mother city, yet those which are theirs by inheritance from their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors even farther back, are in each case accounted by them to be their fatherland in which they were born and reared, while to some of them they have come at the time of their foundation as immigrants to the satisfaction of the founders. And 47 it was to be feared that people everywhere might take their cue from Alexandria, and outrage their Jewish fellow-citizens by rioting against their synagogues and ancestral customs. Now the Jews though 48 naturally well-disposed for peace could not be expected to remain quiet whatever happened, not only because with all men the determination to fight for their institutions outweighs even the danger to life, but also because they are the only people under the sun ^a who by losing their meeting-houses were losing also what they would have valued as worth dying many thousand deaths, namely, their means of showing reverence to their benefactors, since they no longer had the sacred buildings where they could set forth their thankfulness.^b And they might have said to their enemies "You have failed to see that you are 49 not adding to but taking from the honour given to our masters, and you do not understand that everywhere in the habitable world the religious veneration of the Jews for the Augustan house has its basis as

showing it adequately. But the destruction of their temples would equally incapacitate Gentiles. But see App. p. 533.

^b The sentence as punctuated here has no verb to the initial οἱ, unless καὶ at the end is taken = "also," which seems pointless. If punctuated as suggested in note 1, there would be no objection to taking εἶπον as 1st person singular, which will fit in better with οὐκ οἶδα.

ὁσιότητός εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ ἐπιδήλως, ὧν ἡμῖν
 ἀναιρεθεισῶν τίς ἕτερος ἀπολείπεται τόπος ἢ
 50 τρόπος τιμῆς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφιέντων¹ τῶν ἐθῶν
 ὀλιγωροῦμεν, τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίας δίκαιοι τυγ-
 χάνειν ἐσμέν μὴ παρέχοντες ἀρτίους καὶ πλήρεις
 τὰς ἀμοιβάς. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐξὸν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑποστέλ-
 λομεν νομίμοις, αἱ καὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ φίλον βεβαιοῦν,
 τί μικρὸν ἢ μέγα πλημμελοῦμεν οὐκ οἶδα· πλὴν εἰ
 μὴ ψέγειν τις ἐβελήσειε τὸ μὴ γνώμη ἐκουσίῳ
 παρανομεῖν τὰς ἐκδικαιτήσεις τῶν ἐθῶν οὐ φυλαξα-
 μένους, αἶ, κἂν ἀφ' ἐτέρων ἄρξωνται, τελευτῶσι
 51 πολλάκις εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους." ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Φλάκκος
 τὰ τε λεκτέα ἡσυχάζων καὶ τὰ ἡσυχαστέα λέγων
 οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξημάρτανεν. ἐκεῖνοι δ', οἷς
 ἐχαρίζετο, τίνα γνώμην εἶχον; ἄρα γε τὴν τῶν
 τιμᾶν ἐβελόντων; εἰτα σπάνις ἦν ἱερῶν κατὰ τὴν
 πόλιν, ἥς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατα μέρη
 52 τετεμένισται, πρὸς ἀνάθεσιν ὧν ἐβούλοντο; τὴν
 μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλαπεχθημόνων καὶ μετὰ τέχνης
 ἐπιβουλευόντων ὁρμὴν ἔφαμεν, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐπηρεά-
 [525] ζοντες | οὐ δόξουσιν ἀδικεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἐπηρεαζομένοις

¹ MSS. ἀφιέντων or ἀφεθέντων.

^a I take νομίμοις as a dative of the same kind as νόμῳ or νόμοις corresponding to our own "by the law," e.g. χρὴ θανεῖν answered by ποῖω νόμῳ; or οἰκεῖν τοῖς νόμοις. See other examples in Stephanus. Box takes it after ὑποστέλλειν = "shelter ourselves under the laws."

^b The sentence πλὴν . . . αἰτίους is very difficult, for (1) πλὴν εἰ μὴ is pleonastic instead of either πλὴν εἰ or εἰ μὴ; (2) the general sense seems to be "if we are to be blamed it is not because we refused to break the law by admitting images, but because we have not been strict enough in preventing defecation" (though what this alludes to is not clear); (3) τοὺς αἰτίους must mean those who are responsible by having allowed the

all may see in the meeting-houses, and if we have these destroyed no place, no method is left to us for paying this homage. If we neglect to pay it 50 when our institutions permit we should deserve the utmost penalty for not tendering our requital with all due fullness. But if we fall short because it is forbidden by our own laws,^a which Augustus also was well pleased to confirm, I do not see what offence, either small or great, can be laid to our charge.^b The only thing for which we might be blamed would be that we transgressed, though involuntarily, by not defending ourselves against the defections from our customs, which even if originally due to others often ultimately affect those who are responsible for them."

It was by saying what he should leave unsaid and 51 leaving unsaid what he should say that Flaccus treated us in this iniquitous way. But what were the motives of those whose favour he was seeking? Was it that they really wished to honour the Emperor! Was there then any lack of temples in the city, so many parts of which are consecrated and give all that is needed for the installation of anything they wished? No, what we have described is an act of aggression 52 by bitterly hostile and crafty plotters in which the authors of the outrages would not appear to be acting unjustly and the sufferers could not oppose them with

others to begin. But this is very forced (I am inclined to think that *μη* has dropped out as often in Philo, or that we should read *ἀναιτίους*); (4) assuming that *τοὺς αἰτίους* is right, what is meant by *τελευτῶσι . . . εἰς*? Perhaps "they at last come to practise them" (Box). Rather I think "they ultimately suffer from the consequences," and perhaps the thought may be something like this: "If we had insisted more on the strict observance of the law in other matters, the Greeks would not have attempted to force this desecration upon us."

οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐναντιοῦσθαι. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς γενναῖοι, τιμὴ καταλύειν νόμους, ἔθνη πάτρια κινεῖν, ἐπηρεάζειν τοῖς συνοικοῦσι, διδάσκειν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁμοφροσύνης ἀλογεῖν.

- 53 VIII. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ κατὰ τῶν νόμων πείρα εὐδοεῖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὰς προσευχὰς ἀρπάσαντι καὶ μηδὲ τοῦνομα ὑπολιπομένῳ, πάλιν ἐφ' ἕτερον ἐτρέπετο, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας ἀναίρεσιν, ἢ ἀποκοπέντων οἷς μόνοις ἐφώρμει ὁ ἡμέτερος βίος ἐθῶν τε πατρίων καὶ μετουσίας πολιτικῶν δικαίων τὰς ἐσχάτας ὑπομένωμεν συμφορὰς οὐδενὸς
- 54 ἐπειλημμένοι πείσματος εἰς ἀσφάλειαν. ὀλίγαις γὰρ ὕστερον ἡμέραις τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι' οὗ ξένους καὶ ἐπὶ ἡλῦδας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλει μηδὲ λόγου μεταδούς, ἀλλ' ἀκρίτως καταδικάζων. οὐ τί ἂν εἴη τυραννίδος ἐπάγγελμα μείζον; αὐτὸς γενόμενος τὰ πάντα, κατήγορος, ἐχθρός, μάρτυς, δικαστής, κολαστής, εἶτα δυσὶ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τρίτον προσέθηκεν ἐφείς ὡς ἐν ἀλώσει τοῖς ἐθέλουσι
- 55 πορθεῖν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἄδειαν τί πράττουσι; πέντε μοῖραι τῆς πόλεως εἰσιν, ἐπώνυμοι τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου φωνῆς· τούτων δύο¹ Ἰουδαῖκα λέγονται διὰ τὸ πλείστους Ἰουδαίους ἐν ταύταις κατοικεῖν· οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐκ ὀλίγοι σποράδες. τί οὖν ἐποίησαν; ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων γραμμάτων ἐξώκισαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ συνήλασαν εἰς ἑνὸς μοῖραν

¹ MSS. ἐν δυσὶν.

^a As to what this proclamation actually meant, see App. pp. 534 f. The only point which here emerges is that the Jews were restricted to the one quarter (Delta, according to 332

safety. For surely, my good sirs, there is no honour given by overthrowing the laws, disturbing ancestral customs, outraging fellow-citizens and teaching the inhabitants of other cities to disregard the claims of fellow feeling.

VIII. When then his attack against our laws by 53 seizing the meeting-houses without even leaving them their name appeared to be successful, he proceeded to another scheme, namely, the destruction of our citizenship, so that when our ancestral customs and our participation in political rights, the sole mooring on which our life was secured, had been cut away, we might undergo the worst misfortunes with no cable to cling to for safety. For a few days afterwards he 54 issued a proclamation in which he denounced us as foreigners and aliens and gave us no right of pleading our case but condemned us unjudged.^a What stronger profession of tyranny could we have than this? He became everything himself, accuser, enemy, witness, judge and the agent of punishment, and then to the two first wrongs he added a third by permitting those who wished to pillage the Jews as at the sacking of a city. Having secured this immunity what did 55 they do? The city has five quarters named after the first letters of the alphabet, two of these are called Jewish because most of the Jews inhabit them,^b though in the rest also there are not a few Jews scattered about. So then what did they do? From the four letters they ejected the Jews and drove them

Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 18. 8) which had been originally allotted to them. It did not of course formally sanction the pogrom which ensued. That Flaccus did not stop this was a *third* wrong.

^b Or perhaps "because most of the inhabitants are Jews," *i.e.* there are also Gentiles.

- 56 βραχυτάτην. οἱ δὲ ἐξεχέοντο διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ κοπρίας καὶ μνήματα πάντων στερόμενοι τῶν ἰδίων. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους καταδραμόντες ἐφ' ἄρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο καὶ ὡς ἐκ πολέμου λείαν διενέμοντο, μηδενὸς δὲ κωλύοντος καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων συγκεκλεισμένα διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Δρουσίλλῃ πένθος ἀναρρήξαντες ὅσα εὖρον—πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν—ἐξεφόρησαν καὶ διὰ μέσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκόμιζον ὡς οἰκείοις τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις
- 57 καταχρῶμενοι. τῆς δ' ἄρπαγῆς ἡ ἀπραξία κακὸν ἦν βαρύτερον, τὰς μὲν ἐνθήκας ἀπολωλεκότων τῶν ποριστῶν, μηδενὸς δὲ ἐωμένου, μὴ γεωργοῦ, μὴ ναυκλήρου, μὴ ἐμποροῦ, μὴ τεχνίτου, τὰ συνήθη πραγματεύεσθαι, ὡς διχόθεν κατεσκευάσθαι πενίαν, ἔκ τε τῆς ἄρπαγῆς, ἐξουσιῶν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ γενομένων καὶ περισεσυλημένων τὰ ἴδια, κακὸν τοῦ μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι πορίζειν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηδευμάτων.
- [526] 58 IX. | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ καὶ ἀφόρητα, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς αὖθις πεπραγμένοις συγκρινόμενα οἰστά. πενία γὰρ χαλεπὸν μὲν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν κατασκευάζεται πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἔλαττον δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰ
- 59 σώματα ὕβρεως, καὶ ἡ βραχυτάτη. τοὺς δ' ἡμετέρους διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὧν ἔπαθον οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὕβριν ἢ αἰκίαν ἐνδεδέχθαι κυρίοις χρώμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ προσρήσεων οἰκείων ἂν ἀπορηῆσαι διὰ μέγεθος κεκαινουργημένης ὁμότητος, ὡς τὰ τῶν πολέμῳ μὲν κρατησάντων, ἐκ φύσεως δ' ἀσπόνδων εἰς τοὺς ἐαλωκότας, συγκρινόμενα

^a Gaius's sister. She died on June 10th, which gives the *terminus a quo* for the attack. See also App. p. 535.

to herd in a very small part of one. The Jews were 56 so numerous that they poured out over beaches, dunghills and tombs, robbed of all their belongings. Their enemies overran the houses now left empty and turned to pillaging them, distributing the contents like spoil of war, and as no one prevented them they broke open the workshops of the Jews which had been closed as a sign of mourning for Drusilla,^a carried out all the articles they found, which were very numerous, and bore them through the middle of the market-place, dealing with other people's property as freely as if it was their own. A still more grievous 57 evil than the pillaging was the unemployment produced. The tradespeople had lost their stocks, and no one, husbandman, shipman, merchant, artisan, was allowed to practise his usual business. Thus poverty was established in two ways : first, the pillaging, by which in the course of a single day they had become penniless, completely stripped of what they had, and secondly, their inability to make a living from their regular employments.

IX. Unbearable though these things were, yet 58 compared with subsequent actions they were tolerable. Poverty, indeed, is grievous, particularly when it is effected by enemies, but it is less grievous than bodily injuries if suffered through wanton violence, even the slightest. But so excessive were the suffer- 59 ings of our people that anyone who spoke of them as undergoing wanton violence or outrage would be using words not properly applicable and would I think be at a loss for adequate terms to express the magnitude of cruelty so unprecedented that the actions of conquerors in war, who are also naturally merciless to the conquered, would seem kindness

- 60 τοῖς τούτων ἡμερώτατα ἂν εἶναι δόξαι. χρήματα ἀρπάζουσιν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύσαντες, εἶπερ ἡττήθησαν, ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ οἰκεία. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίους, ὧν λύτρα κατατιθέασι συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι, μεθίενται τῶν δορυαλώτων, ἴσως μὲν ἀκαμπεῖς ὄντες πρὸς ἔλεον, ἡττώμενοι δὲ φιλαργυρίας. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; φαίη τις ἂν· τοῖς γὰρ εὖ πάσχουσιν ἀδιαφορεῖ τῆς
- 61 σωτηρίας ὁ τρόπος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ταφῆς ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ φιλάνθρωποι ταῖς οἴκοθεν δαπάναις, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ πρὸς νεκροὺς ἀποτείνοντες ὑπόσπονδα τὰ σώματα διδόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τῆς τελευταίας χάριτος ἀμοιρῆσαι τῶν νομιζομένων.
- 62 ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν οἱ δυσμενεῖς ταῦτα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δ' οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ φίλοι θεασώμεθα ὅποια. μετὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀνοικισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλείστων μερῶν τῆς πόλεως βιαίους ἐλάσεις καθάπερ τειχήρεις ἐν κύκλῳ περικαθημένων ἐχθρῶν γεγονότες, ἀπορία καὶ σπάνει δεινῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεζόμενοι καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα νήπια ὁρῶντες ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παραπολλύμενα λιμῷ χειροποιήτῳ—
- 63 πάντα γὰρ τᾶλλα εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας μεστὰ ἦν, τοῦ μὲν ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις τὰς ἀρούρας πλουσίως λιμνάσαντος, τῆς δὲ πεδιάδος, ὅση πυροφόρος, ἀφθονώτατον ὑπ' εὐγονίας τὸν τοῦ
- 64 σίτου καρπὸν ἀναγούσης—, μηκέτι στέγειν δυνάμενοι τὰς ἐνδεΐας, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, πρότερον οὐκ εἰωθότες, οἰκίας ἤλθον ἔρανον αὐτὰ

^a For another account of the pogrom described in the next

itself in comparison. Those conquerors do seize 60 property and take numerous captives but they have run the risk of losing their own if they were defeated. And indeed, multitudes of the prisoners of war, whose ransoms are provided by their kinsfolk and friends, are released by their captors, not perhaps because they have weakened towards mercy, but because they cannot resist their desire for money, though of that one might say, "to the benefited the method of their rescuing is a matter of indifference." Ob- 61 serve, too, that enemies fallen in war are allowed burial. The mild and humane give it at their own expense and those who extend their hostility even to the dead restore the bodies under a truce, that they may not lack the final boon which the established rites supply. This is what enemies do in war. 62 Let us see what was done in peace by our friends of yesterday.^a After the pillaging and eviction and violent expulsion from most parts of the city the Jews were like beleaguered men with their enemies all round them. They were pressed by want and dire lack of necessities; they saw their infant children and women perishing before their eyes through a famine artificially created, since elsewhere all else was 63 teeming with plenty and abundance, the fields richly flooded by the overflow of the river and the wheat-bearing parts of the lowlands producing through their fertility the harvest of grain in unstinted profusion. Unable any longer to endure their privation, 64 some of them contrary to their former habits went to the houses of their kinsmen and friends to ask for

ten sections see *Legatio* 119-131, where the violence is ascribed to the belief of the Alexandrians that Gaius hated the Jews, a point completely ignored here.

τὰ ἀναγκαῖα αἰτήσοντας, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ φρονήματος
 εὐγενοῦς τὴν μεταιτῶν τύχην ὡς δουλοπρεπῇ καὶ
 ἀνελεύθερον ἐκτρεπόμενοι προῆλθον εἰς ἀγορὰν
 οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου χάριν ἢ τοῦ πρίασθαι τοῖς τε
 65 οἰκείοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τροφάς, οἱ δυστυχεῖς. εὐθὺς
 γὰρ συναρπασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν
 ἐπιτειχισάντων δολοφονοῦνται καὶ συρόμενοι καὶ
 πατούμενοι διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἐξαναλώθησαν,
 οὐδενὸς ὑπολειφθέντος μέρους, ὃ δυνήσεται κοινω-
 66 νῆσαι ταφῆς. μυρίους μέντοι καὶ ἄλλους πολυ-
 τρόποις κακῶν ιδέαις ἐπιτετηδευμέναις εἰς χαλεπὴν
 ὠμότητα κατειργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν οἱ λευτ-
 [527] τηκότες ὑπ' ἀγριότητος | εἰς θηρίων φύσιν· τοὺς
 γὰρ ὅπη τύχοι φανέντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἢ κατέλευον
 ἢ ξύλοις κατέκοπτον οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα
 μέρη τὰς πληγὰς φέροντες, ἵνα μὴ θάττον τελευ-
 τήσαντες θάττον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀδυνηρῶν ἀντίληψιν
 67 ἀπόθωνται. τῇ δὲ τῶν συμφορῶν ἀδεία¹ καὶ
 ἐκεχειρία τινὲς ἐπινεανιευόμενοι, τῶν ἀμβλυτέρων
 ὅπλων ἀλογήσαντες, ἀνελάμβανον τὰ πάντων ἀνυ-
 σιμώτατα, πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ξίφεσιν
 68 ἀνείλον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ πυρὶ διέφθειραν. ἤδη δὲ
 καὶ γενεὰς ὅλας, ἄνδρας μετὰ γυναικῶν, τέκνα
 νήπια μετὰ γονέων, ἐνέπρησαν οἱ πάντων ἀνηλε-
 ἔστατοι κατὰ μέσσην τὴν πόλιν, μὴ γῆρας, μὴ
 νεότητα, μὴ παίδων ἄκακον ἡλικίαν οἰκτισάμενοι·
 καὶ ὅποτε ξύλων ὕλης ἀπορήσειαν, φρύγανα συλ-
 λέγοντες καπνῷ τὸ πλεόν ἢ πυρὶ διέφθειρον,
 οἰκτρότερον καὶ ἐπιμηκέστερον ὀλεθρον τοῖς δει-
 λαίοις τεχνάζοντες, ὧν τὰ σώματα ἡμίφλεκτα

¹ MSS. ἀδικία or ἀδίκω.

the mere necessities as a charity, while those whose high-born spirit led them to avoid the beggar's lot as fitter for slaves than for the free went forth into the market solely to buy sustenance for their families and themselves. Poor wretches, they were at once 65 seized by those who wielded the weapon of mob rule, treacherously stabbed, dragged through the whole city, and trampled on, and thus completely made away with till not a part of them was left which could receive the burial which is the right of all. Multi- 66 tudes of others also were laid low and destroyed with manifold forms of maltreatment, put in practice to serve their bitter cruelty by those whom savagery had maddened and transformed into the nature of wild beasts ; for any Jews who showed themselves anywhere, they stoned or knocked about with clubs, aiming their blows at first against the less vital parts for fear that a speedier death might give a speedier release from the consciousness of their anguish. Some, made rampant by the immunity and licence ^a 67 which accompanied these sufferings, discarded the weapons of slower action and took the most effective of all, fire and steel, and slew many with the sword, while not a few they destroyed with fire. Indeed, 68 whole families, husbands with their wives, infant children with their parents, were burnt in the heart of the city by these supremely ruthless men who showed no pity for old age nor youth, nor the innocent years of childhood. And when they lacked wood for fire they would collect brushwood and dispatch them with smoke rather than fire, thus contriving a more pitiable and lingering death for the miserable victims whose bodies lay promiscuously half-burnt,

^a See note on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 123.

69 ἀναμιξ ἔκειτο, χαλεπή καὶ ὀδυνηροτάτη θέα. εἰ
 δὲ καὶ οἱ παραληφθέντες ἐπὶ φρυγανισμὸν ἐβρά-
 δυνον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων σκευῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς
 ἐνεπίμπρασαν τοὺς δεσπότας τὰ μὲν πολυτελῆ
 νοσφιζόμενοι, τὰ δὲ μὴ πάνυ χρήσιμα συγκαταφλέ-
 70 γοντες, οἷς ἀντὶ ξύλων εἰκαίων ἐχρῶντο. πολλοὺς
 δὲ καὶ ζῶντας τοῖν ποδοῖν τὸν ἕτερον ἐκδήσαντες
 κατὰ τὸ σφυρὸν εἰλκον ἄμα καὶ κατηλόων ἐναλλό-
 71 μενοι θάνατον ὠμότατον ἐπινοήσαντες· καὶ τελευ-
 τησάντων, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀτελεύτητα μηνιῶντες
 βαρυτέρας αἰκίας τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπέφερον, διὰ
 πάντων ὀλίγου δέω φάναι τῶν τῆς πόλεως στενω-
 πῶν κατασύροντες, ἕως ὃ νεκρὸς δοράς, σάρκας,
 ἱνας ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐδάφων ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τραχύ-
 τητος περιθρυφθεῖς, καὶ τῶν ἠνωμένων μερῶν τῆς
 συμφυίας διαστάντων καὶ διασπαρέντων ἀλλαχόσε
 72 ἄλλων, ἔδαπανήθη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα
 δρῶντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεατρικοῖς μίμοις καθ-
 υπεκρίνοντο τοὺς πάσχοντας· τῶν δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς
 πεπονθότων φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς, ὅτι μόνον ταῖς
 τῶν προσηκόντων συμφοραῖς συνήλγησαν, ἀπή-
 γοντο, ἐμαστιγοῦντο, ἐτροχίζοντο, καὶ μετὰ πάσας
 τὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας ἐδύνατο χωρῆσαι τὰ σώματα
 αὐτοῖς, ἡ τελευταία καὶ ἔφεδρος τιμωρία σταυρὸς
 ἦν.

“ Not to be translated “ mimicked the sufferers,” even if that is the outcome of what is said. The regular use of this verb followed by the article with a noun or participle points to what I have put. Thus in § 32 above we have τὸν ἑταῖρον καὶ φίλον καθυπεκ., in *De Ios.* 50 Potiphar’s wife accusing
 340

a painful and most heart-rending spectacle. And 69 if the persons enlisted to get brushwood were too slow, they would burn the owners with their own furniture taken out of the spoil. Costly articles, indeed, they appropriated but anything that was not very useful they put on the fire to serve instead of ordinary wood. Many also while still alive they 70 drew with one of the feet tied at the ankle and meanwhile leapt upon them and pounded them to pieces. And when by the cruel death thus devised, their life 71 ended, the rage of their enemies did not end, but continued all the same. They inflicted worse outrages on the bodies, dragging them through almost every lane of the city until the corpses, their skin, flesh and muscles shattered by the unevenness and roughness of the ground, and all the parts which united to make the organism dissevered and dispersed in different directions, were wasted to nothing.

While those who did these things like 72 actors in a farce assumed the part of the sufferers,^a the friends and kinsmen of the true sufferers, simply because they grieved over the misfortunes of their relations, were arrested, scourged, tortured and after all these outrages, which were all their bodies could make room for, the final punishment kept in reserve was the cross.

Joseph καθυπεκ. τὴν σώφρονα, *ibid.* 166 Joseph to his brothers καθυπεκ. τὸν δυσχεραίνοντα. So also in this treatise with similar verbs ἐπιφάσκων τὸν πλούσιον § 130 and προσποιούμενος τὸν ἡδόμενον § 98. No doubt "pretended to be the sufferers" may mean "mimicked them," but I should prefer to take it that they assumed the air of the injured parties, who were only inflicting a righteous punishment. This will give more point to ἀληθώς, and if Box is right in his note on "mimes" (§ 34) that they emphasized the characteristic rather than the dramatic, it will be in accord with this view.

- 73 X. Πάντα δὲ διορύξας καὶ τοιχωρυχήσας ὁ
 Φλάκκος καὶ μηδὲν μέρος τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀμέτοχον
 ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ καταλιπὼν ἐπενόησεν
 74 ἑκτοπὸν τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένην ἐπίθειν, ὁ μεγα-
 λουργός, ὁ καινῶν ἀδικημάτων εὐρετής. τῆς γὰρ
 ἡμετέρας γερουσίας, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης
 Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν εἴλετο
 [528] μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου | τελευτὴν διὰ τῶν πρὸς
 Μάγιον Μάξιμον ἐντολῶν μέλλοντα πάλιν [ἀπ']
 Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπεύειν, ὅκτῳ
 καὶ τριάκοντα συλλαβὼν τοὺς εὐρεθέντας ἐν ταῖς
 οἰκίαις εὐθὺς μὲν δῆσαι κελεύει, καὶ στείλας καλὴν
 πομπὴν διὰ μέσης ἀγορᾶς πρεσβύτας δεσμίους
 ἐξηγκωνισμένους, τοὺς μὲν ἱμάσι, τοὺς δὲ σιδηραῖς
 ἀλύσειν, εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσάγει—θέαν οἰκτίστην
 75 καὶ ἄλλοτριωτάτην τῷ καιρῷ—καὶ στάντας ἀντικρὺ
 ἐχθρῶν καθεζομένων πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν αἰσχύνης προσ-
 τάττει πάντας περιδυσθέντας αἰκισθῆναι μάστιξιν,
 αἷς ἔθος τοὺς κακούργων πονηροτάτους προπηλακί-
 ζεσθαι, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν τοὺς μὲν φοράδην
 ἐκκομισθέντας αὐτίκα τελευτῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ νοσή-
 σαντας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας
 76 ἐλθεῖν. ἥς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ μέγεθος ἐξελέ-
 λεγκται μὲν καὶ δι' ἑτέρων, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ καὶ διὰ

^a The term *γενάρχης* elsewhere applied by Philo to founders and heads of the nation (Abraham, the three Patriarchs, and the Seventy Elders) here apparently = the technical word *ἐθνάρχης* (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 32), the official who at Alexandria, at any rate according to Strabo writing under Augustus, served as general administrator and judge of the Jews.

^b Or "elsewhere," i.e. either in some other treatise or some lost part of this. Reiter and others assume that this is the

X. Having broken into everything like a burglar 73 and left no side of Jewish life untouched by a hostility carried to the highest pitch, Flaccus devised another monstrous and unparalleled line of attack worthy of this perpetrator of enormities and inventor of novel iniquities. Our Senate had been appointed 74 to take charge of Jewish affairs by our saviour and benefactor Augustus, after the death of the ethnarch,^a orders to that effect having been given to Magius Maximus when he was about to take office for the second time as Governor of Alexandria and the country. Of this Senate the members who were found in their houses, thirty-eight in number, were arrested by Flaccus, who having ordered them to be straightway put in bonds marshalled a fine procession through the middle of the market of these elderly men trussed and pinioned, some with thongs and others with iron chains, and then taken into the theatre, a spectacle most pitiable and incongruous with the occasion. Then as they stood with their 75 enemies seated in front to signalize their disgrace he ordered them all to be stripped and lacerated with scourges which are commonly used for the degradation of the vilest malefactors, so that in consequence of the flogging some had to be carried out on stretchers and died at once, while others lay sick for a long time despairing of recovery.

The great lengths 76 of malevolence to which the plan was carried have been fully proved in other ways,^b but all the same

meaning of δι' ἑτέρων and perhaps there are other places in Philo, not quoted by them nor observed by me, which go to prove that this is its meaning here. Failing such evidence, I should prefer to take it as above. The ἐπιβουλὴ may be either the pogrom in general or the treatment of the thirty-eight just described.

- τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι σαφέστερον ἐπιδειχθήσεται. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας τρεῖς ἄνδρες, Εὐόδος καὶ Τρύφων καὶ Ἄνδρων, ἐγεγένηντο ἐξουσιοι, πάνθ' ὅσα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διαρπασθέντες ἐφόδω μιᾷ, οὕς οὐκ ἠγνόησε ταῦτα πεπονθότας· ἐδηλώθη γὰρ αὐτῷ μεταπεμφαμένῳ πρότερον τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄρχοντας ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ καταλλαγαῖς ταῖς πρὸς 77 τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. καὶ ὁμῶς εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς <τούς> τους στερομένους τῶν ἰδίων ἐν ὧσιν τῶν ἀρπασάντων ἔτυπτεν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν ὑπομένωσι διττὰς συμφοράς, πενίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὕβριν, οἱ δὲ διττὴν ἡδονήν, ἀλλότριόν τε καρπούμενοι πλοῦτον καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων ἀτιμίας εἰς κόρον ἀπολαύοντες.
- 78 Ἐχων τι τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων εἰπεῖν ἐπαμφοτερίζω, μὴ ἄρα εὐτελὲς εἶναι νομισθὲν ἐκλύση τὰ μεγέθη τῶν τοσούτων· ἔστι δ' εἰ καὶ μικρόν, ἀλλ' οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖγμα κακονοίας. τῶν μαστίγων εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ διακεκριμέναι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὰ τῶν τύπτεσθαι μελλόντων ἀξιώματα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἐτέραις μαστίζεσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρων, τοὺς δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέας σπάθαις καὶ 79 ὑπὸ σπαθηφόρων Ἀλεξανδρέων. τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων διετήρησαν οἱ πρὸ Φλάκκου καὶ Φλάκκος αὐτὸς τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους. ἔστι

^a It will be observed that this interview must have taken place after the pillaging described in §§ 56 f. This suggests the possibility that it was either the attitude there taken up by

they will be shown still more clearly by the following statement. Three members of the Senate, Euodus, Trypho and Andro, had become penniless, having been robbed in a single inroad of all that they had in their houses ; and that they had been so treated was known to Flaccus, who had been so informed when on an earlier occasion ^a he sent for our magistrates, ostensibly to reconcile them with the rest of the city. Nevertheless, though he knew quite well 77 that they had been deprived of their property, he beat them before the eyes of their despoilers. Thus, while they suffered a twofold misfortune, poverty and the outrage to their persons, the others had a twofold pleasure, enjoying the possession of the wealth which was not their own and sating themselves with gloating on the dishonour of those from whom that wealth was taken.

One point in the deeds committed at this time I 78 mention only with hesitation, lest by being considered an insignificant matter it may detract from the magnitude of these horrors. Yet even if it is a small thing it is an evidence of no small malignancy. There are differences between the scourges used in the city, and these differences are regulated by the social standing of the persons to be beaten. The Egyptians actually are scourged with a different kind of lash and by a different set of people, the Alexandrians with a flat blade, and the persons who wield them also are Alexandrians. This custom was also ob- 79 served in the case of our people by the predecessors of Flaccus and by Flaccus himself in his first years of office. For it is surely possible when inflicting

the magistrates or their failure to carry out the conditions there laid down which led to their arrest and punishment.

γάρ, ἔστι καὶ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ βραχύ τι τῶν εἰς ἐπιτιμίαν
 εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐν ὕβρει παραφερόμενόν τι τῶν εἰς τὸ
 ἀνύβριστον, ὅταν τις αὐτὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐᾷ τὰς
 φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξετάζεσθαι, μὴ προστιθεὶς
 οἰκοθεν ἐπίβουλον πάθος, ὃ πάνθ' ὅσα παρα-
 μέμικται τῆς ἐπιεικεστεράς ἰδέας ὑφαίρει καὶ
 80 διοικίζει. πῶς οὖν οὐ παγχάλεπον, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
 Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἰουδαίων ταῖς ἐλευθεριωτέραις καὶ
 πολιτικωτέραις μάστιξι τετυπτημένων, εἴ ποτε
 ἔδοξαν πληγῶν ἄξια ἐργάσασθαι, τοὺς ἄρχοντας,
 [529] | τὴν γερουσίαν,¹ οἳ καὶ γήρως καὶ τιμῆς εἰσιν
 ἐπώνυμοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔλαττον τῶν
 ὑπηκόων ἐνέγκασθαι, καθάπερ Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς
 ἀφανεστάτους καὶ ἐνόχους τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδική-
 81 μασιν; ἐὼ λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μυρία ἦσαν
 ἡμαρτηκότες, ὥφειλε τὸν καιρὸν αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς
 τιμωρίας ὑπερθέσθαι· τοῖς γὰρ ὀρθῶς πολιτευο-
 μένοις τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ μὴ προσποιουμένοις
 τιμᾶν ἀλλ' ὄντως τιμῶσι τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἔθος ἐστὶ
 μηδένα κολάζειν τῶν κατακρίτων, ἄχρις ἂν αἱ
 ἐπιφανεῖς² γενέθλιοι καὶ πανηγύρεις αὐταὶ τῶν
 82 ἐπιφανῶν Σεβαστῶν διεξέλθωσιν. ὁ δ' ἐν αὐταῖς
 παρηγνόμει καὶ ἐτιμωρεῖτο τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας,
 οὓς ἐνῆν³ αὐθις, εἴπερ ἐβούλετο, κολάζειν. ἀλλ'
 ἔσπευδε καὶ κατήπειγεν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐναντίον
 ὄχλον ἀρεσκέας, ταύτῃ νομίζων ἐξοικειώσασθαι
 83 μᾶλλον αὐτὸν εἰς ἅπερ διανοεῖτο. ἤδη τινὰς οἶδα

¹ Very possibly a gloss inserted in view of the words which follow.

² Perhaps, as Mangey held, an insertion. The duplication of the epithet, with no obvious point, is not like Philo.

degradation on others to find some little thing to sustain their dignity, or when wantonly maltreating them, to find some accompaniment to counteract the wantonness, if one allows the nature of the case to be determined on its own merits and does not import some personal feeling of malice which removes and dislodges all ingredients of the milder type. Surely then it was the height of harshness that when 80 commoners among the Alexandrian Jews, if they appeared to have done things worthy of stripes, were beaten with whips more suggestive of freemen and citizens, the magistrates, the Senate, whose very name implies age and honour, in this respect fared worse than their inferiors and were treated like Egyptians of the meanest rank and guilty of the greatest iniquities.

I leave out of account 81 the point that if they had committed a host of crimes he ought to have postponed the punishments in respect for the season,^a for rulers who conduct their government as they should and do not pretend to honour but do really honour their benefactors make a practice of not punishing any condemned person until these notable celebrations in honour of the birthdays of the illustrious Augustan house are over. Instead he made them an occasion for illegality and 82 for punishing those who had done no wrong, whom he could have punished at a later time if he wished. But he hurried and pressed on the matter to conciliate the mob, who were opposed to the Jews, thinking that this would help to bring them to make his policy their own. I have known cases when on 83

^a Apparently the birthday of Gaius himself (Aug. 31st). Cf. *αὐτοκράτορος* § 83.

³ MSS. οὐδένα ἦν.

τῶν ἀνεσκολοπισμένων μελλούσης ἐνίστασθαι τοιαύτης ἐκεχειρίας καθαιρεθέντας καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ταφῆς ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ τυχεῖν τῶν νενομισμένων ἀποδοθέντας· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπολαύσαι τινος χρηστοῦ γενεθλιακαῖς αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἅμα τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς τῆς πανηγύρεως φυλαχθῆναι.

84 ὁ δ' οὐ τετελευτηκότας ἐπὶ σταυρῶν καθαιρεῖν, ζῶντας δ' ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι προσέτατ-
 τεν, οἷς ἀμνηστίαν ἐπ' ὀλίγον, οὐ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν, ὁ
 καιρὸς ἐδίδου πρὸς ὑπέρθεσιν τιμωρίας, οὐκ ἄφεςιν
 παντελῆ. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰργάζετο μετὰ τὸ πληγαῖς
 αἰκίσασθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σι-
 85 δῆρῳ βασανίσαι. καὶ ἡ θεὰ διενενέμητο· τὰ μὲν
 γὰρ πρῶτα τῶν θεαμάτων ἄχρι τρίτης ἢ τετάρ-
 τῃς ὥρας ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ ταῦτα ἦν· Ἰουδαῖοι μαστιγού-
 μενοι, κρεμάμενοι, τροχιζόμενοι, κατακιζόμενοι,¹
 διὰ μέσης τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἀπαγόμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ
 θανάτῳ· τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν
 ὀρχησται καὶ μῖμοι καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 σκηνικῶν ἀθύρματα ἀγώνων.

86 XI. Καὶ τί ταῦτα μηχανῶ; δευτέρα γὰρ ἐπι-
 νοεῖται πόρθησις, βουλομένου καὶ τὸ στρατευόμενον
 πλήθος ἡμῖν ἐπιτειχίσαι ξένου συκοφαντήματος
 εὐρέσει. τὸ δὲ συκοφάντημα ἦν, ὡς τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 πανοπλίας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐχόντων. μεταπεμφά-
 μενος οὖν ἐκατόνταρχον ᾧ μάλιστ' ἐπίστευε,
 Κάστον ὄνομα, κελεύει παραλαβόντα τῆς ὑπηκόου
 τάξεως ἑαυτῷ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους στρατιώτας

¹ MSS. καταδικαζόμενοι.

^a This elliptical phrase is principally cited from Herodotus, κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ i. 109, συλλαβὴν δὲ σφεας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ iii. 119, and so with κατέδησαν v. 72. If this

the eve of a holiday of this kind, people who have been crucified have been taken down and their bodies delivered to their kinsfolk, because it was thought well to give them burial and allow them the ordinary rites. For it was meet that the dead also should have the advantage of some kind treatment upon the birthday of an emperor and also that the sanctity of the festival should be maintained. But 84

Flaccus gave no orders to take down those who had died on the cross. Instead he ordered the crucifixion of the living, to whom the season offered a short-lived though not permanent reprieve in order to postpone the punishment though not to remit it altogether. And he did this after maltreating them with the lash in the middle of the theatre and torturing them with fire and the sword. The show had been arranged 85 in parts. The first spectacle lasting from dawn till the third or fourth hour consisted of Jews being scourged, hung up, bound to the wheel, brutally mauled and haled for their death march^a through the middle of the orchestra. After this splendid exhibition came dancers and mimes and flute players and all the other amusements of theatrical competitions.

XI. But why dwell on these things, for he had a 86 second plan of spoliation hatching. He desired to use the large body of soldiers serving under him as a weapon against us, and to do this he invented a strange calumny to the effect that the Jews had stocks of every kind of arms in their houses. Accordingly having sent for a centurion named Castus, whom he especially trusted, he bade him take the most intrepid soldiers in the company under him and with-

represents the facts it would seem to be a deliberate archaism in Philo. Lucian however also uses it (*Alex.* 44).

ἐπισπεύδειν καὶ ἄνευ προρρήσεως ἐπεισιόντα ταῖς
 87 τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἰκίαις ἐρευνᾶν, μή τις ὅπλων
 [530] ἐναπόκειται παρασκευή. | καὶ ὁ μὲν συντείνας
 ἔθει τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπί-
 νοιαν οὐκ εἰδότες ἀχανεῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰστήκεσαν
 ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, γυναιῶν καὶ τέκνων αὐτοῖς ἐμπλε-
 κομένων καὶ ῥεομένων δάκρυσι διὰ τὸν ἐπ' αἰχμα-
 λώτοις φόβον· ὁ γὰρ λοιπὸν τῆς πορθήσεως, τοῦτ'
 88 αἰεὶ προσεδόκων. ὡς δ' ἤκουσαν παρά τινος τῶν
 ἐρευνῶντων· “ ποῦ ταμιεύεσθε τὰ ὅπλα; ” μικρὸν
 ἀνέπνευσάν καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀναπετά-
 89 σαντες ἐπεδείκνυντο, τῇ μὲν ἡδόμενοι, τῇ δὲ
 στένοντες, ἡδόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διελεγχθῆσεσθαι
 τὸ συκοφάντημα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, δυσχεραίνοντες δέ,
 ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν αἱ τηλικαῦται διαβολαὶ κατ' αὐτῶν
 προπιστεύονται συντιθέμεναι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἔπειτα
 δ', ὅτι γύναια κατάκλειστα μηδὲ τὴν αὐλειον
 προερχόμενα καὶ θαλαμευόμεναι παρθένοι, δι' αἰδῶ
 τὰς ἀνδρῶν ὄψεις καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐκτρεπό-
 μεναι, τότε οὐ μόνον ἀσυνήθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιω-
 τικὸν δέος ἐπανατεινόμενοις ἐμφανεῖς ἐγένοντο.
 90 γενομένης δ' ὁμως ἀκριβοῦς ἐρεύνης ὅσον¹ πλήθος
 ἀμυντηρίων ὅπλων εὔρέθη! κράνη, θώρακες, ἀσ-
 πίδες, ἐγχειρίδια, κοντοί, παντευχίαι σωρηδὸν
 προεκομίζοντο, καὶ ἐν μέρει τὰ ἐκηβόλα, παλτοί,

¹ Wendland suggests πόσον, but see note c.

^a The phrase τὸν ἐπ' αἰχμαλώτοις is certainly strange, but we have something like it in *De Ios.* 184 τὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι φόβον “the fear that he is dead,” though here to make the parallel complete we should have a participle ἐσομένους.

^b Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 169 “The women are best suited to the indoor life which keeps to the house, within which the

out loss of time and without giving notice enter and search the houses of the Jews to see whether they had any arms stored there. Castus hurried off to do what 87 he was told. The Jews as they knew nothing of the scheme at first stood dumbfounded in consternation, while their women and children clung to them bathed in tears in the fear of being taken into captivity.^a For they lived in expectation of this which was the one thing left to complete the spoliation. When they heard one of the searching party say 88 "Where do you stock your arms?" they revived somewhat and laid open everything, even the contents of the recesses. In one way they felt pleased, 89 in another deeply pained. They were pleased that the refutation of the calumny would be self-evident but indignant first that such grave slanders, fabricated against them by their enemies, were so readily believed, secondly that their women kept in seclusion, never even approaching the outer doors, and their maidens confined to the inner chambers, who for modesty's sake avoided the sight of men, even of their closest relations, were displayed to eyes, not merely unfamiliar, but terrorizing through the fear of military violence.^b And after this careful inves- 90 tigation, what an enormous amount^c of defensive weapons was discovered, the helmets, breastplates, shields, daggers, pikes, outfits of armour, piles of which were produced, and on another side, the mis-

middle door (*μέσανλον* = *θαλαμενόμεναι* here) is taken by the maidens as their boundary, and the outer door by those who have reached full womanhood." See note, vol. vii. p. 640. A good deal of additional information is given by Box.

^c *ὅσον* exclamatory may be kept as more expressive than *πόσον*, cf. *e.g. Rep.* 450 *α οἶον . . . εἰργάσασθε! ὅσον λόγον . . . κινεῖτε!*

σφενδόναί, τόξα, βέλη! τούτων ἀπλῶς οὐδέν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν ὀψαρτυτῶν
 91 αὐτάρκη μαχαιρίδια. ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐθύς εὐκολία διεφαίνετο πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὸ ἀβροδίατον μὴ προσιεμένων, ἃ πέφυκε γεννᾶν κόρον· κόρου δ' ὕβρις ἔκγονον, ἡ πάντων κακῶν
 92 ἀρχή. καίτοι γ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίων ὀπλολογηθέντων ὑπὸ Βάσσου τινός, ᾧ προσέταξεν ὁ Φλάκκος τουτὶ τὸ ἔργον, [ἀλλ'] ἦν τότε ἰδεῖν στόλον μὲν πολὺν νεῶν καταπεπλευκότα καὶ ἐνορμοῦντα τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμέσι, γέμοντα παντοίων ὄπλων, ἀχθοφόρα δ' ὑποζύγια παμπληθῇ συνδεδεμένων δοράτων φορμηδὸν ἀφ' ἑκατέρας πλευρᾶς εἰς τὸ ἰσόρροπον, τὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάσας σχεδὸν ἄρμαμάξας μεστὰς πανοπλιῶν, αἱ στοιχηδὸν ὑπὸ μίαν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἐν κόσμῳ προήεσαν· τὸ δὲ μετὰ τῶν λιμένων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὀπλοθήκης, εἰς ἣν ἔδει κατατεθῆναι τὰ ὄπλα, δέκα
 93 σταδίων πού διάστημα σύμπαν ἔχον. τὰς τῶν ταῦτα παρασκευασαμένων οἰκίας ἄξιον ἦν ἐρευνᾶσθαι· πρὸς γὰρ νεωτερισμὸν ὑποπτοὶ πολλάκις ἀποστάντες ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων τριετηρίδας ἄγειν καινὰς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συγκομιδῆς ὄπλων τοὺς προεστώτας, ἢ ἢ μὴ κατασκευάζεσθαι φθάνωσιν ἢ ἀντὶ πολλῶν ὀλίγα,
 94 καιρὸν οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰς ἀναχώρησιν.¹ ἡμᾶς δὲ τί [531] τοιοῦτον ἔδει παθεῖν; | πότε γὰρ εἰς ἀπόστασιν

¹ The word is hopeless. Of the corrections proposed, 352

sile kind, javelins, slings, bows and arrows! Why! absolutely nothing, not even the knives which suffice the cooks for their daily use. This last in itself 91 showed clearly the simplicity of the life led by people who discarded the expensive habits and luxury which naturally breed that satiety, whose child is the wanton insolence which is the source of all evils.

And yet not long before, when the Egyptians in the 92 country districts had their weapons collected by one Bassus, on whom Flaccus had laid this task, there was a great array of ships to be seen which had sailed to the bank and moored in the harbours of the river brimful of all manner of weapons, also a great number of beasts of burden with spears tied in bundles hung on each side to balance equally. Also there was a procession of waggons sent from the camp, nearly all full of outfits of armour, moving regularly one after the other so as to form a single ordered line, all visible at once, and the space between the harbours and the armoury in the palace where the arms had to be deposited was, taken altogether, about ten stades long. Those who procured these equipments 93 might well have had their houses searched, for they had often revolted and were suspected of favouring sedition. Indeed, the authorities ought to have copied the sacred contests by instituting new triennial celebrations for the collection of arms, so that the Egyptians would not have time to provide them or at least only a few instead of this great quantity, as they had no opportunity for replacing them. But why 94 should we have been subject to anything of the kind?

ἀνανέωσις and *ἀναχώνευσις* ("reforging"), the latter seems the more probable. Considering that it follows *ἀντὶ πολλῶν ὀλίγα*, I should myself prefer *ἀναπλήρωσιν* to *ἀνανέωσιν*.

ὑπωπτεύθημεν; πότε δ' οὐκ εἰρηνικοὶ πᾶσιν
 ἐνομίσθημεν; τὰ δ' ἐπιτηδεύματα, οἷς καθ' ἐκά-
 στην ἡμέραν χρώμεθα, οὐκ ἀνεπίληπτα, οὐ συντεί-
 νοντα πρὸς εὐνομίαν πόλεως καὶ εὐστάθειαν; εἴ
 γε μὴν εἶχον ὄπλα Ἰουδαῖοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὑπὲρ
 τετρακοσίας ἀφηρέθησαν οἰκίας, ἐξ ὧν μετα-
 νάσται ἐγένοντο, φυγαδευθέντες πρὸς τῶν τὰς
 οὐσίας ἀρπασάντων¹. διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ
 τούτοις ἡρεύνησέ τις, τοῖς εἰ καὶ μὴ ἴδια ὄπλα,
 95 ὅσα γοῦν ἤρπασαν, ἔχουσιν; ἀλλ' ἦν,
 ὡς ἔφην, ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιβουλὴ τῆς ἀποτομίας
 Φλάκκου καὶ τῶν ὀχλῶν, ὧν ἀπέλαυσαν καὶ
 γυναῖκες. οὐκ ἐν ἀγορᾷ γὰρ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
 μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ καθάπερ αἰχμάλωτοι συνηρπάζοντο
 καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δήποτε συκοφαντού-
 μεναι παρήγγοντο μετὰ τινος ἀφορήτου καὶ ἀργα-
 96 λεωτάτης ὑβρεως· εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ μὲν ἐγνωρίσθησαν
 ἐτέρου γένους, ἀπελύοντο—πολλὰς γὰρ ὡς Ἰουδαίας
 ἀκριβῆ μὴ ποιούμενοι τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἔρευναν
 συνελάμβανον—, εἰ δ' ἐφάνησαν ἡμέτεραι, προσ-
 ἔταπτον οἱ ἀντὶ θεατῶν τύραννοι καὶ δεσπόται
 γεγονότες κρέα χοίρεια διδόναι κομίζοντας. ὅσαι

¹ Mangey, Reiter, etc., take this sentence as a question, and Reiter inserts *ἂν* after ἀφηρέθησαν. But see note a.

^a This sentence has been taken by other editors as a question (*ἂν* being inserted after ἀφηρέθησαν) and understood to mean "if they had had arms, would they have been stripped of their homes?" This is quite good sense in itself, but what bearing has it on the sequel? As I have taken it, the apodosis is suppressed for the moment, but is understood from the next sentence, *i.e.* "if they had arms, they must have passed into the hands of those who occupied their houses."

When were we suspected of revolting? When were we not thought to be peacefully inclined to all? Were not our ways of living which we follow day by day blameless and conducive to good order and stability in the State? Indeed, if the Jews did have arms in their possession, they had been dispossessed from over four hundred houses from which they were driven to wander by those who seized their property.^a Why then did not their despoilers have their property searched, since they would have, if not arms of their own, at any rate those which they had seized?

But the whole proceeding was as I have 95
said a malicious plot, due to the ruthlessness of Flaccus and the turbulent outbreaks,^b the effect of which was felt by women also.^c For they were seized like captives not only in the market-place but also in the middle of the theatre and taken on to the stage on no matter what calumnious charge, meanwhile being subjected to outrage of an intolerable and most barbarous kind. Then, if they were recognized 96
to be of another race, since many were arrested as Jewesses without any careful investigation of the truth, they were released. But if they were found to be of our nation then these onlookers at a show turned into despotic tyrants and gave orders to fetch swine's flesh and give it to the women. Then all

^b So rather than "crowds," for which Philo would use the singular; nor does it suit *ἀπέλαυσαν* so well. For the use cf. *τὸ πλῆθος . . . ὄχλων καὶ θορύβων De Mut. 144.*

^c Why does Philo bring this account of the women's sufferings in at this point? They belong rather to the pogrom which we left at § 85. Possibly he means that the insult to feminine modesty involved in the investigation just described did not stand alone, though in the account of the atrocities nothing had been said about the women.

μὲν οὖν φόβῳ κολάσεως ἀπεγεύσαντο, μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν προσυπομείνασαι ἀπελύοντο· αἱ δ' ἐγκρατέστεραι βασανισταῖς παρεδίδοντο πρὸς αἰκίας ἀνηκέστους, ὅπερ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτὰς σαφειστάτη πίστις ἐστί.

- 97 XII. Πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐζήτει καὶ ἐπενόει κακοῦν ἡμᾶς. τιμὰς γάρ, ὅσας οἶόν τε ἦν καὶ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ νόμοι, πάσας Γαῖῳ ψηφισάμενοι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντες ἔργοις ἀνέδομεν τὸ ψήφισμα αὐτῷ, δεηθέντες, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβείαν αἰτησαμένοις οὐκ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἵνα διαπέμψῃται δι' αὐτοῦ.
- 98 ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκάστω τῶν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πολλάκις τῇ κεφαλῇ συνεπινεύσας, ὑπομειδιῶν καὶ γεγανωμένος ἢ προσποιούμενος τὸν ἡδόμενον, “ἀποδέχομαι πάντας ὑμᾶς” ἔφη “τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ πέμψω, καθάπερ αἰτείσθε, ἢ πρεσβευτοῦ τάξιν ἐκπλήσω, ἵν' αἰσθηται Γάιος τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχαριστίας. μαρτυρήσω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα σύννοια τῷ
- 99 πλήθει τῶν εἰς κοσμιότητα καὶ εἰς εὐπείθειαν προστιθεῖς οὐδέν· ἢ γὰρ ἀλήθεια ἀνταρκέστατος
- 100 ἔπαινος.” ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι γεγηθότες εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὥς ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσι παρανεγνωσμένου Γαῖῳ τοῦ ψηφίσματος. καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὅσα διὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων πέμπεται μετὰ
- [532] σπουδῆς | ἀνυπέρθετον ἔχει τὴν παρ' ἡγεμονί¹

¹ MSS. ἡμῶν or ὑμῶν.

^a The sections which follow describe events which go back to a time previous to those narrated in § 25 and onwards. Philo seems to take this action of Flaccus as his crowning

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the women who in fear of punishment tasted the meat were dismissed and did not have to bear any further dire maltreatment. But the more resolute were delivered to the tormentors to suffer desperate ill-usage, which is the clearest proof of their entire innocence of wrongdoing.

XII. "To all these we have to add that Flaccus had 97 before this been seeking to utilize the emperor to supplement his own efforts to injure us and laid his plans accordingly. We had decreed and ratified with our actions all the tributes to Gaius which were possible and were allowed by the laws and had submitted the decree to Flaccus, begging him since he would not have granted our request for an embassy to provide himself for its transmission. He read it and nodded 98 his head several times in assent at each point, smiled gently, and looked pleased or pretended to be pleased, and said "I commend you all for your piety, and I will send it as you ask or will fulfil the duties of an envoy myself that Gaius may learn your gratitude. I will also testify myself from my own knowledge to 99 your abundantly orderly and loyal behaviour without adding anything else,^b for the truth in itself is all-sufficient praise." When we heard these promises 100 we rejoiced and were thankful, feeling in our hopefulness as though Gaius had already read the decree. The hope was reasonable, since any communication sent by a viceroy with urgency secures a prompt de-

wickedness, and very possibly connects it directly with his fall, perhaps justly. It is quite conceivable that when the insulted Agrippa informed the emperor that Flaccus had suppressed a complimentary address to himself, his animosity against Flaccus was roused to activity.

^b Or "without adding to the multitude," etc. But the dative of the thing known following *σύνοιδα* is not uncommon.

- 101 *διάγνωσιν.* ὁ δὲ πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας οἷς δι-
 ενοήθημεν, οἷς εἶπεν, οἷς ὡμολόγησε, τὸ ψήφισμα
 παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρακατέσχεν, ἵνα μόνοι τῶν ὑφ'
 ἡλίον ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὶ νομισθῶμεν. ταῦτ' οὐ
 διηγρυπνηκότος ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ περιεσκεμμένου
 τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἀπόνοιαν¹
 αὐτοσχεδιάζοντος ἀκαίρῳ φορᾷ καὶ παραγωγῇ τινὶ
 102 *λογισμοῦ;* θεὸς δ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ᾧ μέλει
 τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, τοὺς θῶπας αὐτοῦ
 λόγους καὶ κεκομψευμένους ἐπὶ φενακισμῷ καὶ τὸ
 τῆς ἐκνόμου διανοίας βουλευτήριον, ἐν ᾧ κατ-
 εστρατήγει, προβαλλόμενος, λαβὼν οἶκτον ἡμῶν,
 ἀφορμὴν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐμπαρέσχε τοῦ μὴ ψευ-
 103 *σθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.* Ἀγρίππας γὰρ ἐπιδημήσας
 ὁ βασιλεὺς διηγησαμένοις ἡμῖν τὴν ἐκ Φλάκκου
 γενομένην ἐπιβουλήν ἐπανορθοῦται τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ
 ὑποσχόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα διαπέμψεσθαι λαβὼν ὡς
 ἀκούομεν ἔπεμψεν, ἀπολογησάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῦ
 χρόνου, ὡς οὐκ ὀψὲ μαθόντων εὐσεβεῖν εἰς τὸν
 εὐεργέτην οἶκον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν σπουδασάντων,
 ἐπηρεΐα δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος τὴν καίριον ἐπίδειξιν
 104 *ἀφαιρεθέντων.* ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἤρξατο κονίεσθαι
 κατ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὑπέρμαχος μὲν καὶ παραστάτις
 ἀδικουμένων τιμωρὸς δ' ἀνοσίων καὶ ἔργων καὶ
 ἀνθρώπων δίκη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καινοτάτην

¹ MSS. *ἐπίνοιαν*.

^a Or perhaps "perusal," for *διαγιγνώσκω* is sometimes used for *διαναγιγνώσκω*. Perhaps indeed read *διανάγνωσιν*, which Mangey suggested and Box adopts.

^b Literally "in the council chamber (or council) of his lawless mind," cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 27. The figure it may be noted is a common one in Philo, cf. *Quod Det.* 40, *De Ebr.*

cision^a by the head. But Flaccus, dismissing all con- 101
sideration for our intentions and his own words and
agreements, detained the decree in his own possession
so that it might be supposed that we alone among
men who dwell under the sun were hostile. Do not
these actions show long unsleeping vigilance and
careful preparation of the insidious attack against
us and that it was not improvised in a fit of insanity,
in an ill-timed outburst due to some perversion of the
reason?

But God, it is clear, who takes 102
care for human affairs, rejected his flattering words
so elegantly framed to cajole and the treacherous
counsels against us debated in his lawless mind^b and
in His compassion before long provided us with
grounds for thinking that our hopes would not be
disappointed. For when King Agrippa visited Alex- 103
andria and we told him of Flaccus's malignant action,
he rectified the matter, promised us that he would
have the decree transmitted and took it and as we
understand sent it, apologizing also for the delay and
stating that we had not been slow to learn the duty
of piety to the house of our benefactors; on the
contrary we had been eager to show it from the first
but had been deprived of the chance of proving it in
good time by the spite of the Governor. At this 104
point justice, the champion and defender of the
wronged, the avenger of unholy men and deeds,
began to enter the lists against him. For in the

165, *De Conf.* 86, *De Dec.* 98. *καταστρατηγείν* = "to over-
come by cunning or treachery" is here used absolutely by
Philo, as also in *Legatio* 25, and perhaps *De Dec.* 141. In
De Dec. 91 we have *καταστρατηγείς τὸν ὄρκον* of making the
oath which the judges have sworn of none effect. All the
other examples cited by Stephanus have an accusative or
genitive following.

ὑπέμεινεν ὕβριν καὶ συμφορὰν οὐδενὶ τῶν πάλαι
γενομένην ὑπάρχων, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ
Σεβαστὸς οἶκος ἀνήψατο γῆς καὶ θαλάττης.

105 ἔνιοι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν διεπόντων τὰς ἐπι-
κρατείας, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν εἰς
δυναστείαν καὶ τυραννίδα μεθαρμοσάμενοι, τὰς
χώρας ἐνέπλησαν κακῶν ἀνηκέστων δωροδοκίαις,
ἀρπαγαῖς, καταδίκαις, τῶν μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότων
ἐλάσσει καὶ φυγαῖς, τῶν δυνατῶν ἀκρίτοις ἀναι-
ρέσειν· οὓς μετὰ τὸν ὀρισθέντα χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἐπανελθόντας εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λόγον
καὶ εὐθύνας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἤτουν, καὶ μάλιστα

106 ὁπότε πρεσβεύσαιντο αἱ ἀδικηθεῖσαι πόλεις. τότε
γὰρ κοινούς παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς δικαστάς, ἐξ ἴσου
καὶ τῶν κατηγορῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων
ἀκροώμενοι, μηδενὸς ἀκρίτου προκαταγινώσκειν
ἀξιοῦντες, ἐβράβευον οὔτε πρὸς ἔχθραν οὔτε πρὸς
χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ δόξαντα

107 εἶναι δίκαια. Φλάκκῳ δ' οὐ μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλ'
ἐμπροθέσμως προϋπήντησεν ἡ μισοπόνηρος δίκη
ταῖς ἀμέτροις ὑπερβολαῖς ὧν ἡδίκηκε καὶ παρηγόμει
δυσχεράνασα.

[533] XIII. | Γίνεται δ' ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς συλλήψεως
108 τοιοῦδε. ὑπέλαβεν ἤδη τὸν Γάιον περὶ ὧν ὑποπτος
ἦν ἐξευμενίσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίοις γράμμασιν,
ἀ κολακείας ἦν ὑπέρμεστα, τὰ δὲ ἐν οἷς δημηγορῶν
πολλάκις ἐθεράπευε λόγους θῶπας καὶ μακρὰς
ρήσεις πεπλασμένων ἐγκωμίων συνείρων, τὰ δὲ
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα εὐδοκμεῖν παρὰ τῷ πλείστῳ

first place he was subjected to an unprecedented indignity and disaster such as had not befallen any of the viceroys in the past since the Augustan House assumed the sovereignty of land and sea.

Some, indeed, of those who held governorships in the 105 time of Tiberius and his father Caesar, had perverted their office of guardian and protector into domination and tyranny and had spread hopeless misery through their territories with their venality, robbery, unjust sentences, expulsion and banishment of quite innocent people, and execution of magnates without trial. But these people on their return to Rome, after the termination of their time of office, had been required by the emperor to render an account and submit to scrutiny of their doings, particularly when the aggrieved cities sent ambassadors. For on these 106 occasions the emperors showed themselves impartial judges; they listened equally to both the accuser and the defender, making it a rule to condemn no one offhand without a trial, and awarded what they thought to be just, influenced neither by hostility nor favour but by what actually was the truth. Flaccus, on the other hand, not after his time of office, 107 but in advance of the regular date, was encountered by justice, who hates evil and was indignant at the boundless excesses of his unjust and lawless actions.

XIII. The manner of his arrest was as follows. He 108 supposed that Gaius had been by now propitiated as to the matters on which he was under suspicion, partly through his written dispatches, which overflowed with flattery, partly through the obsequiousness of his public harangues, in which he span together fawning words and long screeds of insincere encomium, partly again by the high esteem in which

- 109 μέρει τῆς πόλεως. ἔλαθε δ' αὐτὸν ἀπατῶν· ἀβέβαιοι γὰρ αἱ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλπίδες, εἰκαζόντων μὲν τὰ χρηστότερα, τὰ δὲ παλίμφημα καὶ ὧν ἄξιοι τυγχάνειν εἰσὶ πασχόντων. πέμπεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Βάσσος ἑκατοντάρχης ὑπὸ Γαῖου χειροτονηθεὶς μετὰ τῆς τάξεως τῶν
- 110 στρατιωτῶν, ἧς ἀφηγεῖτο. σκάφους δ' ἐπιβάς τῶν μάλιστα ταχυναυτούντων ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πρὸς τοῖς λιμέσι γίνεται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τὴν Φάρον νῆσον περὶ δεῖλῃν ἐσπέραν καὶ κελεύει τῷ κυβερνήτῃ μέχρις ἡλίου καταδύσεως ἔξω θαλαττεύειν, τεχνάζων τὸ ἀνεπίφαντον ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ προαισθόμενον Φλάκκον καὶ βουλευσάμενόν τι νεώτερον ἄπρακτον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐργάσασθαι.
- 111 γενομένης δ' ἐσπέρας, ἣ μὲν ναῦς προσέσχεν, ὃ δὲ Βάσσος μετὰ τῶν ιδίων ἀποβάς προῆι, μήτε γνωρίζων τινὰ μήτε γνωριζόμενος ὑπὸ του, στρατιώτην δέ τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς τετραδίοις φυλάκων καθ' ὁδὸν εὐρὼν κελεύει δεικνύναι τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ στρατάρχου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐβούλετο τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἀνενεγκεῖν, ἵνα, καὶ δέῃ πολυχειρίας, ἔχῃ τὸν
- 112 συναγωνιούμενον. πυθόμενος δ' αὐτὸν ἐστιαῖσθαι παρὰ τινι σὺν Φλάκκῳ, μηδὲν τάχους ἀνιείς συνέτεινεν ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ κεκληκότος οἰκίας—Στεφανίων ἦν τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων, παρ' ᾧ κατήγοντο—καὶ μικρὸν ἄποθεν ὑποστείλας ἐκπέμπει τινὰ τῶν ιδίων κατασκευσόμενον εἰς ἀκόλουθον ἀσκήσας, σόφισμα τοῦ μηδένα

^a Cf. § 92. It is somewhat surprising to find another and evidently different Bassus. But the name is too common to justify any suspicion of its genuineness here or there.

^b More literally "the sentries arrayed in quaternions,"

he was held by the chief part of the city. But he 109
 little knew that he was deceiving himself, for the
 hopes of the wicked are without foundation. Their
 prognostications are favourable but their experiences
 fraught with evil omens are what they deserve. A
 centurion named Bassus^a was sent from Italy by
 Gaius's appointment with the company of soldiers
 which he commanded. Having embarked on one of 110
 the swiftest sailing ships he arrived in a few days at
 the harbours of Alexandria, off the island of Pharos, in
 the late afternoon and bade the pilot wait at sea out-
 side till sunset, his scheme being to avoid observation,
 so that Flaccus might not get knowledge of it before-
 hand and by planning some act of violence, make his
 mission unsuccessful. When it was evening the ship 111
 was brought to land and Bassus disembarking with
 his men went forward without recognizing or being
 recognized by anyone. And finding on the way a
 soldier belonging to the quaternions acting as sen-
 tries,^b he ordered him to show him the house of the
 military commander. For he wished to communicate
 his secret instructions to him so that if a strong force
 was required he might have someone to support him
 in the contest. And learning that the commander 112
 as well as Flaccus was feasting with someone, he
 hurried with unabated speed to the house of the
 giver of the feast, by name Stephanio, one of the
 freedmen of Tiberius Caesar. It was in his house
 that the two were being entertained, and Bassus
 keeping in the background a little way off sent on one
 of his men to reconnoitre attired as an attendant,
 hoping by this artifice to maintain secrecy. The

i.e. the night was divided into four watches and each watch
 was served by four soldiers. For "quaternions" *cf.* Acts xii. 4.

- συναισθέσθαι. παρελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὡς
 ἑνὸς τινος τῶν παρατυγχανόντων οἰκέτης, ἅπαντα
 μετ' ἀκριβείας περιαθρήσας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐμήνυσσε
 113 τῷ Βάσσῳ. γνούς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἀφύ-
 λακτον καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ὀλιγότητα—
 μόλις γὰρ δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν διακονικῶν
 ἀνδραπόδων ἐπηκολουθήκει—σύνθημα δοὺς τοῖς
 περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσέδραμεν ἐξαίφνης, καὶ τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον ἐπιστάντες ὑπέζω-
 σμένοι τὰ ξίφη κυκλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οὐ προῖδόμενον·
 ἐτύγγανε γὰρ καὶ πρόποσιν τινι διδοὺς καὶ φιλο-
 114 φρονούμενος τοὺς παρόντας. εἰς μέσον δὲ τοῦ
 Βάσσου παρελθόντος, ἰδὼν εὐθύς ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως
 ἀχανῆς γίνεται καὶ βουλόμενος ἀναστήναι, τὴν ἐν
 κύκλῳ φρουρὰν θεασάμενος, ἔγνω καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι,
 τί βούλεται Γάιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τί προστέτακται
 τοῖς ἤκουσι καὶ τί παραντίκα μελλήσει ὑπομένειν·
 δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ
 γινόμενα πάνθ' ἅμα ἰδεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀθρόων¹
 115 ἀκοῦσαι. τῶν μὲν | οὖν συνδειπνούντων ἕκαστος
 [534] ἀναστὰς ὑπὸ δέους ἐπεφρίκει καὶ ἐπεπήγει, μή τις
 ὄριστα καὶ τοῦ συνεστιαθῆναι δίκη· φεύγειν γὰρ
 οὐτ' ἀσφαλὲς ἦν οὐτ' ἄλλως ἐνεδέχετο, προκατ-
 εχομένων τῶν εἰσόδων. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 τοῦ Βάσσου κελεύσαντος ἀπάγεται, τελευταίαν
 ταύτην ἀνάλυσιν ἐκ συμποσίου ποιησάμενος· ἔδει
 γὰρ ἀφ' ἐστίας ἄρξασθαι τὴν δίκην κατὰ τοῦ

¹ MSS. ἄθροον.

FLACCUS, 112-115

soldier made his way into the dining-hall in the guise of a servant of one or other of the visitors and having taken a careful look all round returned with his information to Bassus. He, learning the unguarded 113 condition of the entrances and the scantiness of Flaccus's retinue, for barely ten or fifteen of his household slaves had accompanied him, gave the signal to his companions and rushed in suddenly. Some of the soldiers taking their stand along the dining-hall, with swords in their girdles, surrounded Flaccus before he saw them, since he was drinking the health of some particular person and toasting^a the company. But 114 when Bassus came forward into the middle of the room he saw him and was at once struck speechless with consternation. He wished to rise but when he surveyed the guard around him, he knew even before he heard it what Gaius wanted to do with him and what orders had been given to the newcomers and what would be his fate in the immediate future. For the mind has a marvellous power of seeing all at once and hearing altogether the successive events which will cover a long space of time. As for his fellow- 115 guests, each of them rose shuddering and petrified with fear lest their presence in his company at the feast was a crime destined for punishment. For it was unsafe to fly and, moreover, impossible, since the entrances had been occupied in advance. Flaccus himself at Bassus's orders, was led away by the soldiers. Thus it was from a convivial gathering that he made his final departure, for it was only right that a hospitable hearth should be the scene where justice

^a According to the lexicons, *φιλοφρονεῖσθαι* merely means "making himself agreeable to them"; but the context seems to need some specific action which diverted his attention.

PHILO

μυρίους ἀνεστίους οἴκους οὐδὲν ἡδίκηκότων ἀνθρώπων ἐργασαμένου.

- 116 XIV. Τοῦτο καινότατον ὑπέμεινε Φλάκκος ἐν χώρᾳ, ἧς ἀφηγεῖτο, πολεμίου τρόπον ζωγρηθεὶς ἐνεκά μοι δοκῶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι διεγνώκει λιμοδοξῶν. ἐναργῆς δὲ πίστις καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῆς συλλήψεως· ἑορτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἦν πάνδημος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν,
- 117 ἐν ᾗ διάγειν Ἰουδαίοις ἔθος ἐν σκηναῖς. οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐν ἑορτῇ συνόλως ἀπετελεῖτο, τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων ἔτι καθειργμένων μετὰ τὰς ἀνηκέστους καὶ ἀφορήτους αἰκίας καὶ ὕβρεις, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν τὰς τε ἐκείνων συμφορὰς ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους κοινὰς νομιζόντων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξαιρέτοις, ἃς ἰδίᾳ
- 118 ἕκαστος ὑπέμεινεν, οὐ μετρίως κατηφούντων. τὰ γὰρ ἀνιὰρὰ διπλασιάζεσθαι φιλεῖ μάλιστα ἐν ἑορταῖς τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις ἑορτάζειν, στερήσει τε ἱλαρὰς εὐθυμίας, ἣν πανήγυρις ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ μετουσία λύπης, ὑφ' ἧς ἐξετραχλίζοντο, μηδὲν ἄκος τῶν τοσούτων κακοπραγιῶν ἀνευρεῖν δυνάμενοι.
- 119 σφόδρα δ' ἔχουσιν ὀδυνηρῶς καὶ πεπιεσμένοις ἄχθαι βαρυτάτῳ—συνείληντο δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἅτε νυκτὸς ἐπεχούσης—ἡκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὴν γενομένην σύλληψιν. οἱ δ' ἀπόπειραν εἶναι νομίσαντες, οὐκ ἀλήθειαν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ κατακερτομείσθαι καὶ ἐνεδρεύεσθαι δοκεῖν ὠδυνῶντο.

^a Philo means that providence shows itself by sending deliverance just when things are darkest. The festal season, particularly as its chief characteristic, the living in booths, could not be observed, brought their misery to a climax.

^b Note the imperfect with its sudden change from the general to the particular.

FLACCUS, 115-119

first fell on one who had destroyed numberless hearths and homes of persons that had done no wrong.

XIV. Such was the unprecedented blow which fell 116 upon Flaccus, carried off like a prisoner in war in the country which he was governing. It was caused, I am convinced, by his treatment of the Jews, whom in his craving for aggrandisement he had resolved to exterminate utterly. We have a clear proof of this also in the time of his arrest,^a for the Jews were holding then the national feast of the autumn equinox, in which it is the custom of the Jews to live in tents. But nothing at all of the festal proceedings 117 was being carried out. The rulers after suffering deadly and intolerable injuries and outrages were still in prison and their misfortunes were regarded by the commoners as shared by the whole nation, while the special sufferings which each of them experienced individually made them extremely depressed. For 118 painful sensations are apt to double themselves most especially at feast time in persons who are unable to observe the feast, both because they are deprived of the cheerful gaiety which the festal gathering demands and also because they communicate to each other their sorrow—sorrow which in this case ^b laid them prostrate through their powerlessness to find any remedy for their great miseries. They were 119 in this very painful condition oppressed by an overwhelming burden when there came to them while crowded in their houses, because night was falling,^c some messengers who announced the arrest that had been made. They supposed that it was no true story but something fabricated to try them and were still more pained at what seemed a mockery and a snare.

^a Or perhaps "was in possession," *i.e.* "had fallen."

- 120 θορύβου δ' ὄντος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων ἄνω κάτω διαθεόντων καὶ τινων ἱππέων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τάχει συντόνῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀντεξελαυνόντων, τῷ τοῦ πράγματος ἀήθει κινηθέντες τινὲς προῆλθον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν κατὰ πύστιν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος.
- 121 ἐφαίνετο γὰρ εἶναι τι νεώτερον. ὥς δ' ᾗσθοντο τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν καὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ἐντὸς ἀρκύων ἤδη γεγεννημένον, προτείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ὕμνου καὶ παιᾶνας ἐξῆρχον εἰς τὸν ἔφορον θεὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, “οὐκ ἐφηρόμεθα,” λέγοντες, “ὦ δέσποτα, τιμωρίαις ἐχθροῦ, δεδιδαγμένοι πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀνθρωποπαθεῖν· ἀλλὰ σοὶ δικαίως εὐχαριστοῦμεν οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον ἡμῶν λαβόντι καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους |
[535] κακώσεις ἐπικουφίσαντι.” πάννυχοι δὲ διατελέσαντες ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἔῳ διὰ πυλῶν ἐκχυθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησίον αἰγιαλοὺς ἀφικνουῦνται—τὰς γὰρ προσευχὰς ἀφήρηντο—καὶ τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ στάντες ἀνεβόησαν ὁμοθυμαδόν.
- 122 “γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, αἶρα τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὰ μέρη τοῦ παντὸς καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν κόσμον, ὧ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ θνητῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων, παρακαλέσοντες εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τὴν σὴν ἤκομεν, οἷς μόνοις ἐνδιδαιτώμεθα, τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα δημιουργεῖται πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐληλαμένοι καὶ στερόμενοι πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐν πόλει δημοσίων καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν περιβόλων, ἀπόλιδες καὶ ἀνέστιοι μόνοι τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίον ἐξ

^a This is the classification natural to the ordinary man, who speaks of what he sees around him, rather than the scientific “four elements.” So of the translators of the LXX

FLACCUS, 120-123

But when a tumult arose in the city and the night- 120
 watch were running up and down and horsemen
 busily riding backwards and forwards at full speed
 to and from the camp, some of them, stirred by so
 unusual an event, advanced from their houses to get
 information of what had occurred. For it was clear
 that there was some upheaval. And when they 121
 learnt of the arrest and that Flaccus was now within
 the toils, with hands outstretched to heaven they
 sang hymns and led songs of triumph to God who
 watches over human affairs. "We do not rejoice,
 O Lord," they said, "at the punishment meted to
 an enemy, for we have been taught by the holy laws
 to have human sympathy. But we justly give thanks
 to Thee because Thou has taken pity and compassion
 on us and relieved our unbroken and ceaseless
 afflictions." All night long they continued to sing 122
 hymns and songs of praise and at dawn pouring out
 through the gates, they made their way to the parts
 of the beach near at hand, since their meeting-houses
 had been taken from them, and standing in the most
 open space cried aloud with one accord "Most 123
 Mighty King of mortals and immortals, we have come
 here to call on earth and sea, and air and heaven,^a
 into which the universe is partitioned, and on the
 whole world, to give Thee thanks. They are our only
 habitation, expelled as we are from all that men have
 wrought, robbed of our city and the buildings within
 its walls, public and private, alone of all men under
 the sun bereft of home and country through the malig-
 in *Mos.* ii. 37, where these same four as here are called τὰ μέρη
 τῆς φύσεως (where μέρη should not have been translated
 "elements"). Cf. also *Mos.* i. 113 and *De Som.* i. 15, though
 in the last the phrase ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε instead of μέρη is nearer
 to the scientific conception. See also on *De Act.* 29.

124 ἐπιβουλῆς ἄρχοντος γενόμενοι. χρηστὰς ὑπογράφεις ἡμῖν ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν λειπομένων ἐπανορθώσεως, ἥδη ταῖς ἡμετέραις λιταῖς ἀρξάμενος συνεπινεύειν, εἴ γε τὸν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ συμφορῶν ὑφηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον μέγα πνέοντα καὶ οἰηθέντα διὰ ταῦτα εὐδοκιμήσειν ἐξαίφνης καθεῖλες, οὐ πορρωτάτω γενόμενον, ἢν' αἰσθόμενοι δι' ἀκοῆς οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες ἀμβλύτερον ἡσθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς οὕτωςί, μόνον οὐκ ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἡδικομένων, πρὸς τρανοτέραν φαντασίαν τῆς ἐν βραχεὶ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐπεξόδου."

125 XV. Τρίτον δ' ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις κἀκεῖνό μοι δοκεῖ θεία προνοία συμβῆναι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀναχθεὶς ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος—ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ φοβερῶν ἀπολαῦσαι τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς ἀσεβημάτων ἀναπλήσαντα—μυρία πονηθεὶς μόλις ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, εὐθὺς ἐκδέχονται τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατηγορίας δύο τῶν ἐχθίστων, Ἰσίδωρος

126 τε καὶ Λάμπων, οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ μὲν τάξιν εἶχον ὑπηκόων δεσπότην καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνακαλοῦντες, νυνὶ δ' ἀντιδίκων οὐκ ἰσόρροπον ἀλλὰ δυνατωτέραν ἰσχὺν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἐπιδεικνυμένων, οὐ μόνον ἕνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλ', ὃ δὴ μέγιστον ἦν, ὅτι τὸν πρῦτανιν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἐχθρὸν

^a Or perhaps "wilt restore what is in an inferior condition" or "fallen behind," a sense which *λείπομαι* sometimes has.

^b On the common phrase (cf. § 152) signifying sometimes pride and sometimes influence see note on *De Virt.* 171.

^c See further on these two App. p. 532.

nancy of a governor. Thou givest also a glimpse of 124
cheering hopes that Thou wilt amend what remains
for amendment,^a in that Thou hast already begun to
assent to our prayers. For the common enemy of
the nation, under whose leadership and by whose
instruction these misfortunes have befallen it, who
in his windy pride ^b thought that they would promote
him to honour, Thou hast suddenly brought low ; and
that not when he was afar off, so that they whom he
ill-treated would hear it by report and have less keen
pleasure, but just here close at hand almost before
the eyes of the wronged to give them a clearer picture
of the swift and un hoped-for visitation."

XV. Besides the two circumstances which I have 125
mentioned there is a third which seems to me to have
been brought about by divine providence. He had
started on his voyage in early winter and endured
a multitude of hardships, tasting of the terrors of
the sea also, a just fate for one who had filled the
elements of the universe with his impious deeds.
When with difficulty he arrived in Italy the charges
against him were taken up by two of his worst enemies,
Isidorus and Lampo.^c It was not long since these 126
men had ranked as his subjects and hailed him as
their master and benefactor and saviour and the like.
But now they appeared to plead against him with
a strength which was not a mere match for his but
vastly more powerful.^d For not merely had they
confidence in the justice of their case but their most
important advantage was that they saw that he who
presided over human affairs was his mortal enemy,

^a Here ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος intensifies δυνατωτέραν and marks the contrast to ἰσόρροπον, "so far from being equal it is more powerful with a lot to spare." See note on *De Vit. Cont.* 63.

- ἑώρων ἄσπονδον αὐτῷ, μέλλοντα σχῆμα μὲν
 ὑποδύεσθαι δικαστοῦ, προνοίᾳ τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν
 ἀκρίτου τινὸς προκαταγινώσκειν, ἔργον δ' ἐπι-
 δείκνυσθαι δυσμενοῦς, πρὸ κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπο-
 λογίας ἤδη τῇ ψυχῇ κατεγνωκότος καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτω
 127 τιμωρίας ὠρικότος ἐπ' αὐτῷ. χαλεπὸν δ' οὐδὲν
 οὕτως, ὥς ὑπ' ἐλαττόνων κρείττους καὶ πρὸς
 ὑπηκόων ἄρχοντάς ποτε γενομένους κατηγορεῖσθαι,
 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ δεσπότας ὑπ' οἰκοτριβῶν ἢ
 ἀργυρωνήτων.
- 128 XVI. Ἄλλ' ἦν, ὥς ἔοικε, τοῦτο κουφότερον
 κακὸν συγκρινόμενον ἐτέρῳ μείζονι. οὐ γὰρ
 ἀπλὴν τινα τάξιν ἔχοντες ὑπηκόων αἰφνίδιον ἐπ-
 [536] ἔθεντο ταῖς κατηγορίαις | ἐπαποδυσάμενοι καὶ
 συμφρονήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πλείστον χρόνον
 τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἣν ἐπετρόπευσε τῆς χώρας ἐκ
 πάντων οὗτοι μάλιστ' αὐτῷ δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐγεγέ-
 νηντο. Λάμπων μὲν ἀσεβείας τῆς εἰς Τιβέριον
 Καίσαρα δίκην σχὼν καὶ ἐπὶ διετίαν τριβομένου
 129 τοῦ πράγματος ἀπειρηκώς. ὑπερθέσεις γὰρ καὶ
 ἀναβολὰς ὁ δικαστὴς ἐθελοκακῶν ἐσκήπτετο βου-
 λόμενος, καὶ ἀποφύγη τὸ ἔγκλημα, τὸν γοῦν περὶ
 μέλλοντος ἀδήλου¹ φόβον πρὸς μήκιστον χρόνον
 ἐπικρεμάσας αὐτῷ ζωὴν ὀδυνηροτέραν θανάτου
 130 παρασχεῖν. εἶθ' ὕστερον καὶ ὅτε νικᾶν ἔδοξεν,
 εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπηρεασθῆναι ἔφασκεν—ἤναγκάσθη
 γὰρ γυμνασιαρχεῖν—, ἥτοι τῷ γλίσχρος καὶ ἀνελεύ-
 θερος εἶναι περὶ τὰς δαπάνας, προφασιζόμενος τὸ
 μὴ κεκτῆσθαι πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀφθονίαν ἀναλω-
 μάτων ἱκανὴν οὐσίαν, ἢ τῷ ὄντι μὴ κεκτημένος,

¹ MSS. ἀδηλον (also ἄδολον and ἄδικον).

who would assume, indeed, the guise of a judge to save himself from appearing to condemn anyone by anticipation and without trial, but in his actions would be revealed as an enemy, who forestalled the accusation and defence by condemning him already in his soul and had fixed his punishment at the uttermost. And no lot is so hard as for superiors to be accused by inferiors and rulers by their former subjects; as well might masters be accused by the slaves whom they have bred in their house or purchased with their money. 127

XVI. But this as we shall see was a lighter evil 128 compared with another still greater. For they were not simply in the position of subjects who suddenly attacked him and by mutual agreement addressed themselves to accusing him. On the contrary, throughout the greater part of his time of governorship of the country, they were above all others his bitterest enemies. Lampo had been put on his trial for impiety to Tiberius Caesar and as the trial had dragged on for two years he had broken down under it. For the ill-will of his judge had concocted post- 129 ponements and delays, as he wished, even if he was acquitted on the charge, to keep hanging over him for as long as possible the fear of the uncertain future, and so render his life more painful than death. Afterwards when he appeared to have won his case 130 he declared that he was the victim of an outrageous attack upon his property. For he was forced to act as gymnasiarch and protested that he had not sufficient means to meet the great expenses of the office.^a The excuse may be due to meanness and illiberality in spending his money, or it may be that

^a See App. p. 535.

- ἀλλὰ πρὶν μὲν εἰς ἀπόπειραν ἔλθειν ἐπιφάσκων τὸν
 πάνυ πλούσιον, ἐν δὲ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ μὴ φανείς ἄγαν
 πολυχρήματος ἄνθρωπος, ὅσα ἐκτήσατο σχεδὸν
 131 ἅπαντα ἐξ ἀδικημάτων περιποιησάμενος· προσ-
 εστὼς γὰρ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὅποτε δικάζοιεν,¹ ὑπ-
 εμνηματίζετο τὰς δίκας εἰσάγων ὥς ἔχων τάξιν,²
 εἴτα τὰ μὲν ἀπήλειπεν ἢ παρήει ἐκὼν, τὰ δ' οὐ
 λεχθέντα προσενέταπτεν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὑψηλ-
 λάττετο μεταποιῶν καὶ μετατιθεὶς καὶ στρέφων
 ἄνω κάτω τὰ γράμματα, κατὰ συλλαβήν, μᾶλλον δὲ
 καὶ κεραίαν ἐκάστην ἀργυρολογῶν ὁ γραμματο-
 132 κύφων· ὃν πολλάκις ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ὁμοθυμαδὸν
 εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως καλαμοσφάκτην ἐξε-
 κήρυξεν, οἷς ἔγραφε μυρίους [καὶ] ἀνελόντα καὶ
 ζῶντας ἀθλιωτέρους τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἀπεργασά-
 μενον, οἱ δυνάμενοι νικᾶν καὶ περιουσιάζειν ἦτταν
 καὶ πενίαν ἀδικωτάτην ὑπέμειναν, ὠνησαμένων
 ἀμφοτέρα τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρὰ τοῦ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας
 133 οὐσίας ἐπευωνίζοντος καὶ πιπράσκοντος. ἀμή-
 χανον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοσαύτης χώρας
 ἐπιτροπεύοντας, αἰεὶ³ καινότερων ἐπείσρεόντων ἰδιω-
 τικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων, ἀπάντων
 μεμνήσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ δικάζοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ λογισμοὺς τῶν προσόδων καὶ δασμῶν λαμ-
 βάνοντας, ὧν ἡ ἐξέτασις τὸν πλείονα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
 134 χρόνον ἀνήλσκεν. ὁ δὲ φυλάττειν ἐπιτραπείς τὴν

¹ MSS. δικάζοντο.

² This can hardly give the required sense, and even with the addition of *τοίανδε* (as in A) is rather otiose. Mangey suggested *ὡς ἔχειεν τάξιν* ("as they came in order"). The suggestion *εἰσαγωγέως* for *εἰσάγων ὡς* made by Mr. Box in *Class. Quarterly* 1935 seems admirable, if it can be fitted in with the functions here described. On this see App. p. 536.

he really had not the means, and though before the test he had pretended to be quite rich he was shown under examination to be not very wealthy, owning in fact hardly anything beyond the proceeds of his iniquitous deeds.^a For he stood beside the governors 131 when they were giving judgement, and took the minutes of the cases which he introduced in virtue of this position. He would then expunge some of the evidence or deliberately pass it over and sometimes insert statements which had not been made, sometimes, too, tamper with the documents by remodelling and rearranging them and turning them upside-down, while he picked up money at every syllable, or rather at every jot and tittle, like the paper-porer that he was. Frequently the whole 132 people, truly and appropriately, denounced him as a pen-murderer, whose writings had done multitudes to death and made more miserable than the dead multitudes of the living, who, when they might have won their case and enjoyed abundance, had suffered a defeat and poverty utterly undeserved, both purchased by their enemies from this cheapjack and vendor of other people's property. For it was im- 133 possible that the governors who had the management of so large a territory should keep in mind the perpetual flood of new cases private and public, particularly as they not only acted as judges but received the calculations of revenues and tributes, the scrutiny of which took up the greater part of the year. But 134 Lampo, who was commissioned to guard the most

^a Philo means that his attempt to avoid the office was discreditable on either supposition. Either he was rich and mean or if he was not rich he had pretended to be rich.

ἀναγκαιοτάτην παρακαταθήκην, τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁσιωτάτας γνώμας, ἐνεπορεύετο τὴν λήθην τῶν δικαστῶν, τοὺς μὲν νικᾶν ὀφείλοντας γράφων ἐν ἡττημένοις, τοὺς δ' ἡττᾶσθαι μετὰ τὸν ἐπάρατον μισθὸν ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν τὸ μίσθωμα ἐν νενικηκόσιν.

[537]

135

XVII. | Ὁ μὲν δὴ Λάμπων τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐφειστήκει κατήγορος, ὁ δ' Ἰσίδωρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἄνθρωπος ὀχλικός, δημοκόπος, ταραττειν καὶ συγγέειν πράγματα μεμελετηκώς, ἐχθρὸς εἰρήνῃ καὶ εὐσταθείᾳ, στάσεις καὶ θορύβους κατασκευάσαι μὲν οὐκ ὄντας, γενομένους δὲ συγκροτῆσαι καὶ συναυξῆσαι δεινός, ὄχλον ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον ἐκ μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἡρμοσμένον περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐσπουδακώς, ὃς εἰς μοίρας καθάπερ τινὰς συμμορίας διανενέμηται.

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θίασοι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ πολυάνθρωποι, ὧν κατάρχει τῆς κοινωνίας οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀλλ' ἄκρατος καὶ μέθη καὶ παροινίαι καὶ ἡ τούτων ἔκγονος ὕβρις· σύνοδοι καὶ κλῖναι προσονομάζονται ὑπὸ τῶν

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ἐγχωρίων. ἐν ᾗπασι τοῖς θιάσοις ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις ὁ Ἰσίδωρος τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται καὶ λέγεται ὁ συμποσίαρχος,¹ ὁ κλινάρχης, ὁ ταραξίπολις. εἴτα ὅταν τι βουλευθῇ διαπράξασθαι τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν, ἀφ' ἑνὸς συνθήματος ἀθρόως συνέρχονται καὶ τὸ

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κελευσθὲν λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσι. καὶ ποτε τῷ Φλάκκῳ δυσχεράνας, ὅτι δόξας παρ' αὐτῷ τις εἶναι κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως αὐθις ἐσπουδάζετο, μισθοδοτήσας τοὺς ἀλειφοβίους καὶ φωνασκεῖν

¹ MSS. ποσίαρχος.

FLACCUS, 134-138

vital trust, justice and the verdicts based with all sanctity on justice, traded on the short memory of the judges and recorded defeat for those who should have had victory and for those who should have been defeated a victory in return for the accursed fee, better described as hire, which he received.

XVII. Such was the Lampo who appeared against 135 Flaccus as an accuser. And with him was Isidorus nothing behind him in villainy, a mob courter, popularity hunter, practised in producing disturbance and confusion, a foe to peace and tranquillity, an adept at creating factions and tumults where they do not exist and organizing and fostering them when made, ever at pains to keep in contact with him an irregular and unstable horde of promiscuous, ill-assorted people, divided up into sections, or what might be called syndicates.

In the city there are clubs 136 with a large membership, whose fellowship is founded on no sound principle but on strong liquor and drunkenness and sottish carousing and their offspring, wantonness. "Synods" and "divans"^a are the particular names given to them by the people of the country. In all or most of the 137 clubs Isidorus held the first place and was called the feast ruler or divan master and state embroiderer. Then when he wished to get some worthless project carried out, a single call brought them together in a body and they said and did what they were bidden. And at one time being annoyed with Flaccus, because, 138 whereas at first he seemed to be regarded by him as a person of some importance, he afterwards found himself no longer in the same favour, he hired the

^a As to whether this term implies a religious association or merely one for banqueting, see App. p. 536.

- εἰωθότας, οἱ τὰς καταβολήσεις ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς
 πιπράσκουσι τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠνητικῶς, παρακελεύει
 139 συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες
 αὐτὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως κατη-
 γόρουν, ἀγέννητα πλάττοντες ἐγκλήματα καὶ ψευδεῖς
 ῥήσεις δι' ἀναπαίστων καὶ μακρὰς συνείροντες, ὡς
 καταπεπλήχθαι μὴ μόνον Φλάκκον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ καί, ὅπερ ἦν, συμβαλεῖν,
 ὅτι πάντως ἐστὶ τις ᾧ χαρίζονται, μήτ' αὐτοὶ τι
 πεπονθότες ἀνήκεστον μήτε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν εὖ
 140 εἰδότες πλημμεληθεῖσαν. ἔπειτα βουλευομένοις
 ἔδοξε συλλαβεῖν τινὰς καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀκρίτου
 καὶ αἰφνιδίουμανίας καὶ λύττης πυθάνεσθαι. οἱ
 δὲ συλληφθέντες ἄνευ βασάνων ὁμολογοῦσι τὰληθές,
 ἅμα καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν ἔργων πίστει ἐφαρμόζοντες,
 τὸν διομολογηθέντα μισθόν, τὸν ἤδη δεδομένον,
 τὸν καθ' ὑποσχέσεις ὕστερον δοθησόμενον, τοὺς
 ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν αἰρεθέντας ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνας τῆς
 στάσεως, τὸν τόπον, τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ἡ
 141 δωροδοκία. πάντων δ', ὡς εἰκός, ἀγανακτούντων
 καὶ τῆς πόλεως χαλεπῶς φερούσης ἐπὶ τῷ
 τὴν ἐνίων ἀγνωμοσύνην προσαναμάττεσθαι τοῦνομι'
 αὐτῆς, ἔδοξε τὸ καθαρώτατον τοῦ δήμου μετα-
 πεμφαμένῳ¹ τῇ ὕστεραία παραγαγεῖν τοὺς τὸν

¹ MSS. μεταπεμφόμενον.

^a Or "touts" (Box). See App. p. 537.

^b The word φωνασκεῖν, which properly means "exercising" (rather than as L. & S. "training") the voice, does not seem to carry in itself any unfavourable sense. It is applied by Demosthenes to Aeschines in several places (e.g. *De Cor.* 308 and *De Fal. Leg.* 336), but that Aeschines had a fine voice is recognized. Cf. also Plato, *Legg.* 665 F.

^c Or possibly literally "in anapaests." See App. p. 537.

beggarly lot^a who regularly served him as vocalists,^b
 the people who sell their yells as in a market to
 willing purchasers, and ordered them to come to the
 gymnasium. They filled the building and launched 139
 accusations against Flaccus with no foundation, in-
 venting against him things which had never happened
 and spinning long lying screeds of ribald doggerel,^c so
 that not only Flaccus but everyone else was utterly
 astonished at so unexpected an onset and conjectured,
 as indeed was the case, that there was surely some-
 one whom they wanted to gratify and that they
 had never themselves suffered any injury past mend-
 ing nor had real knowledge of any offence^d committed
 against the rest of the State. Then on deliberation 140
 the authorities decided to arrest some and ascertain
 the cause of so reckless and sudden an outburst of
 insanity. The persons arrested without being put
 to the question confessed the truth and also added
 the proofs supplied by the facts, the payment agreed
 upon, both what had already been given and what
 was to be given afterwards according to the promises;
 the persons chosen as ringleaders of the agitation to
 distribute the money, the place and occasion where
 and when the act of bribery had taken place. And 141
 as everyone was naturally indignant and the city felt
 annoyed that the senselessness of some persons
 should also set its stamp^e upon her name, he decided
 to summon the most highly respectable part of the
 public on the morrow and set the dispensers of the

^a Or perhaps "knew well that no offence," etc., though in that case the second *μήτε* is wrongly used.

^e The subject of the infinitive is probably *τοῦνομ'*, not *ἀγνωμοσύνην*, but see App. p. 538. The point of *προσ-* is perhaps that the loss of reputation was an addition to the actual inconvenience caused by the uproar.

μισθὸν ἐπινείμαντας, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ἀπελέγξῃ καὶ ἀπολογήσῃται περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ὡς ἀδίκως διαβληθεῖς. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ [538] τῆς παραγγελίας | οὐχ οἱ ἐν τέλει μόνον ἦκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ σύμπασα πόλις, ἔξω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπ- 142 ελέγχεσθαι μέρους ἐπὶ τῷ μεμισθοδοτησθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρετήσαντες τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ὑπηρεσίαν ἀναβιβασθέντες, ἵνα μετέωροι καὶ ἐμφανεῖς εἶεν καὶ γνωρίζοντο πρὸς ἀπάντων, ἤλεγχον τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ὡς αἴτιον τῶν θορύβων καὶ τῶν βλασφημιῶν τῶν εἰς Φλάκκον γενομένων, οὐκ ὀλίγῳ πλήθει παρασχόντα καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ οἶνον δι' 143 αὐτόν.¹ “ἐπεὶ πόθεν” ἔφασκον “ἡμῖν ἀφθονία τοσαύτη; πένητές ἐσμεν καὶ μόλις τοῦφήμερον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πορίζειν δυνάμεθα. τί δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐπεπόνθειμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὡς βιασθῆναι μνησικακεῖν; ἀλλ’ ὁ πάντων αἴτιος καὶ δημιουργὸς ἐκεῖνος, αἰεὶ τοῖς εἰς πρᾶττονσι βασκαί- 144 ων καὶ εὐνόμῳ καταστάσει πολέμιος.” ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες—τύποι γάρ τινες ἦσαν ἀρίδηλοι καὶ χαρακτῆρες τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τοῦ κατηγορουμένου προαιρέσεως—ἀνεβίων, οἱ μὲν ἀτιμοῦν, οἱ δὲ φυγαδεύειν, οἱ δ’ αἶρειν· πλείους δ’ ἦσαν οὗτοι· πρὸς οὓς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μετεβάλλοντο, ὡς ἅπαντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ κεκραγένοι, κτείνειν τὸν κοινὸν λυμεῶνα, τὸν ἀφ’ οὗ παρήλθε

¹ So three mss. of the four. But the sense “on account of him,” *i.e.* Flaccus, is very poor, and I have translated the reading of S δι’ αὐτῶν. A possible alternative would be παρασχόντες (αὐτόν = Isidorus).

^a Something like this must be the meaning of διακύπτω

payment before them so that he might both expose Isidorus and defend his own administration against the aspersions unjustly cast upon him. But on hearing the summons there came not only persons in high position but the whole city except that part whose acceptance of payment was to be exposed. And those who had served in this glorious capacity, being set on a platform so that in this conspicuous elevation they might be recognized by all, gave proof that Isidorus was responsible for the tumults and slanders against Flaccus and had employed them to supply both money and wine to no small number of people. "Whence," they asked, "could we have had all this money to squander? We are poor people scarcely able to provide the daily wage needed to purchase absolute necessities. What terrible grievance had we suffered from the governor that we should be compelled to cherish a grudge against him? No! The author and creator of all these things is that Isidorus ever envious of the prosperous and the foe of law-abiding tranquillity." The audience, recognizing the truth of this, since the statement clearly represented and indicated the motives and intention of the accused, shouted out some for disfranchisement, some for banishment, some for death. These last were the majority and the rest came over and joined them so that they all cried out with one heart and voice, "Slay the ruiner of all alike, who ever since he came to the front and wormed his way^a into state

here and it is a fairly natural development from the original meaning of "stoop through." But there is little authority for such a development, at any rate in Philo. He uses the word at least fourteen times, but never except here in any other sense than to look or peer into, suggesting minute examination.

- καὶ διέκυψεν ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά, μηδὲν μέρος τῆς πόλεως
 145 ἄνοσον ἔασαντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἕνεκα τοῦ συνειδότος
 ἀπεδίδρασκε σύλληψιν εὐλαβηθείς· ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος
 οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιειργάζετο, νομίσας ἐκποδῶν
 ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ γεγονότος ἀστασίαστα καὶ ἀνερί-
 θευτα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι.
- 146 XVIII. Ταῦτ' ἐμήκυνα, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παλαιῶν
 ἀπομνημονεύειν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλὰ τεθραυμακῶς τὴν
 ἔφορον τῶν ἀνθρωπείων δίκην, ὅτι οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 γενόμενοι δυσμενεῖς αὐτῷ καὶ οἷς ἐκ πάντων ἀπηχ-
 θάνετο καὶ ἐκκληρώσαντο τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατηγορίαν
 εἰς ἀνίας ὑπερβολήν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸν τὸ
 ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὡς τὸ πρὸς ὁμολογουμένων ἐχθρῶν.
- 147 ὁ δ' οὐ κατηγορήθη μόνον, ἀρχῶν πρὸς ὑπηκόων
 καὶ ὑπὸ δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ γενομένων ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ
 κύριος ὢν τῆς ἐκατέρου ζωῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος
 ἡλίσκετο, διπλοῦν ἐκδεχόμενος κακόν, τὸ μεθ'
 ἡττης γελαῖσθαι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐφηδομένων, ὃ καὶ
 θανάτου χειρόν ἐστι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν.
- 148 εἰτά τις εὐφορία γίνεται κακοπραγιῶν αὐτῷ· τῆς
 τε γὰρ οὐσίας ἀπάσης εὐθὺς ἐξίσταται, ἣν τε παρὰ
 γονέων ἐκληρονόμησε καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο,
 φιλόκοσμος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγονώς. οὐ γὰρ ὡς
 [539] | ἐνίων πολυχρημάτων ὁ πλοῦτος ἀργὸς ἦν ὕλη,
 πάντα δ' ἐξητασμένα πρὸς τὸ περιέργον, ἐκπώματα,
 ἐσθῆτες, στρωμαί, ἔπιπλα, τᾶλλα ὅσα οἰκίας κό-
 149 σμος, ἔκλογα πάντα· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ οἰκετικὴ
 θεραπεία, ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν
 σωμάτων εὐμορφίας ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐεξίας καὶ κατὰ
 τὸ ἄπταιστον ἐν τῷ χρειώδει τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν· ἐφ'

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affairs, has let no part of the city remain untainted." Fearing arrest, Isidorus fled conscious-stricken, but 145 Flaccus took no trouble about him, thinking that, since he was out of the way by his own freewill, the life of the city could now go on undisturbed by faction and intrigue.

XVIII. I have described these events at length, 146 not in order to recall long-past iniquities but to extol the justice which watches over human affairs, because, to those who had been hostile to him from the first and of all his foes the most bitter it also fell to conduct his arraignment and so magnify his afflictions to the uttermost. For arraignment is not by itself so grievous as when it is brought by admitted foes. Not only was he accused, a ruler by his subjects, a 147 potentate who but now had the life of both in his hands by inveterate enemies, but he was also condemned, suffering thereby a mighty twofold blow in that his fall was coupled with the laughter of gloat-ing enemies, which to men of good sense is worse even than death.

Then there came to 148 him a rich harvest of misfortunes. He was at once deprived of all his property, both what he inherited from his parents and what he acquired himself. For his taste for things ornamental was quite exceptional. Wealth was not with him as it is with some rich men inert matter, but everything had been carefully selected for its elaborate workmanship, his cups, clothes, coverlets, utensils and all the other ornaments of the house, all were of the choicest : besides these 149 the staff of household slaves had been picked as the best for comeliness of form and fine condition and the faultless way in which they ministered to the needs of their master. For whatever tasks they were

- ὧν γὰρ ἦσαν ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι, διέφερον, ὥς ἢ
 πρῶτοι νομίζεσθαι τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδευόντων ἢ
 150 μηδενὸς δεῦτεροι τὸ παράπαν. ἐναργῆς δὲ πίστις
 τὸ μυρίων δημοπράτων γενομένων οὐσιῶν, αἱ τῶν
 κατακρίτων ἦσαν, μόνην τὴν τοῦ Φλάκκου ταμιευ-
 θῆναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, δίχα τινῶν ὀλίγων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μὴ παραβιβασθῆναι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἐαλωκόσι
 151 τεθέντα νόμον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς οὐσίας
 κατέγνωστο αὐτοῦ φυγή, καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης μὲν ἡλαύ-
 νετο τῆς ἡπείρου—τὸ δ' ἐστὶ μείζον καὶ ἄμεινον
 τμήμα τῆς οἰκουμένης—, ἐξ ἀπάσης δὲ νήσου τῶν
 εὐδαιμόνων. ἐμέλλησε γὰρ εἰς τὴν λυπροτάτην
 τῶν ἐν Αἰγαίῳ—Γύαρα καλεῖται—διώκεσθαι, μὴ
 παρακλήτῳ χρησάμενος Λεπίδῳ, δι' ὃν ἀνθυπηλ-
 152 λάξατο Γυάρων Ἄνδρον ἐγγυτάτῳ κειμένην. εἴτ'
 ἐστέλλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου πάλιν
 ὁδόν, ἣν καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν ἐστείλατο, καθ' ὃν
 καιρὸν κεχειροτόνητο τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς ὁμόρου
 Λιβύης ἐπίτροπος, ἵν' αἱ τότε θεασάμεναι πόλεις
 αὐτὸν μέγα πνέοντα καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς εὐτυχίας
 ἐπιδεικνύμενον πάλιν θεάσωνται μεστὸν ἀτιμίας.
 153 ὁ δὲ δακτυλοδεικτούμενος καὶ ὀνειδιζόμενος τῆς
 ἀθρόας μεταβολῆς πιέζεται βαρυτέrais ἀνίαις, αἰ
 καινουμένης¹ καὶ ζωπυρουμένης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς
 νεωτέρων <κακῶν> προσθήκαις, ἃ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς

¹ MSS. κινουμένης.

^a For Gyara or Gyaros as the proverbial place for “deportatio” see Mayor’s note on *Juv.* i. 73 “aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum.”

^b Or perhaps “and reproached for the complete (or overwhelming) change.” My only objections to this are that I do not know what authority there is for this genitive after *ὀνειδίζω*, and the “complete change” is hardly a matter for

severally appointed to do they excelled in, so that they were held to stand either first among those who performed the same functions or certainly second to none. A clear proof of this is that while a vast number of 150 properties belonging to condemned persons were sold by public auction, that of Flaccus alone was reserved for the emperor, a few articles only being excepted so as not to run counter to the law enacted about persons convicted on these grounds. And when his 151 property had been taken from him he was sentenced to banishment and expelled not only from the whole continent, which is the larger and better section of the habitable world, but also from every one of the islands in which life can prosper. For he was to be exiled to the most miserable of the Aegean islands, called Gyara,^a had he not found an intercessor in Lepidus who enabled him to exchange Gyara for Andros, the island which lies nearest to it. He then again 152 travelled along the road from Rome to Brundisium which he had travelled a few years before at the time when he had been appointed a governor of Egypt and its neighbour Libya, so that the cities which then beheld him puffed with pride, parading the grandeur of his good fortune, might once more behold him covered with dishonour instead. As fingers pointed 153 at him and reproaches poured upon him he was oppressed by the heavier afflictions caused by the change which had overwhelmed him,^b for his misery was ever being renewed and rekindled by the accession of fresh troubles which also forcibly brought back, reproaches, which I should suppose were pointed against real or supposed misdeeds. If the translation is right the meaning is that the finger-pointing and reproaches affected him comparatively little, because the sense of ruin occupied his mind.

νόσοις ὑποτροπιάζειν ἀναγκάζει¹ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων κακοπραγιῶν ὑπομνήσεις, αἱ τέως ἔδοξαν ἡμαυρῶσθαι.

- 154 XIX. Περαιωσάμενος δὲ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον ἔπλει τὴν ἄχρι Κορίνθου θάλατταν, ταῖς παράλοις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων θεὰ γινόμενος κατὰ πύστιν τῆς αἰφνιδίου μεταβολῆς· ὅποτε γὰρ ἀποβαίῃ τῆς νεώς, συνέθεον οἱ μὲν μοχθηροὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐθελοκακοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συναλγῆσοντες, οἷς
155 ἔθος ταῖς ἐτέρων τύχαις σωφρονίζεσθαι. διελθὼν δ' ἀπὸ Λεχαίου τὸν Ἰσθμόν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέραν θάλατταν καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Κεγχρεάς, τὸ Κορίνθιον ἐπίνειον, ἀναγκάζεται πρὸς τῶν φυλάκων ἀναχώρησιν οὐδ' ἡντιναοῦν ἐνδιδόντων εὐθὺς ἐπιβὰς
[540] βραχείας ὀλκάδος | ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ πνεύματος ἐναντίου καταρραγέντος μυρία τάλαιπωρηθεὶς μόλις
156 ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατασύρεται. λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, παραμειψάμενος τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄχρι τῆς Σουνιάδος ἄκρας τὰς ἐξῆς λοιπὸν ἐπεραιουῖτο νήσους, τὴν Ἑλένην, τὴν Κίαν, τὴν Κύθον, τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι κεῖνται στοιχηδὸν ἐξῆς μέχρι τῆς ἐφ' ἣν τελευταίαν ἐλθεῖν ἔδει, τὴν Ἀνδρίων.
157 ἣν πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν ὁ κακοδαίμων δακρύων τινὰ

¹ Mangey suggested ὑποτροπιαζούσαις ἀνάγει which Box has adopted. See note a.

^a Literally "which force the recollections to recur." The whole sentence is rather vague and wordy, but I see little or no difficulty in the text, whereas Mangey's would give a difficult order in ἐν ταῖς νόσοις ὑποτροπ. for ἐν ταῖς ὕ. ν. ὑποτροπιάζω is a medical term which can be applied to the
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like symptoms recurring in sickness, recollections of past mishaps which seemed for a while to have been dulled.^a

XIX. Having passed through the Ionian Gulf he sailed upon the sea which extends to Corinth, a spectacle to the Peloponnesian cities on the seaboard when they heard of his sudden change of fortune. For whenever he disembarked the people flocked thither, the baser natures out of malice, the rest, whose way is to find lessons of wisdom in the fate of others, to sympathize. And crossing the Isthmus from Lechaëum to the opposite coast and coming down to Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, he was forced by his guards, who refused him any kind of intermission, to embark at once on a small merchant vessel and put to sea, where under the violence of a contrary wind he suffered a thousand discomforts and only with difficulty arrived storm-tossed^b at the Peiraeus. When the tempest ceased he coasted along Attica to Cape Sunium and then continued his journey along the series of islands, namely Helene, Cia, Cythnus and the rest, which lie in a row one after the other, to that which was to be the end of his journey, the island of the Andrians.

When he saw it afar off the miserable man let a stream of tears pour

disease which recurs as in § 182, to the things (*i.e.* symptoms) which recur in diseases as here, and to the patient who relapses into his old disease (*ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὑποτροπιάσας νόσον*) as in *De Mig.* 150. The only slight difficulty is that *καί*, which brings out that new misfortunes remind us of the old, besides the actual misery which they give, should come before *ὑποτροπ. ἀναγκ.* instead of after it. But I do not think that Philo is very particular where he places his *καί*.

^b Lit. "kept being swept down," a phrase which would naturally suggest a rapid passage, the reverse of *μόλις*. Here "was swept about till he reached Peiraeus."

φορὰν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἐξέχει κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν
καὶ τὰ στέρνα πλήξας, πικρότατα ἀνοιμώξας,
“ ἄνδρες,” εἶπεν, “ οἱ φύλακές μου καὶ προπομποί,
καλὴν γε χώραν Ἄνδρον, οὐκ εὐτυχῇ νῆσον, τῆς
158 εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας ἀνθυπαλλάττομαι, Φλάκκος, ὁ
γεννηθεὶς μὲν καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐν τῇ
ἡγεμονίδι Ῥώμῃ, συμφοιτητῆς δὲ καὶ συμβιωτῆς
γενόμενος τῶν θυγατριδῶν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κριθεὶς
δὲ τῶν πρώτων φίλων παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι καὶ
τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῦ τῶν κτημάτων, Αἴγυπτον, ἐπὶ
159 ἑξαετιᾶν ἐπιτραπείς. τίς ἢ τοσαύτη μεταβολή;
νῦξ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καθάπερ ἐκλείψεως γενομένης, τὸν
ἐμὸν ἐπέσχηκε βίον. τὴν νησίδα ταύτην τί φῶ;
πότερον φυγαδευτήριον ἐμὸν ἢ πατρίδα καινὴν,¹
ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταφυγὴν ἀτυχῇ; τάφος ἂν εἴη
τὸ κυριώτατον αὐτῆς ὄνομα. στέλλομαι γὰρ ὁ
κακοδαίμων ἐγὼ τρόπον τινὰ νεκροφορῶν ἐμμαντὸν
ὥσπερ εἰς ἡρίον· ἢ γὰρ ταῖς ἀνίαις τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν
ἀπορρήξω ἢ, καὶ ἐπιβιώναι δυνηθῶ, τὸν μακρὸν
160 καὶ σὺν αἰσθήσει θάνατον ἐκδέξομαι.” καὶ ὁ μὲν
τοιαῦτα ἀπωδύρετο. τῆς δὲ νεὼς τῷ λιμένι προσ-
σχούσης, ἀπέβαινε πᾶς εἰς τοῦδαφος νεύων, ὥσπερ
οἱ θλιβόμενοι πρὸς ἄχθους βαρυτάτου, τὸν αὐχένα
ταῖς συμφοραῖς πιεζόμενος, οὐδ’ ὅσον ἀνακύναι
σθένων ἢ μὴ τολμῶν διὰ τοὺς συναντῶντας καὶ
τοὺς ἐπὶ θέαν ἤκοντας, οἱ παρ’ ἐκάτερα τῆς ὁδοῦ

¹ MSS. κενήν.

^a “Sons of daughters,” i.e. the sons of Julia by her second husband M. Agrippa. These were C. Caesar, L. Caesar and Agrippa Postumus, all of whom died young. As the eldest would have been 58 at the time of Flaccus’s banishment,

down his cheeks as from a fountain and smiting his breast with bitter wailing cried "Oh my guards and escort, it is for this fine land of Andros, this unblest island that I exchange happy Italy, I, Flaccus, 158 who was born and reared and educated in sovereign Rome, the school-mate and familiar associate of the grandsons^a of Augustus, chosen at the court of Tiberius to be among his foremost friends, entrusted for six years with the charge of Egypt the greatest of his possessions? This great reversal what does it 159 mean? A night in daytime as in an eclipse has taken possession of my life. This petty island what shall I call it? My home of exile,^b or a new fatherland, a hapless haven and refuge? A tomb would be its truest name, for as I journey in my misery it is as though I were bearing the corpse that is myself to a sepulchre. For either through my afflictions I shall break the thread of my miserable life, or even, if I am able to survive die a long drawn-out death in which consciousness still lives." In such wise did 160 he lament and when the ship put in at the haven he got out with his whole body bowing down to the ground, as people do under the pressure of an exceedingly heavy load, his neck over-weighted with his misfortunes, lacking either the strength even to lift his head, or else the courage to face those who met him and came to gaze at him as they stood in

and the youngest 50, we get a hint of Flaccus's age which is not, I think, found elsewhere.

^b So perhaps rather than "city of refuge," and so avoid the tautology with *καταφυγήν*. Elsewhere Philo uses the word only in reproducing the LXX of Num. xxxv. 12, etc., for the "Cities of Refuge." But in dealing with *φυγή* he passes very easily from refuge to banishment, and the Cities themselves are regarded as places of exile in *De Fug.* 100 f.

- 161 προεισηγήκεσαν. οἱ δὲ παραπέμψαντες
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀγαγόντες τῶν Ἀνδρίων
ἐπεδείξαντο πᾶσι, μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι τῆς εἰς τὴν
162 νῆσον ἀφίξεως τοῦ φυγάδος. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν
διακονίαν ἐκπλήσαντες ἀπήεσαν· τῷ δὲ Φλάκκῳ
μηδεμίαν ὄψιν οἰκείαν ἔτι θεωμένῳ τὸ πάθος
ἐκαινοῦτο τρανότερον φαντασίαις ἐναργεστέραις·
καὶ τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ κατανοοῦντι πολλὴν ἐρημίαν, ἥς
μέσος ἀπείληπτο, κουφότερον ἐδόκει κακὸν ἢ ἐν
τῇ πατρίδι βίαιος ἀναίρεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ συγκρίσει
[541] τῶν παρόντων ἀσπαστὸν ἀγαθόν. | οὕτως ἐσφάδα-
ζεν, ὥς μηδὲν τῶν μεμνηνόντων διαφέρειν· ἐπήδα
πολλάκις ἄνω κάτω διαθέων, τὰς χεῖρας συνεκρότει,
τοὺς μηροὺς ἔπαιε, κατέβαλεν εἰς τοῦδαφος ἑαυτόν,
163 ἐξεφώνει πολλάκις· “ ἐγὼ Φλάκκος εἰμὶ, ὁ πρὸ
μικροῦ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ἢ πολυπόλεως Ἀλεξ-
ανδρείας ἡγεμὼν, ὁ τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης χώρας
ἐπίτροπος Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ὃν ἐπέστρεφον αἱ τοσαῦται
μυριάδες τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὁ δυνάμεις πολλὰς πεζὰς
καὶ ἱππικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως ἀλλ’
ὅσον δοκιμώτατον ἐν ὑπηκόοις ἔχων, ὁ καθ’ ἐκά-
στην ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις ὑπὸ μυρίων ὄσων
164 παραπεμπόμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴ φάσμα ταῦτ’ ἦν, οὐκ
ἀλήθεια; καὶ κοιμώμενος ὄναρ εἶδον τὴν τότε
εὐθυμίαν, εἶδωλα κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνοντα, πλάσματα
ψυχῆς ἴσως ἀναγραφούσης τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα ὥς
165 ὄντα; διηπάτημαι· σκιὰ πραγμάτων ἄρ’ ἦσαν, οὐ
πράγματα, μίμησις ἐναργείας, οὐκ ἐνάργεια τρα-

^a Or “so violent was his emotion.” That is to say σφά-
δάζειν in Philo nearly always suggests strong mental emotion,
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FLACCUS, 161-165

front on either side of the road. His 161
 escort brought him to the popular assembly of the
 Andrians and exhibited him to them all, calling them
 to witness to the arrival of the exile at the island.
 Then having fulfilled their service they departed, 162
 but Flaccus having no longer before his eyes any
 familiar face felt his sufferings renewed thereby more
 poignantly as his imaginations grew more vivid. And
 gazing at the wide desolation around him, in the
 midst of which he was isolated, it seemed to him
 that a death by violence in his native land would
 be the lighter evil, or rather in comparison with his
 present plight a welcome boon. His wild gesticu-
 lations^a were just like those of a madman. He
 would often jump about, run up and down, clash his
 hands together, smite his thighs, fling himself on
 the ground and often cry out, "I am Flaccus, who 163
 but now was governor of Alexandria, that great city,
 or multitude of cities, ruler of the highly blest land
 of Egypt, to whom so many thousands of inhabitants
 paid regard, who had among his subjects great forces
 of infantry, cavalry, naval, not a mere lot of counters
 but all men of the best-proved excellence, who every
 day when I proceeded forth went escorted by a host
 of followers. But was this then a phantom, not the 164
 truth? Was I asleep and dreamt the light-hearted-
 ness of those days, saw but spectres moving in a void,
 figments of a soul which recorded as we may suppose
 things which had no existence as though they were?
 Yes, I have been deluded. They were the shadow 165
 of realities, not the realities themselves, a counterfeit
 of clear vision, not the clear vision which exposes the
 but does not necessarily imply that the violence has any special
 outward expression. See further App. p. 538.

νουςα τὸ ψεύδος. ὥς γὰρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀνείροις φανέντων οὐδὲν περιαναστάντες εὐρίσκομεν, ἀλλ' οἴχεται πάντα ἄθροα διαπτάντα, οὕτως καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐκεῖνα, οἷς ποτε ἐνωμίλησα, ἐσβέσθη βραχυτάτῃ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ."

- 166 XX. Τοιούτοις αἰεὶ κατεπαλαίετο λογισμοῖς καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐξετραχλίζετο· τὰς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν συνόδους ἀποδιδράσκων διὰ τὴν παρακολουθοῦσαν αἰσχύνην οὐτ' εἰς λιμένα κατῆει οὐτ' εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' οἴκοι συγκλεισάμενος ἐφώλευε, μηδὲ τὴν αὐλειον ὑπερβαίνειν θαρρῶν.
- 167 ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ περὶ βαθὺν ὄρθρον, ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν εὐναῖς ὄντων, μηδενὶ φανείς τὸ παράπαν ἔξω τείχους προΐει καὶ διημέρευεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας, ἐκτρεπόμενος. εἴ πού τις ὑπαντήσῃεν ἔμελλε, καὶ ταῖς ἐναύλοις μνήμαις τῶν κακοπραγιῶν διακναιόμενος καὶ διεσθιόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁ δειλαιοῦς, νυκτὸς εἰσῆει βαθείας, εὐχόμενος διὰ τὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους ἀδημονίας ἐσπέραν μὲν πρῶταν γενέσθαι, πεφρικὼς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὰς ἀλλοκότους φαντασίας, ὅποτε τύχοι καταδαρθῶν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἔω πάλιν ἐσπέραν· ὁ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ζόφος ἦναν-
- 168 τιούτο τοῖς παιδροῖς ἅπασιν. ὀλίγοις δ' ὕστερον μῆσι βραχὺ τι γῆδιον πριάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διέτριβε μονούμενος καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπι-

^a So perhaps simply, though the examples of ῥοπῇ = "moment" without qualification are principally from the LXX. Otherwise more exactly "by a momentary change in what time brings," i.e. in fortune. Cf. *καιρῶν ὀξείαις μεταβολαῖς De Post.* 113.

falsehood to the light. For just as when we wake up we find nothing of what we saw in our dreams, but all are gone and have taken flight together, so, too, that brightness which surrounded my life has been quenched in one short moment of time.”^a

XX. Such were the thoughts which held him ever 166 firmly in their grip and so to speak flung him prostrate to the ground. He shunned meeting with people in large numbers because of the sense of shame which accompanied him. He did not go down to the harbour nor bring himself to enter the market but shut himself at home and there lay hidden not having even the courage to pass the threshold. Sometimes, 167 too, in the dark hours of the morning when everyone else was still in bed he would come out without a soul seeing him and advance outside the wall and spend the day in the solitude, turning aside if anyone was about to meet him, his soul lacerated, poor wretch, and devoured by the vivid memories of his calamities. Then when the night had quite closed in he would go indoors, praying in his endless and boundless sorrow that the evening might be morning, so much did he dread the darkness and the weird visions which it gave him, if he chanced to fall asleep. So in the morning again he prayed for evening, for to the gloom that surrounded him everything bright was repugnant.^b A few months later he 168 bought a small piece of ground and spent much of his time there in solitude, bewailing with tears and

^b Clearly a reminiscence of the curse in Deut. xxviii. 67 “In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning!” See note on *De Praem.* 151, where as here Philo takes the words which follow “for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see” to refer to the awful dreams seen by the accursed.

PHILO

- 169 στένων καὶ κατακλαίων δαίμονα. λέγεται δέ ποτε
 [542] καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὥσπερ οἱ | κορυβαντιῶντες
 ἔθνους γενόμενος, ἐκ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἔξω προελθὼν
 καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀσ-
 τέρας, τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ κόσμον ὄντως ἰδὼν, ἀναβοή-
 170 σαι· “ βασιλεῦ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἄρα τοῦ
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀμελῶς ἔχεις, οὐδ’ ἐπιψεύ-
 δονται τὴν ἐκ σοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι φασὶν αὐτοὺς
 μὴ προαγωνιστῇ σοι καὶ ὑπερμάχῳ χρῆσθαι, δόξης
 ὑγιοῦς διαμαρτάνουσι. σαφὴς δ’ ἐγὼ πίστις· ὅσα
 171 γὰρ κατεμάνην τῶν Ἰουδαίων, αὐτὸς πέπονθα. τὰς
 οὐσίας ἀρπαζομένων περιεῖδον ἐκεχειρίαν τοῖς λεη-
 λατοῦσι διδούς· ἀφηρέθην διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πατρῶα καὶ
 μητρῶα καὶ ὅσα ἐν μέρει χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς
 ἔλαβον ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα καθ’ ἐτέρας ιδέας ἐκτησάμην.
 172 ὠνείδισά ποτε ἀτιμίαν καὶ ξενιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτί-
 μοις οὖσι κατοίκοις, ἵν’ ἡσθῶσιν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι,
 πλῆθος ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον, ὃν οὐ κολα-
 κευόμενος ὁ δυστυχῆς ἡπατώμην· διὰ τοῦτο ἡτί-
 μωμαι καὶ φυγὰς ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐληλαμένος τῆς
 173 οἰκουμένης ἐνταυθοῖ συγκέκλεισμαι. παράγων εἰς
 τὸ θέατρον ἐνίους ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν ἐχθίστων αἰκίζεσθαι
 προσέταττον ἀδίκως· τοιγαροῦν ἐγὼ δικαίως οὐκ
 εἰς θέατρον ἐν ἣ μίαν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις
 ὕβρεσι παρήχθην αἰκισθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν
 ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ’ ἐπόμπευσα διὰ μὲν πάσης
 Ἰταλίας ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου, διὰ δὲ πάσης Πελο-
 ποννήσου μέχρι Κορίνθου, διὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ

“ Lit. “ his peculiar fate.” οἰκεῖον seems pleonastic, but expresses, perhaps, the feeling of one who asks “ Why should I in particular have this fate?” See however on *De Prov.* 8.

groans that such should be his fate.^a It is said that 169
 once about midnight he became possessed as in a
 Corybantic frenzy, and coming out of the shelter put
 up there turned his eyes to heaven and the stars,
 and beholding that veritable world within a world,^b
 lifted up his voice. "King of gods and men," he 170
 cried, "so then Thou dost not disregard the nation
 of the Jews, nor do they misreport Thy Providence,
 but all who say that they do not find in Thee a
 Champion and Defender, go astray from the true
 creed. I am a clear proof of this, for all the acts
 which I madly committed against the Jews I have
 suffered myself. I allowed them to be robbed 171
 of their possessions by giving free licence to the
 plunderers. For that I had taken from me my heri-
 tage from father and mother and all I received by
 way of benefactions and gifts and other possessions
 which do not fall under this head. I cast on them the 172
 slur that they were foreigners without civic rights,
 though they were inhabitants with full franchise,
 just to please their adversaries, a disorderly and
 unstable horde, whose flattery, to my sorrow, deceived
 me, and, therefore, I have lost my rights and have
 been driven in exile from all the habitable world
 to be shut up here. Some I marched into the theatre 173
 and ordered them to be maltreated before the eyes
 of their bitterest enemies unjustly, and, therefore,
 justly was I maltreated in my miserable soul rather
 than in my body, with the utmost contumely; I was not
 indeed marched into one theatre or one city but was
 paraded through all Italy to Brundisium and through
 all the Peloponnese to Corinth and past Attica and

^b The thought occurs also in *De Abr.* 159 and *De Praem.*
 41. Cf. *De Aet.* 4.

- 174 τῶν νήσων ἄχρις Ἀνδρου, τῆς ἐμῆς εἰρκτῆς. καὶ
πέπεισμαι σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅρος οὗτος τῶν
ἐμῶν κακοπραγιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἕτεραι πρὸς
ἐκπλήρωσιν ἀντίρροπον ὧν εἰργασάμην. ἀνεῖλόν
τινας καὶ ἀναιρεθεῖσι πρὸς ἐτέρων οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθον·
κατελεύσθησάν τινες καὶ ζῶντες οἱ μὲν ἐνεπρή-
σθησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μέσης κατεσύρησαν ἀγορᾶς, ἕως
175 ὅλα τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἔδαπανήθη. τούτων οἶδ'
ὅτι ἀναμένουσί με αἱ Ποιναί, καὶ οἱ ἀλάστορες
ὥσπερ ἐπὶ βαλβίσιν ἐστᾶσιν ἤδη καὶ φονῶντες
ἔγκεινται, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ
ῥᾶν, προαποθνήσκω πολλοὺς θανάτους ὑπομένων
176 ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τοῦ τελευταίου." πολλάκις δὲ ἔδει-
ματοῦτο καὶ διεπτόητο καὶ φρίκη μὲν τὰ μέλη καὶ
μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατεσεῖετο, φόβῳ δ' ὑπότρομον
εἶχε τὴν ψυχὴν ἄσθματι καὶ παλμῷ τινασσομένην,
ἅτε τοῦ μόνου παρηγορεῖν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐκ
φύσεως δυναμένου στερόμενος, χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος.
177 ὄρνις αἰσιος οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ προφαίνεται· πάντες
δυσσιώνιστοι, κληδόνες παλίμφημοι, ἐπίπονος ἐγ-
ρήγορσις, περιδεὴς ὕπνος, ἡ μόνωσις θηριώδης.
ἀλλ' ἥδιστον αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγελαῖον; ἀηδέστατον αἱ |
[543] κατὰ πόλιν διατριβαί· ἀσφαλὲς ὄνειδος ἢ κατ' ἀγρὸν
ἐρημία; σφαλερόν, ἀδυσώπητον. ὁ ἡρέμα προσίων
178 ὑποπτος· "βουλεύεται τι" φησὶ "κατ' ἐμοῦ· ὁ
θᾶπτον βαδίζων οὐ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι σπεύδων
ἔοικεν, ἀλλ' ἐμέ διώκει¹. ὁ ἡδὺς ἐνεδρεύει, ὁ παρ-
ρησιαστῆς καταφρονεῖ· σιτία μοι καὶ ποτὰ καθάπερ
179 τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἐπὶ σφαγὴν δίδονται. μέχρι τίνος ὁ

¹ This sentence is punctuated differently in other editions
ὁ ἡρέμα προσίων ὑποπτος. "βουλεύεται τι" φησι "κατ' ἐμοῦ ὁ
θᾶπτον βαδίζων· οὐ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι σπεύδων ἔοικε," κτλ.

FLACCUS, 174-178

the islands to Andros my prison. And I have a clear 174
conviction that this is not the limit of my misfortunes
but there are others in reserve to complete the sum
and counterbalance all that I did. I killed some and
when others killed them took no steps to punish the
murderers. Some were stoned, some while still alive
were burnt to death or dragged through the middle
of the market-place till nothing at all was left of
their bodies. That their avenging furies await me 175
I know full well. The ministers of punishment are
already as it were standing at the barriers and press
forward eager for my blood; every day or rather every
hour I die in anticipation and suffer many deaths
instead of the final one." He often became frightened 176
and scared and while the limbs and members of his
body shivered and shuddered, his soul shaken with
his pantings and palpitations quailed with dread.
For the one thing which is naturally capable of con-
soling human life, the comforter hope, he had lost.
No favourable omen was vouchsafed to him, only all 177
of evil omen, sinister sounds and voices, his waking
hours spent in weariness, his sleep full of terrors, his
solitude as the solitude of the beasts of the field.
Then was life in the crowd what he craved for most ?
No, staying in a city was most hateful of all. Did
his lone rural life, a slur though it was, bring safety ?
No, danger menacing with shameless insistence.
Someone approaches quietly, he suspects him :
" He is plotting something against me," he says. 178
" This one who comes walking fast surely has no
other purpose for his hurry than to pursue me. This
bland agreeable person is laying a snare. This frank
talker is showing his contempt. My food and drink
are given to me as to animals to keep them for the

σιδηροῦς πρὸς τοσαύτας ἀντέχω συμφοράς; οἶδ' ὅτι μαλακίζομαι πρὸς θάνατον, ἐξ ἐπηρείας δαίμονος οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντός μοι τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν συντόμως ἀπορρηῆσαι διὰ τινος ὑπερβολὰς ἀνηκέστων κακῶν, ἃ κατ' ἐμοῦ θησανυρίζομενος χαρίζεται τοῖς δολοφονηθείσι."

- 180 XXI. Τοιαῦτα ἀναπολῶν καὶ σφαδάζων ἐκαρά-
 δόκει τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὸ πέρασ· καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἰ
 συνεχεῖς ὀδύναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνεκύκων καὶ ἀν-
 ἔστρεφον. Γάιος δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὠμόθυμος ὢν καὶ
 ἀκόρεστος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι
 μεθίετο τοὺς ἅπαξ κολασθέντας, ἀλλ' ἀτελεύτητα
 μηνιῶν αἰεὶ τινα καινὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐμεγαλουργεῖ
 συμφορὰν· τὸν δὲ Φλάκκον καὶ διαφερόντως ἤχθαι-
 ρεν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ὁμωνύμους ἄλλοτριώσει τῆς
 181 κλήσεως ὑποβλέπεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὸν μετά-
 νοια εἰσῆει, διότι κατέγνω φυγὴν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ θάνα-
 τον, καὶ τὸν παράκλητον αἰδούμενος ὁμως ἡτιᾶτο
 Λέπιδον, ὥστ'¹ ἐκεῖνος ἀπηγόρευσε φόβῳ τῆς καθ'
 182 αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας· ἐδεδίει γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, μὴ παραί-
 τιος ἄλλῳ γενόμενος κουφοτέρας δίκης βαρυτέραν
 αὐτὸς ἐνδέξεται. μηδενὸς οὖν ἔτι τι τῶν εἰς
 παραίτησιν λέγειν θαρροῦντος, ἀμειλίκοις καὶ ἀφέ-
 τοις ἐχρήτο ταῖς ὀργαῖς, αἶ, χρόνῳ δέον ἀμαυροῦ-
 σθαι, παρεθῆγοντο μᾶλλον καθάπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς
 σώμασιν ὑποτροπιάζουσαι νόσοι· τῶν γὰρ προτέρων
 183 εἰσὶν ἀργαλεώτεροι. φασὶν οὖν, ὅτι νύκτωρ ποτὲ
 διαγρυπνῶν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε τῶν ἐν τέλει φυ-
 γάδων, ὀνόματι μὲν ὑποπτευομένων ἀτυχεῖν, βίον

¹ MSS. ὥς.

^a Or perhaps "desisted from pleading."

FLACCUS, 179-183

slaughter. How long shall I steel my heart against 179
all these misfortunes? Yet I know that I do not
boldly face death. For my destiny in its malignancy
does not permit me to cut abruptly the thread of my
wretched life, because there is still a huge stock of
deadly ills which it treasures against me as boons
to those whom I treacherously murdered."

XXI. Such were the wild thoughts that he re- 180
volved as he waited anxiously for the fated end.
And continual pangs kept his soul reeling in con-
fusion. But Gaius, naturally ruthless and never
satisfied with the revenges he had taken, did not like
some others show clemency to those who had been
punished once, but always in his unceasing anger
was preparing some great new blow to inflict upon
them. He hated Flaccus especially, so much so that
in his dislike of his name he looked askance at all who
shared it with him. He was often seized with regret 181
that he had condemned him to exile instead of death
and censured his intercessor Lepidus, in spite of the
respect which he had for him, so that Lepidus was
prostrate^a with fear of finding himself punished. For
he naturally dreaded that by helping to lighten the
sentence of another he would himself incur one still
more severe. So as no one had any longer the courage 182
to plead for mercy Gaius allowed his fierce passions to
range unsoftened and unbridled, passions which were
not blunted, as they should be, by time, but grew
still more sharp-edged like relapses in bodily disease,
which are more severe than those which preceded
them. And so they say that one night as he lay awake 183
his thoughts turned upon the exiles of high rank,
how though nominally they were supposed to be
people in misfortune they had really secured a life

δ' ἀπράγμονα καὶ ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὄντως
 184 περιπεποιημένων. μετετίθει δὲ καὶ τὴν κλήσιν
 ἀποδημίαν προσαγορεύων· “ἀποδημία γάρ τίς
 ἐστίν” ἔφασκεν “ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔλασις ἐχόντων
 ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ σὺν ἀπραγμοσύνῃ καὶ
 εὐσταθείᾳ ζῆν δυναμένων· οὓς ἄτοπον εἶναι τρυφᾶν
 ἀπολαύοντας εἰρήνης, βίον καρπουμένους φιλόσο-
 185 φον.” εἶτα προστάττει τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ
 ὦν πλείστος ὁ λόγος ἀναιρεθῆναι, γραφὴν δούς
 ὀνομάτων, ἧς ἡγείτο Φλάκκος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον εἰς
 “Ἄνδρον οἷς κτείνειν διείρητο, Φλάκκος μὲν ἐτύγ-
 χανεν ἀγρόθεν εἰς ἄστὺ παραγινόμενος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ
 [544] λιμένος ὑπηγντίαζον, | καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀντιπροεῖδον
 186 ἀλλήλους. ὅθεν συναισθηόμενος ἐφ' ὃ σπεύδουσι—
 μαντικώτατον γὰρ ἢ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ, καὶ μάλιστα
 τῶν ἐν κακοπραγίαις—ἐκτραπόμενος τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ
 τραχείας ἔθει φεύγων, ἐπιλελησμένος ἴσως, ὅτι
 νῆσος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἡπειρός ἐστίν, ἐν ᾗ τί ὄφελος
 ὠκύτητος, περικλειούσης θαλάττης; ἀνάγκη γὰρ
 δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ προσωτέρω χωροῦντα κατὰ τοῦ
 πελάγους ἐνεχθῆναι ἢ συλληφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ
 187 πέρας ἦκοντα. βέλτιον ἄρ' ἐν συγκρίσει κακῶν ἢ
 κατὰ γῆν τῆς ἐν πελάγει φθορά, ἐπειδὴ περ ἀνθρώ-
 ποις καὶ πᾶσι χερσαίοις οἰκειότατον ἢ φύσις χωρίον
 ἀπένειμε γῆν, οὐ μόνον ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανοῦ-
 σιν, ἢν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑποδέχεται γενέσειν
 188 καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ἀνάλυσιν. οἱ δ'
 400

FLACCUS, 183-188

of release from business, of tranquillity and true liberty. He proposed also to change the title from 184 exile to residence abroad, "for," said he, "the banishment of such people is a sort of residence abroad where they have abundance of necessities and can exist released from business and in general well-being and it is preposterous that they should luxuriate in the enjoyment of peace and the advantages of the philosopher's life." He then ordered that the 185 most distinguished and those who were held in the highest account should be put to death and gave a list of the names headed by that of Flaccus. When the persons appointed to execute him arrived at Andros, Flaccus happened to be passing from the country to the town, and the party from the harbour came forward to meet him. When they were at some 186 distance they saw him and he saw them and thence inferred the purpose which was urging them on. For the soul of every man is highly prophetic, particularly in distressing circumstances. He struck out from the road and raced away from them through the rough ground forgetting, perhaps, that Andros is not the mainland but an island in which speed is no use since it is enclosed by the sea. For there are only two possible alternatives, to go on farther and fall into the sea or to be caught on arriving at the very edge. And surely if we compare two evils it 187 were better to perish on the land than in the sea, since nature has assigned the land to men and all the creatures that dwell on it as the most appropriate place not only in their lifetime but at their death; it received them when they first came into existence, it should also receive them when they finally depart from life. The assassins never lost a moment 188

- ἀπνευστὶ διώκοντες καταλαμβάνουσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν
 εὐθὺς ὥρυττον βόθρον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς βίαν εἰλκον
 ἀφηνιάζοντα καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ διαπαλαίοντα· ὦν
 χάριν καὶ σύμπαν κατετρώθη τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ τὰ
 189 θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐπιτρέχων. ἐμπλεκόμενος γὰρ
 καὶ τῶν κτεινόντων ἐλλαμβανόμενος, νῦν μὲν ἐπι-
 φέρειν τὰ ξίφη κωλυομένων, ἐγκαρσίους δὲ πληγὰς
 καταφερόντων, αἷτιος ἐγένετο βαρυτέρων ἑαυτῷ
 συμφορῶν· διατμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ διακοπεῖς χεῖρας,
 βάσεις, κεφαλὴν, στέρνα, πλευράς, ὡς ἱερείου τρό-
 πον κρεουργηθῆναι, ἔκειτο, τῆς δίκης σφαγὰς
 ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς φόνοις τῶν ἐκνόμῳς ἀναιρεθέντων
 Ἰουδαίων ἐνὶ σώματι βουληθείσης ἐργάσασθαι.
 190 καὶ ὁ μὲν τόπος ἅπας αἵματι κατερρεῖτο διὰ
 πλειόνων φλεβῶν, αἱ κατὰ μέρος διεκόπησαν,
 κρουνηδὸν ἐκχεομένῳ¹· συρομένου δ' εἰς τὸν ὀρω-
 ρυγμένον βόθρον τοῦ νεκροῦ τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη
 διελύετο, τῶν νεύρων κατεσχισμένων, οἷς ἡ κοινω-
 191 νία συνεδεῖτο πᾶσα τοῦ σώματος. τοιαῦτα καὶ
 Φλάκκος ἔπαθε γενόμενος ἀψευδεστάτῃ πίστις τοῦ
 μὴ ἀπεστερηῆσθαι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας
 τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ.

¹ MSS. ἐκχεομένων.

FLACCUS, 188-191

in pursuing him. When they caught him some of them at once dug a pit while others violently dragged him along, resisting and screaming and struggling hard, the result of which was that as wild beasts do, he ran upon the blows and had his whole body pierced with wounds. For, as he clutched hold 189 of the slaughterers and was so entangled in the scramble with them that they had no room to apply their swords directly but dealt their blows downwards and sideways, he caused himself to suffer more severely, and with hands, feet, head, breast and sides slashed and cut to bits, he lay carved like a sacrificial victim. For it was the will of justice that the butcheries which she wrought on his single body should be as numerous as the number of the Jews whom he unlawfully put to death. The whole place 190 was flooded with the blood which poured out like a fountain from the many veins which one after the other were severed, while as his corpse was dragged into the pit which had been dug, most of the parts fell asunder as the ligaments which bind the whole body together in one had been rent. Such was the 191 fate of Flaccus also,^a who thereby became an indubitable proof that the help which God can give was not withdrawn from the nation of the Jews.

^a *i.e.* as well as Sejanus? See Introd. p. 295 note *a*.

HYPOTHETICA
(APOLOGIA PRO IUDAEIS)

INTRODUCTION TO EXTRACTS FROM THE *HYPOTHETICA*

WE have no information about the two extracts which are here reproduced beyond what Eusebius tells us, namely that the first is taken from the second book of a work entitled by Philo "Hypothetica," in which the author is writing a defence of the Jews, and that the second comes from the "apology for the Jews," while in his history (ii. 18) when giving a list of the works of Philo he mentions one *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων*. The general assumption is that these three are one and the same.^a

Of the second extract, which describes the Essenes, nothing need be said here, as some remarks on its relation to Philo's other account of these communities will be found in the Appendix. The first extract is divided into two main parts and both of these again have two sub-divisions joined together by the phrase *μετὰ βραχέα φησίν*. Very little discussion so far as I can learn has been devoted to it, though in many ways it is very curious and interesting.^b

^a Certainty of course is not attainable. Though the title given to the second extract expresses what he says is the substance of the contents or part of the contents of the first, surprise may still be felt that the titles should be different.

^b The longest discussion known to me is in Bernays' *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 261-282. This principally deals with the meaning of the name "Hypothetica," and with certain phrases, particularly *ἄ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν*

PHILO

The opening part gives the impression that he wishes to meet the hostile criticism of the Gentiles by giving a rationalistic version of the history. The Exodus is described as the movement of an increasing population seeking a fresh living-room and inspired by a yearning for their own natal land of which the Pentateuch knows nothing. The divine influence is indeed admitted but has been given through dreams and visions, a strange way of treating the visitations described in Exodus. The divine mission of Moses is kept very much in the background and the observer is invited to choose between natural explanations of the fact that he led the people successfully through the wilderness. When we come to the occupation of Palestine any appeal to the miraculous victories of Joshua is definitely set aside, and outsiders are left to choose between two possibilities, one that it was due to superior force, the other that the virtues of the incomers won the

αὐτόν and ἃ μὴ κατέθηκε μηδ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι (7. 6) and with the Buzygia (7. 8). Heinemann in his *Bildung*, pp. 352-358, discusses some aspects of the description of the Mosaic laws in the *Hypothetica*, particularly the glaring differences between it and the *Spec. Leg.*, such as the indiscriminate assignment of death as a penalty. It is interesting to note that he says these differences had led Cohn to express a doubt as to the genuineness of the fragment. Heinemann himself does not actually repudiate this suspicion, but says that he does not consider it convincing, largely because of the inconsistencies in *Spec. Leg.* itself. It certainly seems to me that the style as well as the substance of this part of the first extract is rather unlike Philo, but while it is no doubt possible to deny the genuineness of the first extract without impugning that of the second, the pieces which Eusebius describes as from the *Hypothetica* must stand and fall together, and the concluding piece on the Sabbath seems to me, as I say below, thoroughly Philonic.

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respect and submission of the native population. I find it difficult to understand the motive of Philo in this treatment of the story, or of Eusebius in recording it, for Eusebius's purpose is to give an account of the Mosaic constitution as it is depicted by the two most distinguished Jewish writers, and on this it has no bearing.^a

The second part of the extract, which does describe this constitution, is at least in the first subdivision curious in another way. We naturally compare it with the vastly longer and fuller account in the four books on the Special Laws and the *De Virtutibus*. The scope of the two is so hugely different that we should not expect more than the smallest fragment of the great Exposition in these few pages. The strange thing is that they contain so much which is ignored in the Exposition. There we hear little about the subjection of women, or of the inviolability of dedicated offerings or of the ways of obtaining release from these on which so much stress is here laid, or of the minor duties of supplying water, fire and burial. Humanity to animals is stressed in both, but the one law bearing on this which is mentioned here is not noticed there. The contrast no doubt is partly accounted for in the words where he states his intention to note the unwritten as well as the written, but only partly to my mind.

^a There seems to me to be a remarkable similarity between the *Hypothetica* and the *Contra Apionem* on many points. See notes. I do not know whether this has been taken into account by scholars in discussing Josephus's possible indebtedness to Philo. Thackeray, who notes resemblances in his preface to the translation of the *Antiquities* (see note in vol. vi. of my *Philo*, p. xvii), says nothing about it in his few lines of preface to the *Apion*.

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The second subdivision of this second part on the other hand, which deals with the observation of the sabbath, does not contradict anything that we find elsewhere in Philo. The account of the meetings in the Synagogue is much the same as that given in his description of the Essenes in the *Quod Omn. Prob.* and of the Therapeutae in the *De Vit. Cont.* and of the nation as a whole in *Spec. Leg.* ii. 62, and the stress laid on the sabbatical year both as a tribute to the land itself and an act of charity to the poor is thoroughly in his spirit.

The meaning of the title is obscure. The theory of Viger that it means "suppositions," between which those addressed are invited to choose, only fits the opening sections, and was superseded by that of Bernays, who suggested that it meant exhortations or directions on conduct. Bernays shows that not only is ὑποθήκαι often used in this sense but the ὑποθετικὸς λόγος is a technical term for a discourse with this object. The examples he quotes show that the hypothetical discourse has a close connexion with the protreptic, the term which Philo so often uses, and that in one case at least it is to be distinguished from the latter as the summary of counsels which closes the discourse.^a Still this does not seem to agree with the nature of the treatise so far as we can judge it from the specimens which Eusebius records. A hortatory discourse is a very different thing from a defence, at least, a defence of this kind. Bernays indeed quotes a passage in which

^a ἐπεισενεκτέον τὸν ὑποθετικὸν λόγον, δι' οὗ τὰς πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς ἐκάστου χρήσεως ὑποθήκας ἐπιτομαῖς ἔξουσιν (Bernays, p. 267).

HYPOTHETICA

the closely connected if not identical protreptic is stated on the one hand to show the high worth of virtue and on the other hand to convict those who deny or accuse or otherwise defame philosophy.^a But this does not apply to the opponents whom Philo is refuting. They do not attack the philosophy of the Law as he represents it, but either deny or are not aware that the Jews have any such philosophy.

The text of these extracts is not included in the Editio Maior of Cohn. As here printed it is that of the Editio Minor. It is not stated who is responsible for this, and there is no Apparatus Criticus. I have however carefully compared the text with those of Heinichen 1842, Dindorf 1867, and Gifford 1903, in their editions of the *Preparatio*. Gifford has such an apparatus, and in his introduction gives a full account of the manuscripts of which he obtained collations. I am not aware of any later edition.

The following is an analysis of the two extracts :

FIRST EXTRACT, viii. 6. 1-9, 7. 1-20

Part I. The first subdivision (6. 1) gives a short account of the causes which led to the Exodus from Egypt. The second subdivision (6. 2-9) suggests for consideration different explanations of the success of Moses in leading the people through the wilderness (2-4) and of the conquest of Palestine (5-8) and ends with an emphatic assertion of the devotion of the people through all the centuries to Moses and the Law (9).

^a τοὺς ἀνασκευάζοντας ἢ κατηγοροῦντας ἢ πως ἄλλως κακοηθίζομένους τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπελέγχει.

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Part II. The first subdivision (7. 1-9) gives a general sketch of the Mosaic constitution, contrasting its severity with the laxity of Gentile law and practice (1-3), particularly dwelling on the inviolability attached to vows and dedications (3-5). Other laws and customs are mentioned largely dwelling on duties of charity and mercy (6-9). The second subdivision (7. 10-20) describes the Sabbath as an institution intended mainly to provide opportunities for studying the law, gives a short account of the meetings and commends the universal knowledge of the Law which they effect (10-14). It then passes on to the sabbatical year, described as a proper relaxation for the land itself (15-18) and as a charitable institution, because the fruits which grew from it untilled were at the service of the poor and needy (19-20).

SECOND EXTRACT, viii. 11. 1-18

This is merely another description of the Essene communities, a general description (1-2), the mature age required for admission (3), their simple and communal life (4-5), their industry and practice of every kind of innocent activity (6-9), how the proceeds are put into a common bank (10-11), even clothes being held in common (12), their care for the sick and aged (13), their repudiation of marriage and exclusion of women, with some of their reasons for so doing (14-18). A final eulogy (18).

The references to chapters in the eighth book are those in all editions of the *Preparatio*. The references to sections with the chapters are those in Cohn's Editio Minor. Sections are also numbered in

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Heinichen's edition, but do not correspond to these. Gifford has no such sections, but gives the pages of Viger's edition with subdivisions a, b, c, d. I have noted these pages but not the sub-divisions. I have also noted the pages in Mangey, vol. ii. They are to be distinguished from the others by the square brackets.

ΥΠΟΘΕΤΙΚΩΝ

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(ΥΠΕΡ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ)

[626]

Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* viii. 5. 11. Φέρε λοιπὸν καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα τῆς κατὰ Μωυσέα νομοθεσίας ἐκ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι διαφανῶν θεασόμεθα. πρῶτα δὲ θήσω Φίλωνος τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πορείας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἣν πεποιήνται Μωυσέως ἡγουμένου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος ὧν ἐπέγραψεν Ὑποθετικῶν, ἐνθα τὸν ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ὡς πρὸς κατηγοροὺς αὐτῶν ποιούμενος λόγον ταῦτά φησιν·

6. 1. Τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν αὐτοῖς πρόγονον ἀπὸ Χαλδαίων εἶναι, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ἀναστῆναι τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετωκισμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας τὸ πάλοι, μυριάσι τε ἀμυθήτοις πλήθοντα καὶ τῆς γῆς οὐκ οὔσης ἱκανῆς, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ νεότητι φρονημάτων ἐντεθραμμένον μεγάλως καὶ ἅμα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ φασμάτων καὶ ὄνειράτων ἔξοδον αὐτοῖς δηλοῦντος, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον εἰς πόθον κατὰ δαίμονα ἐμπε-
[627] σόντας τῆς πατρίου καὶ ἀρχαίας γῆς· | ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸν πρόγονον ἐκείνον αὐτοῖς κατελθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, εἴτε τῷ θεῷ δὴ δόξαν εἴτε προνοίᾳ τινί, <καὶ>

^a Eusebius follows this extract with another from Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 163-228, to the same effect.

^b As the sequel shows that Jacob, not Abraham, is intended, Mangey wished to emend this to Canaanite. But Moses himself is said by Philo to be a Chaldean by race (*Mos.* i. 5).

HYPOTHETICA

(APOLOGY FOR THE JEWS)

Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* viii. 5. 11. Let us proceed to survey the constitution established by the legislation of Moses as described by authors ^a held in high honour among the Jews. I will begin by quoting Philo's account of their journey from Egypt under the leadership of Moses from the first book of the work which he entitled *Hypothetica*, where, while speaking in defence of the Jews as against their accusers, he says as follows :

6. 1. Their original ancestor belonged to the Chaldeans,^b but this people who had emigrated from Syria to Egypt in past time removed from Egypt partly because of the vast size of the population for which the land was insufficient. Also it was due to the high spirit of enterprise in which they had been bred and to the revelations of God made by dreams and visions bidding them go forth, and what influenced them as much as anything was that they had providentially ^c been seized by a yearning for their ancient fatherland. It was from there that this ancestor of theirs had passed over into Egypt either because God had so decreed or through some prevision of his own.

^c κατὰ δάιμονα, as L. & S. says, in ordinary usage means little more than τύχη, with which it is sometimes coupled, but in Philo's mouth perhaps something more, though hardly so much as Gifford's "under divine inspiration."

πάντων εὐδαιμονῆσαι μάλιστα, ὥς ἀπ' ἐκείνου μέχρις εἰς τὸ παρὸν τό τε ἔθνος αὐτοῖς καὶ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ διαμένειν καπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν εἰς πολυανδρίαν.

6. 2. Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν

Ἀνὴρ γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ἡγείτο τῆς τε ἐξόδου καὶ τῆς πορείας εἰς οὐδέν τῶν πολλῶν, εἰ βούλει, διάφορος· οὕτω καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν γόητα καὶ κέρκωπα λόγων. καλῆς μέντοι γοητείας καὶ πανουργίας, ἐξ ἧς τὸν γε λαὸν ἅπαντα ἐν ἀνυδρίᾳ καὶ λιμῷ
 356 καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν ἀγνοία καὶ ἀπορία τῶν συμπάντων οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ παντελὲς διεσώσατο [καὶ] ὥσπερ ἐν εὐθηνίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ παραπομπῇ τῶν μεταξὺ κειμένων ἔθνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀστασιάστους αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα εὐπειθεῖς διεφύλαξε. 6. 3. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ὀλίγον δήπου χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὅσον οὐδ' οἰκίαν ἐν ὁμοφροσύνῃ συμμεῖναι μετὰ πάσης εὐθηνίας εἰκὸς ἐστίν. καὶ οὐ δῖψος, οὐ λιμός, οὐ φθορὰ σωμάτων, οὐχὶ φόβος περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, οὐκ ἄγνοια τῶν συμβησομένων, ἐπὶ τὸν γόητα ἐκείνον ἐπῆρε τοὺς ἐξαπατωμένους καὶ περιφθειρομένους λαούς. 6. 4. καίτοι τί βούλει; φῶμεν ἐκείνῳ τινὰ εἶναι τοσαύτην

^a Probably this refers to the abusive terms used by Molon, etc., cf. Jos. c. *Apion*. ii. 145 γόητα καὶ ἀπατεῶνα, rather than to the murmurers in the wilderness, though the imperfect ἐλοιδόρουν rather suggests this. The next sentence shows that he persists in ignoring any rebellion.

^b For the ironical use of καλῆς cf. *Flacc.* 157.

^c The punctuation and exact meaning of the following section is not clear. The translation supposes that there are three alternatives: (1) the extraordinary virtues of Moses; (2) the docility of the people; (3) divine influence. In this

HYPOTHETICA, 6. 1-4

There he had prospered to an unequalled degree so that from his time to the present day their nation has existed and survives and is so exceedingly populous.

6. 2. Shortly afterwards he says :

Their departure and journey was made under the command of one who nothing differed from the ordinary run of men. So you may say if you like : indeed there were people also who abused him as an impostor and prating mountebank.^a Well, that was a fine ^b kind of imposture and knavery which enabled him to bring the whole people in complete safety amid drought and hunger and ignorance of the way and lack of everything as well as if they had abundance of everything and supplies obtainable from the neighbouring nations, and further to keep them free from internal factions and above all obedient to himself. 6. 3. And observe that these conditions lasted not for a little while but for a space of time during which even a household living in all comfort could not be expected to remain in unanimity. Yet neither thirst nor hunger nor bodily decay, nor fear of the future, nor ignorance of the course which events would take roused these deluded and perishing masses of men against that impostor. 6. 4. ^c How will you explain this ? Shall we say that he had some

case ἡ γὰρ is hardly intelligible and Bernays, who translates the section, corrects to ἡ ἀρα. Gifford, who puts colons instead of question marks after ἔχειν and ἐπιστατεῖν, translates ἡ γὰρ, κτλ., by "For either we must admit," etc. This suggests that the double ἡ introduces a dilemma which is the logical consequence of accepting the high estimate of Moses, but I do not understand the logic. A minor point is that he punctuates the opening words as τί βούλει φῶμεν; ἐκείνῳ, κτλ., which seems to me very possible.

τέχνην ἢ δεινότητα λόγων ἢ σύνεσιν, ὥς τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀτόπων καὶ πρὸς ὄλεθρον ἅπαντας ἀγόντων ἐπικρατεῖν; ἢ γὰρ τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀμαθῶς οὐδὲ δυσκόλως, ἀλλ' εὐπειθῶς καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐκ ἀπρονοήτως ἔχειν; ἢ τούτους μὲν ὥς μάλιστα κακοὺς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν τὰς δυσκολίας αὐτῶν πραῖναι καὶ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὥσπερ ἐπιστατεῖν; ὅπερ γάρ σοι μάλιστα ἂν ἐκ τούτων ἀληθὲς εἶναι δόξῃ, πρὸς ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ζήλου περὶ αὐτῶν συμπάντων ἰσχύειν φαίνεται.

6. 5. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἐξόδου δὴ ταῦτα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἦλθον, ὅπως μὲν ποτε ἄρα ἰδρῦθησαν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔσχον, ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς δηλοῦται. οὐ μὴν ἔγωγε δικαίῳ μᾶλλον καθ' ἱστορίαν ἢ κατὰ τινα λογισμὸν περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εἰκότα ἐπεξελθεῖν. 6. 6. πότερον γάρ ποτε βούλει τῷ πλήθει τῶν σωμάτων ἔτι περιόντας, καίπερ εἰς τέλος κεκακωμένους, ὅμως δ' ἰσχύοντας¹ [628] καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας, εἴτα | κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν τὴν χώραν, Σύρους τε ὁμοῦ καὶ Φοίνικας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκείνων γῇ μαχομένους νικῶντας, ἢ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολέμους καὶ ἀνάνδρους εἶναι καὶ παντελῶς ὀλίγους ὑποθώμεθα καὶ τῶν εἰς πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἀπόρους, αἰδέσεως δὲ τυχεῖν παρὰ τούτοις

¹ Mangey and Heinichen ὅμως δὲ δυσχύοντας. Gifford ὅμως δὲ <δυσχυρίζοντας> with a note "δὲ <δυσχυρίζοντας> Mangey?" But I cannot find any support of this in Mangey, nor any trace of the active *δυσχυρίζω* elsewhere.

^a Or "praise and honour and admiration for them all." So Gifford, Mangey and Bernays. Still on the whole I prefer the rendering of ζήλος given above for the following reasons:

HYPOTHETICA, 6. 4-6

kind of skill or eloquence or intelligence great enough to surmount so many strangely different circumstances which were carrying them all to perdition? Otherwise we must suppose that either his subjects were naturally not stupid nor discontented but docile and gifted with some prevision of the future or else that they were thoroughly bad though God softened their discontents and kept their present and their future state as it were in his charge. Whichever of these views you consider to be the truth it appears to redound mightily to his praise and honour and zeal for them all.^a

6. 5. So much for the story of the migration. But when they came to this land the holy records show clearly how they established themselves there and occupied the country. Yet in discussing the probable facts of this occupation I think it better to go not so much by the historical narrative as by what our reason tells us about them. 6. 6. Which alternative do you prefer? Were they still superior in the number of their fighting men though they had fared so ill to the end, still strong and with weapons in their hand, and did they then take the land by force, defeating the combined Syrians and Phoenicians when fighting in their own country? Or shall we suppose that they were unwarlike and feeble, quite few in numbers and destitute of warlike equipment, but won the

(1) Philo's use of the word as shown in some twenty-five examples in the index suggests not admiration in the abstract, but "zeal," *i.e.* admiration followed by emulation or passion; (2) one of the alternatives mentioned, *i.e.* that they were thoroughly bad, but "softened" by God, does not seem to demand praise and honour for them; (3) in this section we are more concerned with the praise of Moses than of the nation.

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καὶ τὴν γῆν λαβεῖν παρ' ἐκόντων, ἔπειτα δ' εὐθὺς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὸν τε νεὼν οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ τᾶλλα εἰς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀγιστείαν καταστήσασθαι; 6. 7.

357 δηλοῖ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, ταῦτα καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους αὐτοὺς ἀνωμολογῆσαι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· ἐχθροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὧν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξαίφνης ἦλθον ὡς ἀφαιρεσόμενοι.

6. 8. παρὰ τούτοις δ' οὖν αἰδέσεως καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνοντες πῶς οὐχ ὑπερβάλλειν εὐτυχίᾳ τοὺς ἄλλους φαίνονται; τίνα δὲ τὰ δεύτερα ἐφεξῆς ἢ τὰ τρίτα πρὸς τούτοις λέγωμεν; πότερον τὸ τῆς εὐνομίας καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτῶν ἢ τῆς ὁσιότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας; ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ὁ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς θεῖς, οὕτω σφόδρα ἐθαύμασαν, ὡς ὃ τι δήποτε ἔδοξεν ἐκείνῳ καὶ αὐτοῖς. 6. 9. εἴτε οὖν λελογισμένος αὐτὸς εἴτε ἀκούων παρὰ δαίμονος ἔφρασε, τοῦτο ἅπαν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀνάγειν, καὶ πλειόνων ἐτῶν διεληλυθότων, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν ὁπόσα, πλείω δ' οὖν ἢ δισχίλιά ἐστι, μηδὲ ῥῆμά γε αὐτὸ μόνον τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων κινήσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυριάκις αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπομεῖναι θᾶπτον ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις καὶ ἔθεσιν ἐναντία πεισθῆναι.

6. 10. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπιτέμνεται τὴν ἐκ τῶν Μωυσέως νόμων καταβεβλημένην τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνει πολιτείαν γράφων οὕτως·

^a The literal translation "straightway" seems incompatible not only with the history but with οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν.

HYPOTHETICA, 6. 6-10

respect of their opponents who voluntarily surrendered their land to them and that as a direct consequence^a they shortly afterwards built their temple and established everything else needed for religion and worship?

6. 7. This would clearly show that they were acknowledged as dearly beloved of God even by their enemies. For those whose land they suddenly invaded with the intention of taking it from them were necessarily their enemies.

6. 8. And if they got credit and honour in the sight of their enemies surely it shows that they exceeded all in good fortune. What qualities shall we put in addition to this good fortune in the second and the third place? Shall we give the preference to their respect for law and loyal obedience or to their religion and justice and piety? Whichever you choose the fact remains that so great was their veneration for that man who gave them their laws, whatever view we take of him, that anything which approved itself to him approved itself also to them.

6. 9. So whether what he told them came from his own reasoning powers or was learnt from some supernatural source they held it all to come from God and after the lapse of many years, how many I cannot say exactly, but at any rate for more than two thousand, they have not changed a single word of what he wrote but would even endure to die a thousand deaths sooner than accept anything contrary to the laws and customs which he had ordained.

6. 10. After these remarks he gives the following summary of the constitution laid down for the nation in the laws of Moses.

The use of *εὐθύς* for what follows as a logical consequence is common in Philo, *e.g.* *De Op.* 3.

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7. 1. Ἄρα τι τούτων ἢ τούτοις προσόμοιον παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐστί, πρᾶον εἶναι δοκοῦν καὶ τιθασὸν καὶ δικῶν εἰσαγωγὰς¹ καὶ σκήψεις καὶ ἀναβολὰς καὶ τιμῆσεις καὶ πάλιν ὑποτιμήσεις ἔχον; οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀπλᾶ καὶ δῆλα. ἐὰν παιδεραστῆς, ἐὰν μοιχεύης, ἐὰν βιάσῃ παῖδα, ἄρρενα μὲν μηδὲ λέγε, ἀλλὰ κἄν θήλειαν· ὁμοίως ἐὰν σαντὸν καταπορνεύης, ἐὰν καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν αἰσχρόν τι πάθῃς ἢ δοκῇς ἢ μέλλῃς, θάνατος ἢ ζημία. 7. 2. ἐὰν εἰς δοῦλον σῶμα, ἐὰν εἰς ἐλεύθερον ὑβρίζῃς, ἐὰν δεσμοῖς συνέχῃς, ἐὰν ἀπάγων πωλῇς, ἐὰν βέβηλα ἐὰν ἱερὰ παρακλέπτῃς, ἐὰν ἀσεβῇς, οὐκ ἔργῳ μόνον
358 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ῥήματι τῷ τυχόντι, εἰς μὲν θεὸν αὐτὸν (ἵλεως ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς περὶ τούτων
[629] ἐννοίας γένοιτο) οὐδὲ | ἄξιον λέγειν, ἀλλ' εἰς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ εὐεργέτην σαυτοῦ θάνατος ὁμοίως, καὶ οὗτος οὐ κοινὸς οὐδ' ὁ τυχών, ἀλλὰ δεῖ κατα-

¹ So Cohn. Other editions and apparently all mss. ἐπαγωγὰς. See note b.

^a Philo has evidently in a part omitted by Eusebius given proofs that Gentiles allowed all sorts of evasions of the penalties prescribed in their laws. So Jos. c. *Apion*. ii. 276 contrasts the Jewish strictness with the διαλύσεις or διαδύσεις ("evasions") provided by the legislators themselves.

^b See note 1. The mss. ἐπαγωγὰς is translated by Gifford "solicitations of justice" (?), by Mangey "intentiones

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 1-2

7. 1. Do we find any of these things ^a or anything similar among the Jews ; anything which so savours of mildness and lenity, anything which permits of legal proceedings ^b or extenuations or postponements or assessments of penalties and reductions of assessments ? ^c Nothing at all, everything is clear and simple. ^d If you are guilty of pederasty or adultery or rape of a young person, even of a female, for I need not mention the case of a male, similarly if you prostitute yourself or allow or purpose or intend any action which your age makes indecent the penalty is death. 7. 2. So too if you commit an outrage on the person of a slave or a free man, if you confine him in bonds or kidnap and sell him. So too with larceny of things profane and sacred, so too with impiety not only of act but even of a casual word and not only against God Himself (may He forgive the very thought of such a thing which should not even be mentioned), but also against a father or mother or benefactor of your own the penalty is the same, death and not the common ordinary death : the offender in words only

litium." In the sense of "chicanery" I see no great difficulty about it, and all of the first three accusatives at any rate should perhaps be taken with *δικῶν*.

^c Or "self-assessments" (L. & S.). These of course would suggest mitigation of penalties. Philo has used the word in the general sense of "excuse" or "extenuation" in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 157.

^d *i.e.* all the offences that follow are stated in the law to be capital crimes. This is true of *παιδεραστία* (Lev. xviii. 22, xx. 13), of *μοιχεία* (Lev. xx. 10), for kidnappers and selling men (Ex. xxi. 16), for reviling a parent (Ex. xxi. 17), (*לxx κακολογῶν*, R.V. "curseth"), for rape (under certain circumstances) (Deut. xxii. 23 ff.). But I do not think that either Philo in *Spec. Leg.* or the law itself suggests death for stealing in general, or that the punishment for reviling a parent extends to reviling a benefactor.

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λευσθῆναι τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον ὥς οὐ χείρονα ἀσεβείας πράξαντα. 7. 3. ἀλλὰ δ' αὖ

πάλιν ὁποῖά τινα· γυναικας ἀνδράσι δουλεύειν, πρὸς ὕβρεως μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, πρὸς εὐπείθειαν δ' ἐν ἅπασιν· γονεῖς παίδων ἄρχειν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ πολυωρίᾳ· τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κτημάτων ἓνα ἕκαστον κύριον εἶναι, μὴ θεόν γε ἐπιφημίσαντα αὐτοῖς μηδ' ὥς τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα ἀνίσιν· εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μόνον ὑποσχέσθαι προσπέσοι, ψαῦσαι καὶ θιγεῖν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπάντων ἀποκεκλείσθαι.

7. 4. μή μοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀρπάζειν μηδ' ἀποσυλᾶν ἑτέρων ἀναθέντων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων, ὥσπερ ἔφην, προσπεσόν τι καὶ λαθὼν αὐτὸν ῥῆμα ἐπ' ἀναθέσει, εἰπόντα δὲ¹ πάντων στέρεσθαι· μεταγνώσκοντι δὲ ἢ ἀπαρνούμενῳ τὰ λελεγμένα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν προσαφαιρείσθαι.

7. 5. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν κυριεύει ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος. ἐὰν ἐπιφημίση τροφήν γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ἱερὰν εἶναι, τροφῆς ἀνέχειν· ἐὰν πατὴρ υἱοῦ, ἐὰν ἄρχων τοῦ ὑπηκόου, ταῦτόν. καὶ ἔκλυσις δὲ ἐπιφημισθέντων ἢ μὲν τελειοτάτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ τοῦ ἱερέως ἀποφή-

¹ The sentence as it stands is ungrammatical. Mangey omits δέ.

* Lit. "as (being) no worse having committed (i.e. if he has committed) impieties"—an extraordinarily awkward construction.

^b Gifford, who translates ὥς θεῷ by "as to God," explains the construction as an "abrupt transition" and quotes Heinichen "ἀνίησι sequitur quasi praecessit εἰ μὴ ἐπιφημίζει." This is only a way of saying that the sentence is ungrammatical. I think it is best explained by taking ὥς=ὅτι as introducing oratio obliqua and governed by ἐπιφημίσαντα.

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 2-5

must be stoned to death. His guilt is as great as if he were the perpetrator of impious actions.^a

7. 3. Other rules again there are of various kinds: wives must be in servitude to their husbands, a servitude not imposed by violent ill-treatment but promoting obedience in all things. Parents must have power over their children to keep them safe and tend them carefully. Each individual is master of his possessions unless he has solemnly named the name of God over them declaring that he has given them to God.^b And if he has merely made a chance verbal promise of them he must not touch or handle them, but hold himself at once debarred from them all.

7. 4. I need not consider the case of his robbing what belongs to the gods^c or plundering what others have dedicated; even with his own, I repeat, a chance word of dedication spoken unawares deprives him of them all and if he repents or denies his promise his life is forfeit also.

7. 5. The same holds of any other persons over whom he has authority. If a man has devoted his wife's sustenance to a sacred purpose he must refrain from giving her that sustenance; so with a father's gifts to his son or a ruler's to his subjects. The chief and most perfect way of releasing dedicated property is by the priest refusing it, for he

This verb can be followed either by a noun or a clause as below *ἐπιφθίμωσιν τροφήν . . . ἱερὰν εἶναι*. See examples in lexicon. The combination of the two constructions is awkward but not ungrammatical.

^a In using the plural Philo may have in mind Ex. xxii. 28 (LXX "thou shalt not revile the gods"), a text on which both he (*Mos.* ii. 205, *Spec. Leg.* i. 53) and Jos. (*c. Apion.* ii. 237) base the prohibition of speaking evil of the heathen gods. But it is hardly necessary to bring this in here. He would naturally deny the possibility of his people committing sacrilege in any temples.

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σαντος· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ κύριος οὗτος δέξασθαι· καὶ μετὰ ταύτην δέ¹ ἢ παρὰ τῶν μᾶλλον αἰεὶ κυρίων ὁσία ἴλεω τὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνειν, ὡς μηδὲ ἐπάναγκες τὴν ἀνάθεσιν δέχεσθαι. 7. 6. μυρία δὲ

ἄλλα ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὅσα καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγράφων ἐθῶν καὶ νομίμων κὰν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοῖς· ἃ τις παθεῖν ἐχθαίρει, μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτόν· ἃ μὴ κατέθηκεν, μηδ' ἀναιρεῖσθαι, μηδ' ἐκ πρασιᾶς μηδ' ἐκ ληνοῦ μηδ' ἐξ ἄλwanos· μὴ θημῶνος ὑφαιρεῖσθαι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν ἀπλῶς μηδέν· μὴ πυρὸς δεηθέντι φθονεῖν· μὴ νάματα ὑδάτων ἀποκλείειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πτωχοῖς καὶ πηροῖς τροφὴν ἐρανίζουσι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐαγῶς ἀνέχειν. 7. 7. μὴ ταφῆς νεκρὸν ἐξείργειν, ἀλλὰ

¹ This redundant δὲ is, I think, very unusual, if not unique, in Philo.

^a While the Pentateuch (Num. xxx. 1-3, Deut. xxiii. 21-23) more or less bears out the strict obligation of a vow, it says nothing about any penalty (much less death) for failure to keep it, or on the other hand of ways of absolution. See App. p. 539.

^b The construction is difficult. The translation assumes that ἡ agrees with ἐκλυσις, and ὁσία ἀποφαίνειν="holy enough to declare" (or perhaps, "make") God propitious. But I have not found any example of such an infinitive following ὁσιος. Possibly ἡ may agree with the noun ὁσία and ἀποφαίνειν depends on κυρίων. But the order of the words is somewhat against it.

^c The nearest text to this in the O.T. is, I suppose, Lev. xix. 18 "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," which is adopted in the N.T. as well as the positive form of that given here "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," Matt. vii. 12. On this Wetstein gives abundant illustration from ancient literature both in the positive and negative form, beginning with Herodotus iii.

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 5-7

is empowered by God to accept it or not.^a Next to this, that given by those who at the time have the higher authority may lawfully declare that God is propitiated^b so that there is no necessity to accept the dedication.

7. 6. Besides these there is a host of other things which belong to unwritten customs and institutions or are contained in the laws themselves. What a man would hate to suffer he must not do himself to others.^c What he has not laid down he must not take up^d either from a garden or a wine press or a threshing floor. He must not filch anything great or small from a stack. He must not grudge to give fire to one who needs it or close off running water.^e If the poor or the cripple beg food of him he must give it as an offering of religion to God.^f 7. 7. He must not debar dead bodies from

142. 3 ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω. The nearest in form to this is from Isocrates ἀ πασχοντες ὑφ' ἐτέρων ὀργίζεσθε ταῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους μὴ ποιείτε.

^a This also, as Bernays points out, is not found in this short form in the O.T., nor indeed in any nearer form than Deut. xxii. 1-3, where the finder of a lost animal or garment is bidden to restore it to the owner. On the other hand it is a famous piece of moralizing in Greek, ascribed to Solon (Diog. Laert i. 57), and described by Plato, *Legg.* xi. 913 c, as κάλλιστος νόμος. Jos. (*c. Apion.* ii. 208) follows Philo in declaring it to be a recognized principle of Judaism, and that it was so recognized is suggested by Luke xix. 21, where αἶρεις ὃ οὐκ ἔθηκες is the reproach made by the unprofitable servant to his master.

^e So too Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 211.

^f ἀνέχω seems to be used in the somewhat rare sense of offering sacrifices or prayers, unless πρὸς τὸν θεόν can, like πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, etc., mean "in the presence of" or "before God." The duty of giving charity to the poor is enjoined by Philo from the Law in *De Virt.* 82-87. It is to be found more definitely in other passages outside the Law, e.g. Prov. xix. 17 and Ps. xli. 1 ff. and still more in Tobit iv.

καὶ γῆς αὐτοῖς ὅσον γε εἰς τὴν ὁσίαν προσεπι-
 359 βάλλειν· μὴ θήκας, μὴ μνήματα ὅλως κατοικο-
 [630] μένων κινεῖν. | μὴ δεσμά, μὴ κακὸν μηδὲν πλέον
 τῷ ἐν ἀνάγκαις προσεπιφέρειν. μὴ γονὴν ἀνδρῶν
 ἐκτέμνοντας, μὴ γυναικῶν ἀτοκίοις καὶ ἄλλαις
 μηχαναῖς ἀμβλοῦν· μὴ ζώοις ἔμπαλιν ἢ κατέδειξεν
 εἴτ' οὖν ὁ θεὸς εἴτε τις καὶ νομοθέτης προσφέρε-
 σθαι· μὴ σπέρμα ἀφανίζειν· μὴ γέννημα δολοῦν.¹
 7. 8. μὴ ζυγὸν ἄδικον ἀνθυποβάλλειν, μὴ χοίника
 ἄμετρον, μὴ νόμισμα ἄδικον. μὴ φίλων ἀπόρρητα
 ἐν ἔχθρᾳ φαίνειν. ποῖ δὴ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῖν τὰ
 Βουζύγια ἐκεῖνα; ἄλλα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὄρα· μὴ
 παίδων διοικίζειν γονέας, μηδ' ἂν αἰχμαλώτους
 ἔχῃς, μὴ γυναῖκα ἀνδρός, καὶ νομίμως ἐωνημένος
 ἦς δεσπότης. 7. 9. ἣ που σεμνότερα
 καὶ μείζω ταῦτα, ἄλλα δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα·
 μὴ νεοττιάν φησι κατοικίδιον ἐρημοῦν· μὴ ζώων

¹ Other editions δολοῦν. But δολοῦν seems to have good mss. authority. See note c.

^a So also Jos. *l.c.* The duty is acknowledged in Tobit i. 17 ff.

^b So Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 213 "He permitted only the lawful use of them (*i.e.* animals), and forbade all others." Thackeray refers this to the prohibition of working animals on the sabbath. But Philo at least must, I think, have something more than this in mind.

^c The suggestion given by the translation, which must be regarded as merely tentative, is that it forbids the castration of animals, which Jos. *l.c.* 271 seems to treat as a crime, and taking away the offspring prematurely. Perhaps we might translate "destroy not the seed (referring to the story of Onan); frustrate not the thing which might be born." This would be distinguished from μὴ γονήν, κτλ., above as being the action of the man himself. In this case a full stop should be put after προσφέρεισθαι. But it is strange that 428

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 7-9

burial,^a but throw upon them as much earth as piety demands, nor disturb in any way the resting places and monuments of the departed. He must not by fettering or any other means worsen the plight of him who is in hard straits; he must not make abortive the generative power of men by gelding nor that of women by sterilizing drugs and other devices. There must be no maltreatment of animals contrary to what is appointed by God or even by a law-giver^b; no destroying of their seed nor defrauding of their offspring.^c 7. 8. No unjust scales, no false measurements, no fraudulent coinage must be substituted.^d The secrets of a friend must not be divulged in enmity.^e What need in heaven's name have we of your Buzyges^f and his precepts? There are other matters to be noted: children must not be parted from their parents even if you hold them as captive, nor a wife from her husband even if you are her owner by lawful purchase.

7. 9. These no doubt are more important and serious matters, but there are others, little things of casual occurrence. Do not render desolate the nesting

the vague statement about the treatment of animals should separate two such closely connected injunctions. The other reading *δουλοῦν* is translated by Gifford "enslave not thy offspring," but such a command seems very unnecessary and pointless.

^a Cf. Prov. xi. 1, xvi. 11, Lev. xix. 35, Deut. xxv. 13-16.

^e *i.e.* when they quarrel or become enemies. It is more clearly expressed by Jos. § 207 "We must conceal nothing from our friends, nor divulge secrets, *ἐὰν συμβῇ τις ἔχθρα*."

^f Buzyges, a hero of Athens, who first yoked oxen to the plough (Hesychius), was commemorated at a festival of Demeter, where one of his family repeated various imprecations against those who refused fire and water and did other uncharitable actions. For an abstract of Bernays' full note on the subject see App. p. 539.

PHILO

ἱκεσίαν οἶα ἔσθ' ὅτε προσφευγόντων ἀναιρεῖν, μὴ εἴ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἡττόν ἐστιν. οὐδενὸς ἄξια ταῦτά γε εἶποις ἄν· ἀλλ' ὃ γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νόμος ἐστὶ μέγας καὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας αἵτιος, καὶ αἱ προρρήσεις μεγάλαι καὶ ἀραὶ κατὰ τε¹ ἐξωλείας, καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπόπτης τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τιμωρὸς ἀπανταχοῦ.

7. 10. Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν

“Ὀλὴν δὲ ἡμέραν, εἰ τύχοι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ μίαν ἀλλὰ πολλὰς, καὶ ταύτας οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, καὶ τούτων δὲ παρ' ἐπτά, κρατοῦντος ὡς εἰκὸς αἰεὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὰς βεβήλους ἔθους, μηδὲν ἂν παραβῆναι τῶν προστεταγμένων οὐ θαυμάζεις; 7. 11. ἂρ' οὐ πρὸς ἀσκήσεως μόνον αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ἐγκρατείας ἐστίν, ὡς ἐξ ἴσου καὶ δρᾶν τι πονοῦντας καὶ ἀνέχειν ἰσχύειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, εἰ δέοι; οὐ δῆτα. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργου μεγάλου καὶ θαυμαστοῦ τινος ὥηθη δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτοὺς μὴ τᾶλλα μόνον ἱκανοὺς εἶναι δρᾶν καὶ μὴ δρᾶν ὡσαύτως, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν πατρίων νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχειν. 7. 12. τί οὖν ἐποίησε; ταῖς ἐβδόμαις

¹ I should prefer to omit τε. As it stands the phrase is awkwardly coupled with μεγάλοι.

^a Or “the nest under thy roof” (Gifford). But the allusion is clearly to Deut. xxii. 6, where anyone who finds a bird's nest “in the way or on a tree or on the ground” may take the eggs, but not the mother bird.

^b So Jos. § 213 “creatures which take refuge in our houses like suppliants he has forbidden us to kill.” I do not understand what is meant. See App. p. 540.

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 9-12

home of birds^a or make the appeals of animals of none effect when they seem to fly to you for help as they sometimes do.^b Nor commit any lesser offence of the kind. These things are of nothing worth, you may say, yet great is the law which ordains them and ever watchful is the care which it demands. Great too and appalling^c are the warnings and imprecations which accompany it. And such deeds are everywhere surveyed and avenged by God Himself.

7. 10. ^a Shortly afterwards he says :

Is it not a marvel that for a whole day they should have kept from transgressing on any occasion any of the ordinances, or rather for many days, not one only, days too which did not follow straight on each other but only after intervals, and intervals of seven during which habits belonging to the secular days naturally hold the mastery? 7. 11. You may ask: Is not this merely a case of practising self-control so that they should be capable of abstaining from toil if necessary no less than of toilsome activity? No, it was a great and marvellous achievement^e which the law-giver had in view. He considered that they should not only be capable of both action and inaction in other matters but also should have expert knowledge of their ancestral laws and customs. 7. 12. What then did he do? He required them to

^c More literally "threatening destruction." Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 34 for this Demosthenic phrase.

^d The part here omitted by Eusebius contained no doubt an account of the strict rules enforced on the sabbath.

^e Gifford translates *πρὸς ἔργον* "at the cost of great and extraordinary pains." I understand *πρὸς* as = "belonging to" like *πρὸς δίκης* or *πρὸς λόγου* and indeed *πρὸς ἐπαίνου* καὶ τίμης in 6. 4 above.

ταύταις ἡμέραις αὐτοὺς εἰς ταῦτόν ἡξίου συν-
 ἄγεσθαι καὶ καθεζομένους μετ' ἀλλήλων σὺν αἰδοῖ
 καὶ κόσμῳ τῶν νόμων ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ μηδένα
 360 ἀγνοῆσαι χάριν. 7. 13. καὶ δῆτα συνέρχονται μὲν
 αἰεὶ καὶ συνεδρεύουσι μετ' ἀλλήλων· οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ
 σιωπῇ, πλὴν εἴ τι προσεπευφημῆσαι τοῖς ἀνα-
 γινωσκομένοις νομίζεται· τῶν ἱερέων δέ τις ὁ
 παρὼν ἢ τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἀναγινώσκει τοὺς |
 [631] ἱεροὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξηγεῖται
 μέχρι σχεδὸν δειλῆς ὀψίας· καὶ τοῦδε ἀπολύονται
 τῶν τε νόμων τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες καὶ
 πολὺ δὴ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐπιδεδωκότες. 7. 14. ἄρά
 σοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα ἀργούντων εἶναι καὶ οὐ παντὸς
 ἔργου μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖα αὐτοῖς; τοιγαροῦν οὐκ
 ἐπὶ θεσμοφδοὺς ἔρχονται περὶ τῶν πρακτέων καὶ
 μὴ διερωτῶντες οὐδὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπ' ἀγνοίας
 τῶν νόμων ῥαδιουργοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὄντινα αὐτῶν
 κινεῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν πατρίων διαπυνθάνῃ, προ-
 χείρως ἔχει καὶ ῥαδίως εἰπεῖν· καὶ ἀνὴρ γυναικὶ
 καὶ παισὶ πατὴρ καὶ δούλοις δεσπότης ἱκανὸς εἶναι
 δοκεῖ τοὺς νόμους παραδιδόναι. 7. 15.
 καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γε ἔτους τοῦ ἐβδόμου ῥάδιον
 ὡσαύτως λέγειν, οὐ μὴν ταῦτόν ἴσως. οὐ γὰρ
 αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφεστᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις
 ἐκείναις ἡμέραις, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν ἀργὴν ἀφιάσιν εἰς

^a Or persons who make a profession of enunciating moral and legal opinions? The words *θεσμοφδός* and *θεσμοφδέω* are only cited by Stephanus from this passage and *De Som.* i. 193, and L. & S. (revised) has nothing to add except a reference to one inscription. In both cases *θεσπι-* has been proposed, and in the sense of making divine or prophetic

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 12-15

assemble in the same place on these seventh days, and sitting together in a respectful and orderly manner hear the laws read so that none should be ignorant of them. 7. 13. And indeed they do always assemble and sit together, most of them in silence except when it is the practice to add something to signify approval of what is read. But some priest who is present or one of the elders reads the holy laws to them and expounds them point by point till about the late afternoon, when they depart having gained both expert knowledge of the holy laws and considerable advance in piety. 7. 14. Do you think that this marks them as idlers or that any work is equally vital to them? And so they do not resort to persons learned in the law ^a with questions as to what they should do or not do, nor yet ^b by keeping independent transgress in ignorance of the law, but any one of them whom you attack with inquiries about their ancestral institutions can answer you readily and easily. The husband seems competent to transmit knowledge of the laws to his wife, the father to his children, the master to his slaves. 7. 15.

Again with regard to the seventh year one can without difficulty use much the same though perhaps not identical words.^c For here it is not they themselves who abstain from work as on those seventh days, but it is the land which they leave idle against the days

utterances would be suitable enough in *De Som.*, but hardly here. If the word is right, the termination would seem to have lost its force.

^b Lit. "relying on themselves," *i.e.* they learn from each other.

^c Philo's remarkable insistence on the sabbatical year has been shown several times, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 86-109, iv. 215-217, *De Virt.* 97, 98, *De Praem.* 154-157.

τὰ μέλλοντα αὖθις εὐθηνίας χάριν· πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρειν αὐτὴν ἀνάπαυλαν λαβοῦσαν, εἴτα δὲ εἰς νέωτα γεωργεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ἐργασίας κατεξάνθαι. 7. 16. ταῦτόν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ σώματα ἂν ἴδοις συμβαῖνον εἰς ῥώμην· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ὑγείαν μόνον διαλείμματα καὶ τινὰς ἀναπαύλας ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς ἰατροὺς προστάττοντας· τὸ γὰρ συνεχὲς καὶ μονοειδὲς αἰεὶ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπ' ἔργων, βλάπτειν ἔοικε. 7. 17. σημεῖον δέ· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ταύτην γῆν εἴ τις ἐπαγγέλλοιτο αὐτοῖς ἐξεργάσεσθαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ ἑβδομον ἔτος τουτὶ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν πάντων συμπαχωρήσειν ὅλων, οὐκ ἂν οὐδαμῶς δέξαιντο· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν πόνων ἀνέχειν οἶονται δεῖν μόνοι —καίτοι κἂν εἰ τοῦτ' ἐποιοῦν, οὐδὲν ἂν θαυμαστὸν ᾦν—, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς ἀνεσὶν τινα καὶ ῥαστώνην εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐτέραν τῆς αὖθις ἐπιμελείας καὶ γεωργίας λαβεῖν. 7. 18. ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυε πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος ἔτους αὐτὴν προεκδοῦναι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐκείνων τὸν¹

361 φόρον τοῦ ἔτους ἐκλέγειν; ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων προνοία μοι δοκεῖ τῆς χώρας ἐκδέχονται. 7. 19. τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο μέγα ὡς ἀληθῶς σημεῖον· ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους ἀνέχουσι, τοὺς γινομένους καρποὺς οὐκ οἶονται δεῖν συλλέγειν οὐδ' ἀποτίθεσθαι μὴ ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων πόνων περιόντας αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἅτε τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος αὐτοῖς, ἀνιείσης ἀπ' αὐτομάτου τῆς

¹ MSS. τὸν ἐκείνων, and so Dindorf. Gifford τὸν ἐκείνου.

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 15-19

to come hereafter to give it fertility, for they believe that it gains much by getting a respite and is then tilled in the next year without being exhausted by unbroken cultivation. 7. 16. You may see that the same treatment of our bodies tends to strengthen them. Physicians prescribe some intermissions and relaxations not merely when health has to be restored.^a For monotony without a break, particularly in work, is always seen to be injurious. 7. 17. Here is a proof that their object is as I describe. If anyone offered to cultivate this same land during the seventh year much more strenuously than before and to surrender to them the whole of the fruits they would absolutely refuse. For they do not think that it is only themselves who should abstain from work, though if they did so it would be nothing to wonder at, but that the land should gain at their hands a respite and easing off to make a fresh start in receiving renewed attention and husbandry. 7. 18. For what in heaven's name was to hinder them from letting out the land during the year^b and collecting the produce of that year at its end from the others who tilled it? But, as I have said, they entirely refuse anything of the kind, doubtless out of consideration for the land. 7. 19. We have a truly great proof of their humanity in the following also. Since they themselves abstain from labour during that year, they think that they should not gather or lay by the fruits produced which do not accrue to them from their own toil, but since God has provided them, sprung from the soil by its own action,

^a *i.e.* they prescribe it for people who are perfectly well.

^b Lit. "during the past year," *i.e.* the year which will be past when the fruit is gathered.

γῆς, τοὺς βουλομένους ἢ δεομένους τῶν τε ὁδοι-
 [632] πόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι μετὰ ἀδείας χρῆσθαι. |
 7. 20. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἅλις σοι· τὸ γὰρ ταῖς
 ἐβδόμαις ἤδη τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς στήσαι ταῦτα οὐκ
 ἂν ἐμὲ ἀπαιτήσαις, ἴσως πολλῶν πολλάκις καὶ
 ἱατρῶν καὶ φυσιολόγων καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀκηκοὺς
 περὶ τούτου πρότερον, ἦντιν' ἄρα δύναμιν ἔχει πρὸς
 τε τὴν τῶν συμπάντων καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν
 φύσιν. οὗτος ὁ τῆς ἐβδόμης λόγος.

11. 1. Μυρίους δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων ὁ ἡμέτερος
 νομοθέτης ἤλειπεν ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν, οἱ καλοῦνται
 μὲν Ἑσσαιοί, παρὰ τὴν ὁσιότητά μοι δοκῶ τῆς
 προσηγορίας ἀξιοθέντες. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πολλὰς μὲν
 πόλεις τῆς Ἰουδαίας, πολλὰς δὲ κώμας καὶ¹ μεγά-
 λους καὶ πολυανθρώπους ὁμίλους. 11. 2. ἔστι δ'
 αὐτοῖς ἡ προαίρεσις οὐ γένει—γένος γὰρ ἐφ'
 ἐκουσίοις οὐ γράφεται—, διὰ δὲ ζῆλον ἀρετῆς καὶ

¹ κατὰ?—Though accepted without comment by Mangey and Gifford, the construction οἰκεῖν ὁμίλους seems hardly possible.

^a The following extract is made by Eusebius at a later point in the same book of the *Praeparatio*. He introduces it by saying that the Jewish nation is divided into two sections, (1) the multitude which Moses intended to be guided by the literal meaning (ῥητὴ διάνοια), and (2) the philosophers who can rise from the literal to the higher meaning. As an example of the second class he reproduces Philo's two

HYPOTHETICA, 7. 19—11. 2

they should grant them to be used freely by wayfarers and others who desire or need them. 7. 20. You have now had enough on this subject, for you will not require me to show that these rules for the seventh days are established firmly among them by the law. Probably you have often heard ere now from many physicians, scientists and philosophers what influence it has over the life of all things and of mankind in particular. This is what I have to say about the seventh day.

^a 11. 1. Multitudes of his disciples has the lawgiver trained for the life of fellowship. These people are called Essenes, a name awarded to them doubtless in recognition of their holiness. They live in many cities of Judaea and in many villages and grouped in great societies of many members. 11. 2. Their persuasion ^b is not based on birth, for birth is not a descriptive mark of voluntary associations,^c but on their zeal for

accounts of the Essenes, one from the *Quod Omn. Prob.* (see pp. 54-63), and the following which he quotes from "The Apology for the Jews." See for this title Introduction, p. 407, and for remarks on the two accounts App. p. 514.

^b Or "vocation." Cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 2, and see App. p. 514.

^c *i.e.* when we define the principles or considerations on which a voluntary association is based, birth or family is not among them. But Gifford may be right in translating more simply "family descent is not ranked among matters of choice," though I am not sure that *γράφεται ἐν* can mean this, or what the point of the remark is.

φιλανθρωπίας ἡμερον. 11. 3. Ἐσσαιῶν γοῦν κομιδῇ νήπιος οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρωτογένειος ἢ μειράκιον, ἐπεὶ τά γε τούτων ἀβέβαια ἦθη τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀτελεῖ συννεωτερίζοντα,¹ τέλειοι δ' ἄνδρες καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀποκλίνοντες ἤδη, μηκέθ' ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιρροῆς κατακλυζόμενοι μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀγόμενοι, τὴν ἀψευδῇ δὲ καὶ μόνῃ ὄντως ἐλευθερίαν καρπούμενοι. 11. 4. μάρτυς δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν ὁ βίος. ἴδιον οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπομένει κτήσασθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐκ οἰκίαν, οὐκ ἀνδράποdon, οὐ χωρίον, οὐ βοσκήματα, οὐχ ὅσα ἄλλα παρασκευαὶ καὶ χορηγίαι πλούτου· πάντα δ' εἰς μέσον ἀθρόα καταθέντες κοινὴν καρποῦνται τὴν ἀπάντων ὠφέλειαν. 11. 5. οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν ταύτῳ κατὰ θιάσους ἐταιρίας καὶ συσσίτια πεποιημένοι καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινωφελοῦς πραγματευόμενοι [633] διατελοῦσιν. 11. 6. ἀλλ' ἐτέρων | ἕτεραι πραγματεῖαι, αἷς ἐπαποδύντες ἀόκνως διαθλοῦσιν, οὐ κρυμόν, οὐ θάλπος, οὐχ ὅσα ἀέρος νεωτερίσματα προφασίζόμενοι· πρὶν δ' ἡλίον ἀνασχεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τρεπόμενοι δυομένου μόλις ἐπανίασι χαίροντες οὐχ ἥττον τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἐξεταζομένων ἀγῶσιν. 11. 7. ὑπολαμβάνουσι γὰρ ἅττ' ἂν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν εἶναι βιωφελέστερα καὶ ἡδίω ψυχῇ

¹ Other editions *συννεωτερίζονται*. One ms. has —τα, which accords better with Philo's general if not universal rule of using the singular verb with a neuter plural subject. (But see note in vol. viii. p. 445.) On the other hand if *ἀβέβαια* is predicate its position is strange.

HYPOTHETICA, 11. 3-7

virtue and desire to promote brotherly love. 11. 3. Thus no Essene is a mere child nor even a stripling or newly bearded, since the characters of such are unstable with a waywardness corresponding to the immaturity of their age, but full grown and already verging on old age, no longer carried under by the tide of the body nor led by the passions, but enjoying the veritable, the only real freedom. 11. 4. This freedom is attested by their life. None of them allows himself to have any private property, either house or slave or estate or cattle or any of the other things which are amassed^a and abundantly procured by wealth, but they put everything together into the public stock and enjoy the benefit of them all in common. 11. 5. They live together formed into clubs, bands of comradeship with common meals, and never cease to conduct all their affairs to serve the general weal. 11. 6. But they have various occupations at which they labour with untiring application and never plead cold or heat or any of the violent changes in the atmosphere as an excuse. Before the sun is risen they betake themselves to their familiar tasks and only when it sets force themselves to return, for they delight in them as much as do those who are entered for gymnastic competitions. 11. 7. For they consider that the exercises which they practise whatever they may be are more valuable to life, more pleasant to soul and body and more

^a παρασκευὴ πλούτου may mean what prepares or procures wealth. But it is better taken as = "what wealth procures," the word often carrying with it the idea of affluence or luxury both in quality and quantity. Thus τῆς ἀφθόνου παρασκευῆς of Pharaoh, *De Sac.* 48, τῶν περιττῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων παρασκευῶν *Leg. All.* iii. 147, and τὴν παρασκευὴν of the sumptuous banquet in *De Vit. Cont.* 53.

καὶ σώματι τὰ γυμνάσματα καὶ πολυχρονιώτερα
 τῶν ἐν ἀθλήσεσι, μὴ συναφηβῶντα τῇ τοῦ σώματος
 ἀκμῇ. 11. 8. εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν γεηπόνοι
 τῶν περὶ σπορὰν καὶ φυτουργίαν ἐπιστήμονες, οἱ
 380 δὲ ἀγελάρχαι, παντοδαπῶν θρεμμάτων ἡγεμόνες,
 ἔνιοι δὲ σμήνη μελιττῶν ἐπιτροπεύουσιν. 11. 9.
 ἄλλοι δὲ δημιουργοὶ τῶν κατὰ τέχνας εἰσὶν, ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ μηδὲν ὦν αἱ ἀναγκαῖαι χρεῖαι βιάζονται παθεῖν,
 οὐδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενοι τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἀνυπαίτιον.
 11. 10. ἐκ δὴ τῶν οὕτως διαφερόντων ἕκαστοι τὸν
 μισθὸν λαβόντες ἐνὶ διδόασι τῷ χειροτονηθέντι
 ταμία, λαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος αὐτίκα τὰ πιτῆδεια ὠνεῖται
 καὶ παρέχει τροφὰς ἀφθόνους καὶ τᾶλλα ὧν ὁ
 ἀνθρώπινος βίος χρειώδης. 11. 11. οἱ δ' ὁμο-
 δίαιτοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εἰσὶ
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀσμενίζοντες, ὀλιγοδείας ἐρασταί,
 πολυτέλειαν ὡς ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος νόσον ἐκτρεπό-
 μενοι. 11. 12. κοινὴ δ' οὐ τράπεζα μόνον ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐσθῆς αὐτοῖς ἐστι· πρόκεινται γὰρ χειμῶνι μὲν
 στιφραὶ χλαῖναι, θέρει δ' ἐξωμίδες εὐτελεῖς, ὡς
 εὐμαρῶς ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἢν ἂν ἐβελήσῃ
 λαβεῖν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἐνὸς ἀπάντων καὶ τὰ πάντων
 ἔμπαλιν ἐνὸς ὑπείληπται. 11. 13. καὶ μὴν εἴ τις
 αὐτῶν ἀσθενήσειεν, ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν νοσηλεύεται
 θεραπευόμενος ταῖς ἀπάντων ἐπιμελείαις καὶ φρον-
 τίσιν. οἱ δὲ δὴ πρεσβῦται, καὶ εἰ τύχοιεν ἄτεκνοι,
 καθάπερ οὐ πολὺπαιδες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα
 εὐπαιδες, ἐν εὐτυχαστάτῳ καὶ λιπαρωτάτῳ γήρᾳ
 τὸν βίον εἰώθασι καταλύειν, ὑπὸ τοσοῦτων προ-
 νομίας ἀξιούμενοι καὶ τιμῆς ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ μᾶλλον

HYPOTHETICA, 11. 7-13

lasting than those of the athlete in as much as they can still be plied with vigour when that of the body is past its prime. 11. 8. Some of them labour on the land skilled in sowing and planting, some as herdsmen taking charge of every kind of cattle and some superintend the swarms of bees. 11. 9. Others work at the handicrafts to avoid the sufferings which are forced upon us by our indispensable requirements and shrink from no innocent way of getting a livelihood. 11. 10. Each branch when it has received the wages of these so different occupations gives it to one person who has been appointed as treasurer. He takes it and at once buys what is necessary and provides food in abundance and anything else which human life requires. 11. 11. Thus having each day a common life and a common table they are content with the same conditions, lovers of frugality who shun expensive luxury as a disease of both body and soul. 11. 12. And not only is their table in common but their clothing also. For in winter they have a stock of stout coats ready and in summer cheap vests,^a so that he who wishes may easily take any garment he likes, since what one has is held to belong to all and conversely what all have one has. 11. 13. Again if anyone is sick he is nursed at the common expense and tended with care and thoughtfulness by all. The old men too even if they are childless are treated as parents of a not merely numerous but very filial family and regularly close their life with an exceedingly prosperous and comfortable old age; so many are those who give them precedence and honour as their due and minister to them as a duty voluntarily and deliberately ac-

^a Or "tunics," cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 38.

ἡ φύσεως ἀνάγκη θεραπεύειν ἀξιούντων.

11. 14. ἔτι τοίνυν ὅπερ ἡ μόνον ἡ μάλιστα τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔμελλε διαλύειν ὀξυδεκρέστερον ἰδόντες γάμον παρητήσαντο μετὰ τοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν. Ἑσσαίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἄγεται γυναῖκα, διότι φίλαντον ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ζηλότυπον οὐ μετρίως καὶ δεινὸν ἀνδρὸς ἦθη παλεῦσαι καὶ συνεχέσι γοητείαις ὑπάγεσθαι. 11. 15. μελετήσασα [634] γὰρ θῶπας λόγους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην | ὑπόκρισιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, ὅψεις καὶ ἀκοὰς ὅταν δελεάσῃ, διηπατημένων οἶα ὑπηκόων τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν φενακίζει. 11. 16. παῖδες δ' εἰ γένοντο, φρονήματος ὑποπλησθεῖσα καὶ παρρησίας ὅσα κατ' εἰρωνείαν πρότερον ὑποούλως ὑπηγνίττετο, ταῦτα ἀπ' εὐ- 381 τολμοτέρου θράσους ἐκλαλεῖ καὶ ἀναισχυντοῦσα βιάζεται πράττειν ὧν ἕκαστον κοινωνίας ἐχθρόν. 11. 17. ὁ γὰρ ἡ γυναικὸς φίλτροις ἐνδεθεὶς ἡ τέκνων ἀνάγκη φύσεως προκηδόμενος οὐκέτι πρὸς ἄλλους ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἕτερος λέληθε γεγονώς,¹ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου δοῦλος.

11. 18. Οὕτως γοῦν ὁ βίος ἐστὶν αὐτῶν περιμάχητος, ὥστ' οὐκ ἰδιῶται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἀγάμενοι τοὺς ἀνδρας τεθήπασι καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν αὐτῶν ἀποδοχαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς ἔτι μᾶλλον σεμνοποιοῦσι.

¹ Other editions γέγονε λεληθώς.

^a Cf. ἔριδες ἐκ πάθους γυναικείου, ζηλοτυπίας *Spec. Leg.* i. 108. This diatribe must not, I think, be taken as Philo's definite opinion, but rather as what might be plausibly argued by the Essenes.

HYPOTHETICA, 11. 13-18

cepted rather than enforced by nature.

11. 14. Furthermore they eschew marriage because they clearly discern it to be the sole or the principal danger to the maintenance of the communal life, as well as because they particularly practise continence. For no Essene takes a wife, because a wife is a selfish creature, excessively jealous^a and an adept at beguiling the morals of her husband and seducing him by her continued impostures. 11. 15. For by the fawning talk which she practises and the other ways in which she plays her part like an actress on the stage she first ensnares the sight and hearing, and when these subjects as it were have been duped she cajoles the sovereign mind. 11. 16. And if children come, filled with the spirit of arrogance and bold speaking she gives utterance with more audacious hardihood to things which before she hinted covertly and under disguise, and casting off all shame she compels him to commit actions which are all hostile to the life of fellowship. 11. 17. For he who is either fast bound in the love lures of his wife or under the stress of nature makes his children his first care ceases to be the same to others and unconsciously has become a different man and has passed from freedom into slavery.

11. 18. Such then is the life of the Essenes, a life so highly to be prized that not only commoners but also great kings look upon them with admiration and amazement, and the approbation and honours which they give add further veneration to their venerable name.

ON PROVIDENCE
(DE PROVIDENTIA)

INTRODUCTION TO *DE PROVIDENTIA*

As stated in the Preface the fragments from the *De Providentia* recorded by Eusebius stand on a different footing from the extracts from the *Hypothetica*, in that not only they but the whole treatise of which they are a part exist in an Armenian version.^a It consists of two books, both cast at any rate originally in the form of a dialogue between Philo who maintains the belief that the world is governed by Providence and one Alexander who puts forth his doubts and difficulties. This Alexander may be taken with fair certainty to be Philo's nephew Alexander Tiberius, who afterwards apostatized from Judaism.

As Eusebius's extracts are all drawn from the second book we need not trouble with the much shorter first book. It will be enough to record Wendland's verdict without necessarily accepting it entirely. It amounts to this. It has been worked over by a clumsy hand which has destroyed the interlocutory setting, and torn the thoughts away from their essential order; it includes two large Christian interpolations, but otherwise is genuinely Philonic. The second book, which is twice the length, has no such difficulties. The dialogue is

^a The Armenian version was translated into Latin by Aucher in 1822, together with another, *De Animalibus*. It is this Latin translation which is always quoted by commentators and editors of Philo.

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clearly maintained throughout. There is nothing which suggests interpolation and the parallelism both of thought and language, at any rate in the part of which the original is preserved by Eusebius, gives overwhelming evidence of its genuineness. This is particularly true of the first part of the second fragment. It is very remarkable therefore that it is more devoid of traces of Judaism than even the *Quod Omn. Prob.* and the *De Aet.* There are no allusions to the O.T., and no mention of Moses; the one and only fact which suggests that the writer is a Jew is the personal allusion to his visit to Jerusalem via Ascalon (§ 64). This has naturally raised doubts in the minds of critics who have not made themselves thoroughly familiar with Philo's thoughts and diction, but Wendland's^a searching analysis and collection of the parallels can hardly fail to carry conviction to the most sceptical, and even without this any fairly careful reader of Philo will constantly feel, as he goes through the Greek of the *De Providentia*, that he has seen something like this before though he cannot exactly say where it is to be found.

Eusebius has recorded something like two-thirds of Philo's answers to Alexander's argument but of the argument itself only the first section of this text, and even this he represents as if it were a statement by Philo himself of the objections which opponents might adduce—there are occasional uses of a second person singular but otherwise there is hardly anything to suggest a dialogue.

The omission of the opponent's case is not seriously felt either in the short extract given here as Frag-

^a *Philos Schrift über die Vorsehung*, 1892.

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ment (1), or in the long answer to the argument that Providence, if it exists, treats the good too badly and the bad too well. For this is a difficulty felt in every age and probably found in every literature from Job and Asaph onwards. Philo was able to manipulate, even if he did not entirely invent, the part which Alexander plays, and he does not seem to have treated his opponent fairly in making him quote as examples of the good fortune of the wicked Polycrates, who was finally impaled, and Dionysius, whose life of perpetual anxiety was proverbial. In the second part of this extract things are rather different and the suppression of Alexander's difficulties makes the discourse seem disjointed. The references for instance to the country of the Cyclopes, to the habits of swallows, snakes and crocodiles seem a chaotic ramble until we turn to the argumentation to which they are an answer.

For the full understanding of this part of the extract the earlier part of the Armenian version is invaluable. What is its value in the part where the Greek and Armenian stand side by side? As a translation, not much, nor would it be very much, even if Aucher's Latin was always intelligible, or if we were sure that he had always rendered the Armenian accurately. But in deciding the text it has a value which seems to have been ignored by the editors of the *Praeparatio*.^a Where the Latin

^a I do not see in the editions of either Gaisford or Gifford, who give a critical apparatus, any allusions to the readings of the Armenian, nor in either Heinichen's or Dindorf's edition any sign that they have been taken into account, though Aucher's translation was available to them all. None of them probably knew any Armenian, and Wendland, who as far as I can ascertain, was the first to make use of it

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corresponds closely to the Greek there is often some word or phrase which clearly points to a variant from the text of all or most of the mss. of Eusebius and constitutes an important independent authority. Several examples of this will be found in the notes.

What was said in the introduction to *Quod Omn. Prob.*, that it may probably be ascribed to an earlier stage in Philo's spiritual life when his mind was more occupied with Greek philosophy and he had not yet settled down to his great task of interpreting the Pentateuch in the light of that philosophy, may be said of this treatise and also of the *De Aet.* if that is his work.

The following is an analysis of the extracts :

First fragment—The Divine artist in creating the Cosmos may be held to have accomplished what human artists aim at, namely, to use exactly the right amount of matter.

Second fragment—Alexander says that the wicked as a rule fare best and the good fare worst and that this shows that human life is not governed by Providence (1). Philo replies that if God does not at once punish the wicked it is on the same principle as that a father does not at once cast off a profligate

for this purpose, tells us that he was equally ignorant of it, but he had great help from Conybeare, who was a distinguished Armenian scholar.

An Armenian version also exists for several treatises in the six volumes of Cohn and Wendland and is frequently cited by them, and these citations have been occasionally noted in this translation, though I do not remember many places except in the *De Vit. Cont.* where it has had much influence on them. They had, I suppose, no authoritative version of the Armenian like Aucher's to assist them.

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son (2-6). Also that the wicked are never really happy (7-8). The external goods valued by men are not valued by God or by the wise (9-10). Gold and silver are but lumps of earth though we fight for their possession (10-12). So with clothes, so with reputation (13). Bodily strength (14). Beauty (15). All these the true philosopher despises (16). The physician who is called in to attend a king does not waste time in admiring the royal trappings but goes straight to his patient (17). So, too, the physician of the soul should treat spiritual maladies and not be dazzled by external things or misled by the judgement of the evil world (18-20). It is no wonder therefore that the sages defied poverty (21) and the ill-treatment they receive is a necessary consequence of the moral atmosphere around them, even as the rain falls upon the just and the unjust (22-23). Alexander has cited the cases of Polycrates and the elder Dionysius. Polycrates' ultimate fate and his life of anxiety is an answer to this (24-25). And so too with Dionysius—witness the stories of his suspicions of his wife (26-28) and of Damocles (29-30). This is followed by general reflections on the mental sufferings sustained by such as these (30-32). The fate of the Phocian leaders who robbed the temple at Delphi shows that Heaven sometimes sends an immediate punishment for sin (33-34). And if tyrants sometimes remain unpunished we must remember first that God's judgement of their deserts are surer than ours (35-36) and also that they may be ministers sent to purge a sinful land, just as he sends pestilence and the like for the same purpose (37-42).

In the second part of this discourse he deals first

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with the disasters caused by natural phenomena, such as storms. All these are explained on the theory of "attendant circumstances" on the primary works of nature which are rightly regarded as providential (43-46). At the same time these attendant circumstances may be indirectly useful and illustrations of this are given (47-50). Phenomena which we do not understand, at any rate give an opportunity for research which is in itself valuable (51-52). The same applies to earthquakes and pestilences which are not to be regarded as Divine judgement (this seems to contradict 41). And that some even of the just should suffer from them is as inevitable as their participation in the dangers of a storm (53-55). Other points which Alexander has raised are then dealt with.^a The existence of savage beasts is no reflection on Providence. Hunting them develops courage and the less courageous can easily guard against them if they are reasonably careful (56-58). Reptiles if generated from putrefaction may be classed as "attendant circumstances" (59), if generated in the ordinary way they may be accounted for on the grounds that their poisons are useful in compounding drugs and also it is suggested that they are sent as ministers of punishment (60-61). Alexander had also made a point of their hiding in houses, which Philo denies. At any rate if they sometimes do so it is the accumulation of rubbish which brings them (62). He also asked why Providence made the swallow frequent houses while the birds which we eat keep away. Philo replies that

^a The objections raised by Alexander, which are indispensable for understanding the latter part of the treatise, are for convenience stated again more fully in the notes to the text.

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the swallows know that men will not hurt them, and illustrates this by the habits of the pigeons at Ascalon where they may not be eaten, and the crocodiles in parts where they are held in honour by the Egyptians (63-65). Alexander contrasted the fertility according to Homer of the land of the unjust Cyclopes with the barrenness of Greece, the country of the wise. The story of the Cyclopes, says Philo, is a fable and the dry climate of Greece though bad for the vegetation is good for intellect (66-68). Again he asks, why should Providence create animals and scents, both of which pander to luxury? Philo replies that we need not eat animal flesh and that scents of flowers have other uses (69-71). He concludes by saying that he thinks he has given a satisfactory answer to Alexander's difficulties.

DE PROVIDENTIA

(EUS. PRAEP. EVANG. VII. 21, 336 b—337 a)

- [625] Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποσοῦ τῆς οὐσίας, εἰ δὴ γέγονεν ὧντως, ἐκείνο λεκτέον. ἔστοχάσατο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ὁ Θεὸς αὐταρκεστάτης ὕλης ὥς
[626] μήτ' ἐνδέοι μήθ' ὑπερβάλλοι. καίγαρ | ἄτοπον ἦν τοῖς μὲν κατὰ μέρος τεχνίταις, ὅποτε τι δημιουργοῖεν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πολυτελῶν, τὸ ἐν ὕλαις αὐταρκες σταθμῆσασθαι, τὸν δ' ἀριθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἰσότητας ἀνευρηκότα μὴ φροντίσαι τοῦ ἱκανοῦ. λέξω δὴ μετὰ παρρησίας, ὅτι οὗτ' ἐλάττωνος οὔτε πλείονος οὐσίας ἔδει τῷ κόσμῳ πρὸς κατασκευήν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο τέλειος, οὐδ' ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὁλόκληρος· εἴ δὲ δεδημιουργημένος ἐκ τελείας οὐσίας ἀπετελέσθη· πανσόφου γὰρ τὴν τέχνην ἴδιον, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τινος κατασκευῆς, τὴν ἱκανὴν ἰδεῖν ὕλην. ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὖν καὶ εἰ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἐπιστήμην διαφέρει, μὴ δυνάμενος κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν συγγενῇ τῶν θνητῶν πλάνην, ἀπατῶτο

^a The context of this fragment (Aucher, pp. 78-82) is as follows : Alexander has asked why, if God created the world, was just this amount of matter used and why just four elements taken. Philo, conceding for the sake of argument that matter may have been unoriginate, argues that this

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(FRAGMENT I)^a

As to the quantity of the substance assuming that it^b was really created what we have to say is this. God estimated for the creation of the world just sufficient matter that there should be neither deficiency nor excess. For it would be monstrous to suppose that while particular craftsmen when framing something, especially anything costly, estimate what material is just sufficient, He who invented numbers, measures and equality in them had no thought for what was adequate. I will say indeed with all confidence that the world needed neither less nor more substance for its construction, since otherwise it would not have been made perfect nor complete in all its parts, whereas actually it was made excellently out of a perfect substance. For it is a characteristic of a complete master of his art to see before he begins any constructive work that he has sufficient material. Now a man even if superior to everyone in knowledge may perhaps, as he cannot escape the errors congenital to mortals, be deceived as to the quantity of would not exclude the work of Providence in shaping it into the Cosmos.

^b Presumably the *οὐσία*. But I do not understand the clause, for the assumption on which he is arguing is that it was not created by God. See App. p. 541.

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ἂν ἴσως περὶ τὴν ποσότητα τῆς ὕλης, ὅποτε
 τεχνιτεῖοι· τότε μὲν ὡς ἐλάττονι¹ προστιθέναι, τότε
 δὲ ὡς περιττῆς ἀφαιρεῖν· ὁ δὲ πηγὴ τις ὦν ἐπι-
 στημῶν, ἐνδέον ἢ περιττεῦον οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ὑπο-
 βάλλεσθαι, μέτροις ἅτε χρώμενος εἰς ἀκρίβειαν
 337 ὑπερφυῶς πεπονημένοις ἅπασιν ἐπαινετοῖς. ὁ δὲ
 βουλόμενος ἄλλως ὑθλεῖν οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι καὶ τὰ
 πάντων ἔργα τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀντία² τιθέμενος, ὡς
 ἄμεινον τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπιλαχόντα προσθέσει
 τινὸς ἢ μειώσει τῶν ἐν ὕλαις, ἀλλὰ γὰρ σοφιστείας
 μὲν ἔργον εὐρεσιλογεῖν, σοφίας δὲ ἕκαστα διερευνᾶν
 τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει.

¹ MSS. ἔλαττον εὐρεσιλογεῖν.

² So Viger, Heinichen and Gifford for MSS. αἷτια. I should myself prefer to retain αἷτια with Gaisford and Dindorf but insert ἂν after ἄμεινον = they are sure to bring it against the work of craftsmen as a whole that it might have been improved by using less or more, *i.e.* no human work uses an absolutely perfect amount of material and the same may be

ON PROVIDENCE, 1

material needed when he practises his craft. He may sometimes find it too little and have to add, sometimes excessive and have to take away. But He who is as it were the fountain head of all knowledge was sure to provide nothing deficient or superfluous, since the standards which He employs are all to be extolled as elaborated with absolute accuracy. A person who wishes to waste his time in foolishness is sure ^a also to confront us at once with the works of all other craftsmen as having improved their construction by adding to or diminishing the material. But we leave futile argument for the sophist: the task of wisdom is to investigate all that nature has to show.

^a For this idiomatic use of οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι, to express an immediate or inevitable action, see lexicon.

true of the Cosmos. The Armenian seems to have read *aġria* ("cunctorum opera artificum accusabit"), though what follows seems widely different from the Greek.

DE PROVIDENTIA

(EUS. PRAEP. EVANG. VIII. 14, 386—399)

[634]

1

Κατασκευάζει δὲ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

Πρόνοιαν εἶναι λέγεις ἐν τοσαύτῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ταραχῇ καὶ συγχύσει; τί γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον διατέτακται; τί μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀταξίας γέμει καὶ φθορᾶς; ἢ μόνος ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν κακίοις καὶ πονηροτάτοις ἄφθονα ἐπικωμάζει τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πλοῦτος, εὐδοξία, τιμαὶ παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν· ἡγεμονία πάλιν, ὑγεία, εὐαισθησία, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, ἀπόλαυσις ἡδονῶν ἀκώλυτος, διὰ τε παρασκευῶν περιουσίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰρηνικωτάτην σώματος εὐμοιρίαν; οἱ δὲ φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης ἐρασταί τε καὶ ἀσκηταὶ πάντες εἰσὶν, ὀλίγου δέω φάναι, πένητες, ἀφανεῖς, ἄδοξοι, ταπεινοί;

2 Ταῦτα εἰς ἀνασκευὴν καὶ μυρία ἄλλα πλείω τούτων εἰπών,

^a See Introduction, p. 448.

^b Alexander goes on to enlarge on all these injustices and to argue that they cannot be the work of a just providence. He then mentions specific cases, Polycrates and the elder Dionysius, both of which are later answered by Philo. He also says that the fall of the son of Dionysius is not to the point, for a just ruler does not punish the children for the guilt of the father (see § 55). He then speaks of the martyrdoms of Socrates, Zeno and Anaxarchus (*cf. Quod Omn. Prob.* 106 ff.). Philo in his reply does not deal with these.

ON PROVIDENCE

(FRAGMENT 2)

THIS is the method in which he conducts this discussion. 1
Alexander says “:

“ Do you maintain the existence of providence amid this vast welter and confusion of things? For what part of human life is subject to order, nay, what is not brimful of disorder and corruption? Or are you alone ignorant that to the worst and vilest of men good things in abundance come crowding in, wealth, high repute, honours paid to them by the masses, again authority, health with efficiency of the senses, beauty, strength, unimpeded enjoyment of pleasures through the abundance of their resources and the bodily well-being free from all disturbance which they possess, while the lovers and practisers of wisdom and every virtue are almost universally poor, obscure, of little repute and in a humble position? ”

After stating these and a host of others ^b on the negative 2

In fact Alexander is represented as more or less answering himself. For he says of Zeno that by his endurance he earned high praise and of Anaxarchus that he could not really suffer affliction, “ qui divinae partis dignus est factus.”

The first part of Philo's reply is not given by Eusebius. In it in answer to Alexander's assertion of the poverty of the just, he points out that Democritus and Anaxagoras voluntarily resigned their property (*cf. De Vit. Cont.* 14 and 15, where a somewhat different view of their conduct is taken).

PHILO

ἐξῆς ἐπιλύεται τὰς ἀντιθέσεις διὰ τούτων.

Οὐ τύραννος ὁ Θεός, ὡμότητα καὶ βίαν καὶ ὅσα
 [635] δεσπότης ἀνημέρου | ἀρχῆς ἔργα ἐπιτετηδευκώς,
 ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς ἡμερον καὶ νόμιμον ἀνημμένος
 ἡγεμονίαν, μετὰ δικαιοσύνης τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρα-
 3 νόν τε καὶ κόσμον βραβεύει. βασιλεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι
 πρόσρησις οἰκειότερα πατρός. ὁ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς
 συγγενείαις πρὸς τέκνα γονεῖς, τοῦτο βασιλεὺς μὲν
 πρὸς πόλιν, πρὸς δὲ κόσμον ὁ Θεός, δύο κάλλιστα
 φύσεως θεσμοῖς ἀκινήτοις ἀδιαλύτῳ ἐνώσει ἀρμοσά-
 μενος, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν μετὰ τοῦ κηδεμονικοῦ.
 4 καθάπερ οὖν τῶν ἀσώτων υἱέων οὐ περιορῶσιν οἱ
 τοκέες, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀτυχίας οἶκτον λαμβάνοντες
 περιέπουσι καὶ τημελοῦσι, νομίζοντες ἐχθρῶν
 ἀσπόνδων ἔργον εἶναι κακοπραγίαις ἐπεμβαίνειν,
 φίλων δὲ καὶ συγγενῶν ἐπελαφρίζειν τὰ πταίσματα.
 5 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τούτοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς σῶφροσιν
 ἐπιδαισιλευόμενοι χαρίζονται, σαφῶς εἰδότες, ὥς
 ἐκείνοις μὲν ἄφθονος εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀφορμὴ πάρεστιν
 ἢ σωφροσύνη, τοῖς δ' ἐλπίς μία οἱ γονεῖς, ἥς εἰ
 6 σφαλεῖν, ἀπορήσουσι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων. τὸν
 αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ Θεός, λογικῆς συνέσεως πατὴρ
 ὢν, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν λογισμοῦ μεμοιραμένων
 387 κήδεται, προμηθεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπαιτίως ζώντων,
 ἅμα μὲν καιρὸν εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν αὐτοῖς διδούς,
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἴλεων φύσιν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπερβαίνων,

^a ἀνασκευή is the regular term for a destructive argument. Cf. Quintilian ii. 4. 18 "opus confirmandi destruendique eas (i.e. narrationes) quod κατασκευή et ἀνασκευή vocatur." κατασκευή (ἀζω) can be used in a more general way as above.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 2-6

side ^a he next proceeds to refute the objections as follows.

God is not a tyrant who has made a practice of cruelty and violence and all the deeds committed by a despot who rules by ruthlessness, but a king invested with a kindly and law-abiding sovereignty who governs the whole heaven and earth with justice. Now for a king there is no fitter name than father, ³ for what the father in family life is to the children the king is to the state and God is to the world,^b—God who under the immutable laws of nature has joined in indissoluble union two things most excellent, governorship and guardianship. Now parents do ⁴ not lose thought for their wastrel children but, in pity for their unhappy state, bestow on them care and attention, deeming that it is only mortal enemies who take advantage of the miseries of others to trample on them, while friends and kinsmen should lighten their downfall.^c Often too they lavish their ⁵ kindness on the wastrels more than on the well behaved, knowing well that these have in their sober disposition a plentiful source of prosperity while the wastrels' one hope is in their parents, and if this fail them they will lack the very necessities of life. In the same way God too the Father of reasonable ⁶ intelligence has indeed all who are endowed with reason under His care but takes thought also for those who live a misspent life, thereby giving them time for reformation and also keeping within the bounds of His merciful nature, which has for its attendant

^b Eusebius at this point has omitted some words "and therefore in the greatest of poets, Homer, Zeus is called the father of gods and men."

^c On the line of thought taken in this section see App. p. 541.

PHILO

ἥς ὁπαδὸς ἀρετὴ καὶ φιланθρωπία γέγονεν, ἐπαξία τὸν θεῖον περιπολεῖν κόσμον.

- 7 Ἐνα μὲν δὴ λόγον τοῦτον, ᾧ ψυχῇ,¹ δέξαι τέως αὐτοῦ παρακαταθήκην, ἕτερον δὲ συνωδὸν καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αὐτῷ τοιόνδε. μὴ τοσοῦτόν ποτε ψευσθείης τῆς ἀληθείας, ὥς εὐδαίμονά τινα τῶν φαύλων εἶναι νομίσαι, κἂν πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἢ Κροίσου, Λυγκέως δ' ὀξυωπέστερος, ἀνδριότερος δὲ τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου Μίλωνος, καλλίων δὲ Γανυμήδους,

“ὃν καὶ ἀνηρεύψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνοχοεῦειν, κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἴο.”

- 8 τὸν γοῦν ἴδιον δαίμονα, λέγω δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν, μυρίων ὅσων δεσποτῶν δοῦλον ἀποφήνας, ἔρωτος, ἐπιθυμίας, ἡδονῆς, φόβου, λύπης, ἀφροσύνης, ἀκολασίας, δειλίας, ἀδικίας, οὐκ ἂν εἶναί ποτε δύναιτο εὐδαίμων, κἂν οἱ πολλοὶ σφαλλόμενοι κρίσεως ἀληθοῦς νομίζωσι, δεκασθέντες ὑπὸ κακοῦ διδύμου, τύφου καὶ κενῆς δόξης, δεινῶν παλεῦσαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν ἀνερματίστους ψυχάς, περὶ αὗ
9 κηραίνει γένος τὸ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. εἰ μέντοι

¹ The Armenian seems to have read *ψυχῇ* (“in animum accipe”), which certainly seems more appropriate to a dialogue. On the other hand such an address to the soul or mind in general is thoroughly Philonic, cf. *De Cher.* 29, *De Sac.* 20; and in these sections 6-18 he is so seriously pursuing one of his favourite doctrines that we may well believe him to have cast aside for a moment the thought of a dialogue.

^a Or perhaps “traverse,” i.e. leave no part unvisited, as

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 6-9

virtue and loving kindness well fitted to keep watch as sentry ^a around God's world.

Here is one thought. Receive it, O soul, and ponder ⁷ it awhile as a trust committed to thee by Him, but receive also another in harmony and agreement with it. It is this. Mayst thou never be so led astray from the truth as to think that happiness is the lot of any of the wicked though he excel Croesus in wealth, Lynceus in keen sight, Milo of Croton in muscular strength and Ganymede in beauty,

He who was for his beauty by the gods
Caught up to be the cupbearer of Zeus.^b

Surely ^c if he has brought the ruler of his lot,^d that is ⁸ his mind, into slavery to a host of masters, love, lust, pleasure, fear, grief, folly, incontinence, cowardice, injustice, happiness can never be his lot, however much it seems so to the multitude led astray from true judgement, seduced by the twofold pest, vain pomps and vain imaginations which are so highly skilled to cajole and mislead unballasted souls and are the source of disaster ^e to most of the human race. If ⁹

God's scouts observing the needs of all. Hardly "pervade," as Gifford.

^b *Il.* xx. 234.

^c Philo's *γοῦν* can rarely be translated (as by Gifford here) by the traditional "at least." It generally serves to introduce an example or illustration and may be given by "thus." Here it introduces a definition of the *φᾶνλος* which shows his essential *κακοδαιμονία*.

^d For *τὸν ἴδιον δαίμονα* cf. *τὸν οἰκείον δαίμονα* Flaccus 168. The force of the adjective in both cases is to mark that *δαίμων* here indicates the genius or personified fate of the individual and not a demon or supernatural being in general. (So perhaps rather than as in note on p. 394.)

^e Or "of anxiety." On Philo's use of this phrase see App. p. 542.

- [636] τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς | ὄμμα τείνας βουληθείης περιαθρήσαι
 Θεοῦ πρόνοιαν, ὡς ἔνεστιν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ,
 τρανωτέραν τὴν τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθοῦ λαβὼν
 φαντασίαν, γελάσῃ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἃ τέως ἐθαύμαζες.
 αἰεὶ γὰρ ἀπουσία τῶν κρειττόνων τιμᾶται τὰ
 χείρονα, τὴν ἐκείνων κληρονομοῦντα τάξιν· ἐπι-
 φανέντων δὲ ὑποστέλλει, δευτερείοις ἄθλων ἀρκού-
 10 μενα. καταπλαγεῖς οὖν τὸ θεοειδὲς ἐκείνο ἀγαθόν
 τε καὶ καλόν, πάντως ἐννοήσεις, ὅτι παρὰ Θεῷ
 τῶν εἰρημένων πρότερον οὐδὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ τῆς
 ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἡξίωται, διότι τὰ μὲν ἀργύρου
 μέταλλα καὶ χρυσοῦ γῆς ἐστὶ ἢ φαυλοτάτη μοῖρα,
 τῆς πρὸς καρπῶν ἀνειμένης γένεσιν ὄλῳ καὶ τῷ
 11 παντὶ λειπομένη. οὐ γάρ ἐσθ' ὅμοιον τροφῆς, ἥς
 ἄνευ ζῆν ἀδύνατον, εὐπορία¹ χρημάτων. μία τού-
 των ἐστὶ βάσανος ἐναργεστάτη λιμός, ᾧ τὸ πρὸς
 ἀλήθειαν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον δοκιμάζεται·
 θησαυροὺς γὰρ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας ἀντικα-
 τάλλαξαι· ἂν τις βραχείας ποτὲ τροφῆς ἄσμενος.
 12 ὅταν δὲ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀφθονία, μυρίῳ φορᾷς
 <καὶ> ἀκατασχέτῳ πλήθει ῥυεῖσα, κατὰ πόλεις
 ἀναχέηται, τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθοῖς ἐντρυφῶντες,
 388 ἐπ' αὐτῶν μόνων οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν ἵστασθαι, κόρον
 δ' ὑβριστὴν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενοι, ἀργύρου
 τε καὶ χρυσοῦ κτήσεσιν ἐπαποδύντες, ἅπασιν, παρ'
 ὧν ἂν τι κερδανεῖν ἐπελπίσωμεν, κονιόμεθα

¹ Gifford following Mangey reads εὐπορία <καὶ> χρημάτων, believing that ὅμοιος cannot be followed by a genitive. But cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 41. If emendation is required rather τροφή, cf. the Armenian "non est similis cibo . . . opum possessio."

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 9-12

indeed you would strain the soul's eyes to contemplate the providence of God as far as human reason can do so, you will gain a clearer vision of the true good and laugh to scorn what here are reckoned as goods which hitherto had your admiration. For in the absence of the better things worse are always held in honour and succeed to the position which belongs to the better, but when these return the worse withdraw and have to be content with the second prize. Then 10 awestruck at that divine revelation, so good and excellent, you will surely recognize that none of the things mentioned above ranks of itself in the sight of God as a good ; for mines of silver and gold are the most worthless portion of the earth, utterly and absolutely inferior to that which is given up to the production of fruit. For there is no likeness between 11 abundance of money, and the food without which we cannot live. The one clearest proof of this is famine, which tests what is truly necessary and useful. For anyone would gladly exchange all the treasures in the world for a little food. But when the lavish supply 12 of necessities spreads in a vast resistless flood from city to city we enjoy the luxury of these good gifts of nature but are not content to confine ourselves to them. We take insolent satiety ^a as our guide in life and prepare ourselves for the task of acquiring gold and silver, armed ^b with every means by which we may hope to get some gain, like blind men whose mind

^a Cf. *Flacc.* 91 and see note on *De Virt.* 162.

^b Both ἐπαποδύεσθαι and κονίεσθαι are favourite words of Philo (cf. *Flacc.* 128, *Hyp.* 11. 6 and *Flacc.* 104). When they occur together as here and in *Quod Det.* 32 and *De Abr.* 256 they presumably indicate the preliminary and the final stage in the preparation for any action, the stripping preceding the powdering.

- καθάπερ τυφλοί, μηκέτι τῇ διανοίᾳ βλέποντες ὑπὸ φιλαργυρίας ὅτι γῆς εἰσὶν ὄγκοι, περὶ ὧν ἐκ μὲν
- 13 εἰρήνης συνεχῆς καὶ ἀδιάστατος πόλεμος. ἐσθῆ-
 τές γε μὴν προβάτων εἰσὶν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ που
 φασίν, ἄνθος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δημιουργὸν τέχνην,
 ὕφαντῶν ἔπαινος. εἰ δέ τις ἐπὶ δόξῃ μέγα φρονεῖ,
 τὴν παρὰ τῶν φαύλων ἀποδοχὴν ἀσπαζόμενος,
 ἴστω μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς φαῦλος ὢν· τὸ γὰρ ὅμοιον
- 14 χαίρει τῷ ὁμοίῳ. εὐχέσθω δὲ καθαρσίῳν μετα-
 λαχὼν ἰαθῆναι τὰ ὦτα, δι' ὧν αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχῇ
 νόσοι κατασκήπτουσι. μαθέτωσαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπ'
 εὐτονίᾳ πεφύσηνται μὴ ὑψαυχενεῖν, ἀπιδόντες εἰς
 τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ ἀτιθάσων ζώων ἀμυθήτους
 ἀγέλας, αἷς ἰσχὺς καὶ ῥώμη συγγεγένηνται. τῶν
 γὰρ ἀτοπωτάτων ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θηρίων ἀρεταῖς, καὶ
 ταῦτα παρενημερούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἄνθρωπον
- 15 ὄντα σεμνύνεσθαι. διὰ τί δ' ἂν τις εὖ φρονῶν
 ἐπὶ σώματος εὐμορφία ἀγάλλοιτο, ἣν βραχὺς
- [637] καιρὸς ἔσβησε, πρὶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀνθῆσαι, | τὴν
 ἀπατηλὴν αὐτῆς ἀκμὴν ἀμαυρώσας, καὶ ταῦθ'
 ὁρῶν ἐν ἀψύχοις περιμάχῃτα καλλιγράφων ἔργα
 καὶ πλαστῶν καὶ ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν, ἐν τε ζωγρα-
 φήμασι, καὶ ἀνδριάσι, καὶ ὑφασμάτων ποικιλίαις,
 ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστην
- 16 εὐδοκιμοῦντα; τούτων οὖν, ὅπερ ἔφην, οὐδὲν
 παρὰ Θεῷ τῆς <τοῦ> ἀγαθοῦ μοίρας ἡξίωται. καὶ
 τί θαυμάζομεν εἰ μὴ παρὰ Θεῷ; οὐδὲ γὰρ παρὰ
 ἀνθρώποις τοῖς θεοφιλέσι, παρ' οἷς τὰ πρὸς
 ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ τετίμηται, φύσεως μὲν
 εὐμοίρου λαχοῦσι, μελέτῃ δὲ μετ' ἀσκήσεως τὴν
 φύσιν ἐπικοσμήσασιν, ὧν ἡ ἄνοθος φιλοσοφία

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 12-16

through covetousness has lost the power to see that it is for lumps of earth that we forfeit peace and wage a constant and persistent war. As for clothes, they are 13 but what the poets call the flower of the sheep^a and on the craftsman's side a credit to the weavers. And if anyone prides himself on his prestige and welcomes with open arms the approval of the worthless he may be assured of his own worthlessness, for like delights in like. Let him pray to get purging medicine for 14 his ears, through which pass heavy maladies to strike the soul. And all who puff themselves up on their bodily strength must learn not to be proud necked but turn their eyes to the myriad kinds of animals tame and wild, in which bodily strength and muscle are congenital. It is a monstrous absurdity for a human being to pride himself on excellencies which belong to savage beasts when actually he is outdone in these by them. And why should anyone of good 15 sense glory in bodily beauty which ere it has flowered for its full span is brought to extinction by a brief season which dims the brightness of its delusive prime?—particularly when he sees exhibited in lifeless forms the much prized work of painters, sculptors and other artists, in portraits, statues and cunning tapestry work, works which are famous in every city throughout Greece and the outside world. None of these as 16 I have said is ranked in God's sight as a good. And why should we wonder that God does not accept them as goods?—since neither do godly men accept them, who honour things truly good and excellent, men who have been blest with a gifted nature and by study and exercise have further beautified that nature, men who have been made what they are by genuine

^a Cf. *Il.* xiii. 599 and elsewhere οἶος ἄνθρωπος.

17 δημιουργός. ὅσοι δὲ νόθου παιδείας ἐπεμελήθησαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἐμιμήσαντο τὸ δοῦλον ψυχῆς σῶμα θεραπεύοντας, οἱ τὴν δέσποιναν ἐπιφάσκοντες ἰᾶσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴν τις εὐτυχῆς νοσήσῃ, καὶ ὁ μέγας ἢ βασιλεὺς, πάνθ' ὑπερβάντες τὰ περίστωα, τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας, τὰς γυναικωνίτιδας, γραφάς, ἄργυρον, χρυσόν, 389 ἄσημον, ἐπίσημον, ἐκπωμάτων ἢ ὑφασμάτων πλήθος, τὸν ἄλλον τῶν βασιλέων ἀοίδιμον κόσμον, ἔτι δὲ τὸν οἰκετικὸν ὄχλον, καὶ τὴν φίλων ἢ συγγενῶν, ὑπηκόων τῶν ἐν τέλει θεραπείαν ἐάσαντες,¹ [τῶν σωματοφυλάκων],² ἄχρι τῆς εὐνῆς ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ἀλογήσαντες, οὐθ' ὅτι κλίνει λιθοκόλλητοι καὶ ὀλόχρυσοι θαυμάσαντες, οὐθ' ὅτι ἀραχνοῦφείς ἢ λίθῳ γεγραφημέναι³ στρωμαί, οὐθ' ὅτι ἐσθημάτων ἰδέαι διάφοροι, προσέτι δὲ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν χλαίνας ἀπαμφιάσαντες,

¹ mss. ἄξαντες, which Gaisford and Dindorf retain. See App. p. 542.

² The sentence cannot stand as it is, but I doubt whether Gifford and others are right in regarding τῶν σωμα. as a gloss. The picture seems to have passed from τις εὐτυχῆς to the Great King, and that beside the friends and courtiers he should have bodyguards round his bed is natural enough. I should prefer to read <διὰ> τῶν σωμα. The Armenian is translated by "per custodes corporis." Also perhaps καὶ should be inserted after συγγενῶν.

³ The phrase, for which some mss. have λιθογραφημένοι, is justly suspected both because of λιθοκόλλητοι just above and because jewels do not fit well with bedding or with γράφω or γραφέω. Mangey, who asks "why not λίνον for λίθος?", goes on to suggest λινωγραφεῖς or λινωραφούμενοι (so Dindorf). But is there any serious objection to the formation of

philosophy.^a But those whose study has 17
 been in a spurious culture do not even follow the
 example of the physicians who treat the body which
 is the servitor of the soul, though they claim to be
 healing the mistress. For those physicians of the
 body, when a man favoured by fortune is sick, even
 though he be the Great King himself, take no notice
 of the colonnades, of the men's apartments, of the
 ladies' bowers, of the pictures, of the silver and gold
 whether coined or uncoined, of the accumulation of
 goblets or tapestry work and the rest of the mag-
 nificence which adorns kingship. They care not for
 the multitude of serving men or the friends or kins-
 men or subjects in high positions who are in attend-
 ance,^b but make their way to his bed and taking no
 account of the surroundings of the body itself nor
 noting with admiration that the beds are inlaid with
 jewels and of pure gold and that the bedding is of
 spider-web silk or brocaded, or the coverlets^c of differ-
 ent kinds of beauty, they go farther and strip the wrap-

^a Or perhaps better "which (*i.e.* μελέτη and ἄσκησις) are produced by genuine philosophy," though philosophy cannot properly be said to create the study. But *cf.* *Quod Omn. Prob.* 160.

^b Or possibly ὄχλον may be governed by ὑπερβάντες and θεραπείαν ἐάσαντες = "omitting to pay their respects" (to the great people). This would emphasize the antithesis between these physicians and the false physicians of the soul who render homage (προσεκύνουν) to the courtiers (see § 19).

^c Or "his clothes," and χλαίνας "blankets" (so Gifford).

λινογραφέω? That it is not known from elsewhere matters little in Philo. The meaning will be the same as that of ἀνθοβαφεῖς *De Vit. Cont.* 49. Wendland suggests ἡνθογραφημέναι, *cf.* *De Op.* 138. The Armenian has "lapillis descriptum."

ἄπτονται χειρῶν, καὶ τὰς φλέβας προσπιεζοῦντες ἀκριβοῦσι τοὺς παλμούς, εἰ σωτήριοι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς χιτωνίσκους ἀναστειλαντες, εἰ περιπληθὴς ἐσθ' ἡ γαστήρ ἐξετάζουσιν· εἰ πεπυρωμένος ὁ θώραξ, εἰ ἄτακτα ἡ καρδία πηδᾷ· κᾷπειτα τὴν οἰκείαν προσφέρουσι θεραπείαν.

- 18 ἔδει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἱατρικὴν ὁμολογοῦντας ἐπιτηδεύειν τῆς φύσει βασιλίδος ψυχῆς, καταφρονεῖν μὲν ἀπάντων ὅσα αἱ κεναὶ δόξαι τυφοπλαστοῦσιν, εἴσω δὲ προσιόντας ἄπτεσθαι διανοίας αὐτῆς, εἰ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀνισοταχεῖς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν κεκινημένοι παλμοί, ἄπτεσθαι καὶ γλώττης, εἰ [638] τραχεῖα καὶ | κακῆγορος, εἰ πεπορνευκυῖα καὶ ἀταμίευτος, ἄπτεσθαι καὶ γαστρός, εἰ ἀπλήστω σχήματι¹ ἐπιθυμίας διώδηκε· καὶ συνόλως παθῶν καὶ νοσημάτων καὶ ἀρρωστημάτων, εἰ κεκρᾶσθαι δοκεῖ, διερευνᾶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα μὴ διαμαρτάνωσι
- 19 τῶν προσφόρων εἰς τὸ σώζειν. νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἔξω περιαναγασθέντες λαμπρότητος, ἅτε νοητὸν φῶς ἰδεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες, πλαζόμενοι διετέλεσαν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, πρὸς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα λογισμὸν φθάσαι μὴ δυνηθέντες, ἄχρι δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων μόλις ἀφικνούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἀρετῆς, πλοῦτόν τε καὶ δόξαν καὶ ὑγείαν καὶ τὰ συγγενῇ

¹ See note a. Mangey suggested *φυσήματι* or *ρένυματι*. But I should like to read *ἀπλήστω θρέμματι ἐπιθυμία*, cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 74, *Spec. Leg.* i. 148, iv. 94. The regular association of this Platonic phrase with the belly makes it very suitable here. I do not know that the change of letters involved is very promising, but it is a remarkable coincidence that in *De Mut.* 105 the mss. have *σχημάτων*, which has been with general acceptance corrected to *θρεμμάτων*. But see App. p. 543.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 17-19

pings off him and take hold of his hands and squeezing the veins mark carefully the pulsations to see whether they are healthy. And often they draw up the under-vest and make an examination to see whether the belly is over-loaded or the chest inflamed, or the heart-beats irregular, and then they apply the appropriate treatment.

So too the philosophers who 18 profess to practise the art of healing that queen of Nature's making, the soul, should despise all the vain inventions of idle opinion, and passing within take hold of the mind itself, to see whether anger makes its pulsations run at an irregular rate and with unnatural excitement : so too with the tongue to see whether it is rough and evil speaking or bawdy and licentious : so too the belly to see whether it is swollen by an insatiable form of lust^a ; and in general if there appear to be a complication of passions, distempers and infirmities to investigate each of them so as not to miss anything which may serve to restore it to health. As it is, dazzled by the brilliance 19 of external things, because they are unable to see the spiritual light, they have continued to wander for ever, never able to reach King Reason, only just managing to make their way to his portal where, struck with admiration for those who wait at virtue's doorstep, riches, reputation, health and their kin, they

^a Namely gluttony. So rather than as Gifford "*some insatiable form.*" As Philo has dealt with the particular vices of which the tongue is the instrument, so now with the belly. Possibly *λαίμαργία* or its equivalent has fallen out. But *σχίσματι* itself is open to suspicion. Philo does not seem to use it=form in the sense of "kind." When it is not used in a literal or geometrical way, it="guise" or "appearance," whether external as *De Vit. Cont.* 30 or moral as in *Flacc.* 126. For possible corrections see note 1.

- 20 τεθναυμακότες, προσεκύνουν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς ὑπερβολὴ μανίας χρωμάτων κριταῖς χρῆσθαι τυφλοῖς, ἢ κωφοῖς τῶν κατὰ μουσικὴν φθόγγων, οὕτω καὶ φαύλοις ἀνδράσι τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθῶν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς διάνοιαν πεπῆρωνται, ἥς βαθὺ σκότος ἀφροσύνη κατέχεεν.
- 21 εἶτα νῦν θαυμάζομεν, εἰ Σωκράτης
390 καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα τῶν σπουδαίων ἐν πενίᾳ διετέλεσαν, ἄνθρωποι μὴδὲν πρόποτε τῶν εἰς πορισμὸν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες, ἀλλὰ μὴδ' ὅσα ἢ παρὰ φίλων πολυχρημάτων ἢ παρὰ βασιλέων δωρεὰς μεγάλας προτεινόντων [παρῆν]¹ λαβεῖν ἀξιώσαντες, ἔνεκα τοῦ μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς κτήσιν ἡγεῖσθαι, περὶ ἣν πονοῦμενοι τῶν ἄλλων
- 22 ἀγαθῶν πάντων ἡλόγουν; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀλογῆσαι νόθων ἔνεκα προνοίας τῶν γνησίων; εἰ δὲ σώματος θνητοῦ μεταλαχόντες, καὶ κηρῶν γέμοντες ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ μετὰ τοσούτου πλήθους ἀδίκων ζῶντες, ὧν οὐδ' ἀριθμὸν εὐρεῖν εὐπορον, ἐπεβουλεύθησαν, τί τὴν φύσιν αἰτιώμεθα, δέον τὴν τῶν
- 23 ἐπιθεμένων κακίζειν ὁμότητα; καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀέρι γεγένητο λοιμικῶ, πάντως ὄφειλον νοσῆσαι· καταστάσεως δὲ λοιμικῆς μᾶλλον, ἢ οὐχ ἥττον, φθοροποιός ἐστιν ἢ κακία. ὥς δ' ὁπόταν ὕετοῦ μὲν ὄντος, ἀνάγκη τὸν σοφόν, εἰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ διάγοι, καταβρέχεσθαι, Βορέου δὲ ψυχροῦ καταπνέοντος ῥίγει πιέζεσθαι καὶ ψυχεῖ, θέρους δ' ἀκμάζοντος ἀλεαίνεσθαι (ταῖς γὰρ ἐτησίοις τροπαῖς τὰ σώματα

¹ παρῆν is bracketed by most editors, including Dindorf; Gifford's Apparatus Criticus indicates that it is omitted by most if not all mss. If retained as by Mangey translate "all that they might have received."

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 20-23

rendered homage to them.^a But to take the judgment of the bad as to what is truly good is as grossly insane as to take that of the blind on colours or the deaf on musical sounds. For the bad have lost the use of their most dominant part, their mind, over which folly has shed profound darkness.

Can we then still wonder that Socrates^b and any virtuous person you like to name have continued to live a life of poverty, never having practised any method of gaining wealth, refusing indeed to take anything from wealthy friends or kings who offered them great gifts, because they considered that there is nothing good or excellent save acquiring virtue, for which they laboured neglecting all the other goods? And who with the thought of the genuine before them would not disregard the spurious for its sake? But if possessed of a mortal body and brimful of the plagues which beset mankind and living amid the unjust, a multitude so great that it cannot even be easily counted, they become the victims of malice, why do we accuse Nature when we should reproach the cruelty of their assailants? For if they had been living in a pestilential atmosphere they would have been bound to take the disease, and vice is more or at least no less destructive than pestilential surroundings. And as the wise man must needs get drenched if he stays in the open air when it is raining or suffer from the rigour of the cold when the north wind's blast is chilly, or get heated in the summer, since it is a law of nature that our bodily feelings correspond

^a *i.e.* as courtiers in attendance (see examples in lexicon) rather than gate-keepers.

^b Perhaps in allusion to Alexander's remark (Aucher, p. 50), though there it is the unjust condemnation, not the poverty of Socrates, which is cited.

συμπάσχειν νόμος φύσεως), τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις χωρίοις ἐνοικούντα,

“ἐνθα φόνοι λιμοὶ τε¹ καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρῶν,”

ἐναλλάττεσθαι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τιμὰς ἀναγκαῖον.²

- 24 Ἐπεὶ Πολυκράτει γε, ἐφ’ οἷς δεινοῖς ἠδίκησε
[639] καὶ ἡσέβησε, χορηγὸς ἀπήντησε, χείρων | μὲν ἢ τοῦ
βίου βαρυδαιμονία· πρόσθε δ’ ὥς ὑπὸ μεγάλου
βασιλέως ἐκολάζετο, καὶ προσηλοῦτο, χρησμὸν
ἐκπιπλᾶς. Οἶδα, ἔφη, κάμαντόν οὐ πρό πολλοῦ
θεωρῆσαι³ δόξαντα ὑπὸ μὲν ἡλίου ἀλείφεσθαι,
λούεσθαι δ’ ὑπὸ Διός. αἱ γὰρ διὰ συμβόλων
αἰνιγματώδεις αὐταὶ φάσεις, ἀδηλούμεναι τὸ πάλαι,
τὴν διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀριδηλοτάτην ἐλάμβανον
25 πίστιν. οὐκ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δέ μόνον, ἀλλὰ παρὰ
πάντα τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς βίον, ἐλελήθει πρό τοῦ σώ-
ματος τὴν ψυχὴν κρεμάμενος. αἰεὶ γὰρ φοβού-
μενος καὶ τρέμων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων
ἐπτόητο, σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος ὅτι εὖνους μὲν ἦν
οὐδεῖς, ἐχθροὶ δὲ πάντες δυσπραξία ἀμείλικτοι.

¹ MSS. φόνοι τελοῦνται καὶ, which Gaisford and Dindorf retain.

² Eusebius here has missed out a sentence which is given by Aucher (p. 63) thus: “nullatenus ergo decet eos felices putare, qui paulo ante memorati sunt, etsi fortuna iuvare eos videatur.” This explains the ἐπεὶ . . . γε which begins the next sentence.

³ Dindorf ἡωρῆσθαι. See App. p. 543.

^a Quoted from Empedocles, though the line runs φόνος τε κῶτος τε. See App. p. 543.

^b χείρων may possibly mean that the punishment was worse than the offence, but the addition of μὲν followed by πρόσθε δέ suggests that the βίου βαρυδαιμονία was worse than the impalement, and this is brought out in what follows.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 23-25

to the annual changes of the season, so also he who lives in places

Where murder 's rife and famine too and tribes of other ills^a
must submit to the penalties which they successively impose.

For as for Polycrates, in requital for his terrible acts 24
of injustice and impiety he encountered his rewarder
in the shape of lifelong misery. Add to this a lesser
ill,^b that he was punished by the Great King and im-
paled, thus fulfilling an oracle. "I know," he said,
"that I saw myself not long ago anointed as it seemed
by the sun and washed by Zeus."^c For the riddle
thus symbolically stated, though at first obscure,
received very clear attestation from what actually
occurred. But it was not only at the end but through 25
all his life from the first that his soul, though he knew
it not, was in the same suspense which later befell his
body.^d For he lived in perpetual fear and trembling,
scared by the multitude of his assailants and knowing
well that none was friendly to him, but all had been
turned by their misery into implacable enemies.

^c I have translated the sentence as punctuated in the
editions, but I see no point in the *οἶδα* or *καί* in *κάμαντόν*. I
should prefer to punctuate the sentence, *χρησμόν ἐκπιπλᾶς
οἶδα, ἔφη, κάμαντόν, κτλ.* and translate: "I recognize that
I have fulfilled an oracle, and that it was myself that I saw
who appeared to be anointed," etc., *i.e.* he dreamt that he
saw somebody being anointed, etc., but did not recognize
that it was himself. This is I think quite in accordance with
the phenomena of dreams. In any case the story differs
from Her. iii. 124, where it is the daughter of Polycrates
who sees the dream. On the Armenian version see App.
p. 543.

^d Or "even more than in his body." Cf. the same phrase
in § 56, where order in value rather than in time seems to be
indicated. And so also, I think, in *Flacc.* 2.

26 Τῆς δὲ ἀνηνύτου καὶ συνεχοῦς¹ εὐλαβείας μάρτυρες
 391 οἱ τὰ Σικελικὰ συγγράψαντες, οἱ φασιν, ὅτι καὶ
 τὴν θυμηρεστάτην ὑποπτον εἶχε γυναῖκα. σημεῖον
 δέ· τὴν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον εἴσοδον, δι' ἧς φοιτήσῃ
 ἔμελλεν ὡς αὐτόν, ἐκέλευσε στορεσθῆναι σανίσιν,
 ἵνα μὴ λάθῃ ποτὲ παρεισερπύσασα, ψόφῳ δὲ καὶ
 κτύπῳ τῆς ἐπιβάσεως προμηνύῃ τὴν ἄφιξιν· εἴτ'
 οὐκ ἀνείμονα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι
 γυμνήν, ἃ μὴ θέμις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ὁράσθαι, παρ-
 ἔρχεσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, τὸ συνεχές τοῦ κατὰ
 τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδάφους εἰς τάφρου γεωργικῆς εὗρος καὶ
 βάθους διακοπῆναι, κατὰ δέος μὴ τι πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν
 ἀφανῶς ἐπικρύπτηται, ὅπερ ἢ ἄλμασιν ἢ μακραῖς
 27 διαβάσεσιν ἔμελλε διελέγχεσθαι. πόσων ἄρα κακῶν
 ὁ ταῦτα παρατηρῶν καὶ τεχνάζων ἐπὶ γυναικός,
 ἢ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὥφειλε πιστεύειν, μεστὸς ἦν;
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐώκει τοῖς δι' ἀπορρώγος ὄρους ἐπὶ τῷ
 τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ φύσεις ἀριδηλοτέρας κατανοῆσαι
 κρημνοβατοῦσιν, οἱ μόλις φθάνοντες ἄχρι προ-
 νενευκότος αὐχένος, οὗτ' ἄνω χωρεῖν² ἔτι δύνανται,
 πρὸς τὸ λειπόμενον ὕψος ἀπειρηκότες, οὔτε κατα-
 βαίνειν θαρροῦσι, πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τῶν χασμάτων
 28 ἰλιγγιῶντες. ἐρασθεῖς γάρ, ὡς θείου πράγματος
 καὶ περιμαχίτου, τυραννίδος, οὔτε μένειν οὔτε
 ἀποδιδράσκειν ἀσφαλές εἶναι ὑπελάμβανε. μένοντι

¹ It seems quite necessary to insert here Διονυσίου, though no ms. nor the Armenian translation has it.

² mss. ἀναχωρεῖν.

^a Or "anxiety," so rather than "caution," though the noun usually carries a favourable sense in Philo as in other writers. Philo however sometimes uses the verb in a more general sense, e.g. *Flacc.* 145.

^b The same story is told of Dionysius in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.*

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 26-28

The endless and continual fear^a shown by Dionysius 26 is attested by the historians of Sicily, who tell us that he suspected even his dearly beloved wife.^b This is proved by his ordering that the entrance to the chamber through which she had to pass to join him should be covered with boards so that she should never creep in unawares but should give notice of her arrival by the creaking and rattling made by her stepping on them. Also she had to come not merely undressed^c but with the parts naked which it is indecent for men to see. Further he had the continuous line of the floor along the passage broken by a gap as deep and broad as a ditch in the farmland, so that if, as he dreaded, some secret attempt to do him a mischief were made in the darkness it would be detected by the visitors jumping or striding across the gap. How vast a burden of ills was his who 27 watched so craftily over the wife whom he was bound to trust above all others. Indeed he resembled the climbers who scale a precipitous mountain to get a clearer view of the heavenly bodies,^d and when they manage with difficulty to reach some outstanding cliff cannot go any higher because their heart fails them before the height which still remains, nor have they courage to descend as their heads swim at the sight of the yawning chasms below. For enamoured 28 as he was of tyranny as something divine and much to be coveted he did not consider it safe either to stay as he was or to flee. If he stayed he was sure

v. 59, though there Dionysius has two wives treated thus. So also the story of Damocles, *ibid.* 61 f. ^c See App. p. 544.

^d Or more accurately "heavenly beings"—a common phrase for the stars conceived of as alive. Cf. *e.g.* *Quod Det.* 88, and the description of sun and moon as *θεῖαι φύσεις* below, § 50, also *De Aet.* 47.

μὲν γὰρ ἀλλεπάλληλα ἐπέρρει κακὰ ἀμύθητα·
 βουλομένῳ δ' ἀποδιδράσκειν ὁ περὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐπ-
 [640] ἐκρέματο κίνδυνος, ὠπλισμένων, | εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς
 σώμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοι ταῖς διανοαῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ.

- 29 δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ᾧ πρὸς τὸν
 μακαρίζοντα τὸν τῶν τυράννων βίον φασὶ χρή-
 σασθαι Διονύσιον. καλέσας γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ λαμπρο-
 τάτου καὶ πολυτελεστάτου δείπνου παρασκευήν,
 ἐκ μηρίνου πάνυ λεπτῆς προσέταξεν ἡκονημένον
 ὑπεραιωρηθῆναι πέλεκυν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατακλιθεὶς
 εἶδεν αἰφνίδιον, οὗτ' ἐξαναστήναι θαρρῶν διὰ τὸν
 τύραννον, οὗτ' ἀπολαῦσαί τινος τῶν παρεσκευα-
 σμένων διὰ δέος οἷός τε ὢν, ἀφθόνων καὶ πλουσίων
 ἀλογήσας ἡδονῶν, ἀνατείνας τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὰς
 30 ὄψεις ἐκαрадόκει τὸν οἰκείον ὄλεθρον. συνεῖς δ'
 ὁ Διονύσιος, Ἄρ' ἤδη κατανοεῖς, ἔφη, τὸν αἰοίδιμον
 καὶ περιμάχητον ἡμῶν βίον; ἔστι γὰρ τοιοῦτος,
 εἰ μὴ βούλοιτό τις ἑαυτὸν φενακίζειν, ἐπειδὴ
 περιέχει παμπληθεῖς μὲν χορηγίας, ἀπόλαυσιν δ'
 392 οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ· φόβους δ' ἐπαλλήλους, καὶ
 κινδύνους ἀνηκέστους, καὶ νόσον ἐρπηνώδους καὶ
 φθινάδος χαλεπωτέραν, ἀθεράπευτον αἰεὶ φέρουσιν
 31 ὄλεθρον. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνεξετάστων ὑπὸ τῆς
 λαμπρᾶς φανερότητος ἀπατῶμενοι, ταῦτόν πε-
 πόνθησι τοῖς ἀγκιστρευομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδεχθῶν
 ἐταιρίδων, ἃ τὴν δυσμορφίαν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ
 καὶ ταῖς τῆς ὄψεως ὑπογραφαῖς ἐπισκιάζοντα,
 γνησίου κάλλους ἀπορία, νόθον ἐπ' ἐνέδρᾳ τῶν

“ Or “ by painting under (*i.e.* pencilling) their eyes,” and probably this is what is intended here. But strictly speaking the singular ὄψιν, which Philo also uses, *Leg. All.* iii. 62,

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 28-31

to meet a torrent of innumerable evils in constant succession. If he wanted to flee, his life was menaced by danger from those whose minds at least if not their bodies were armed against him. Another 29 proof is the way in which he is said to have treated a person who asserted the felicity of the tyrant's life. Having invited him to a dinner which had been provided on a very magnificent and costly scale he ordered a sharp-edged axe to be suspended over him by a very slender thread. When after taking his place on the couch the guest suddenly saw this, he had neither the courage in the tyrant's presence to rise and remove himself nor the power in his terror to enjoy the dishes provided, and so regardless of the abundance and wealth of the pleasures before him, he lay with neck and eye strained upwards, expecting his own destruction. Dionysius perceived this and 30 said: "Do you now understand what this glorious and much coveted life of ours really is?" This is the sort of thing it is in the eyes of anyone who does not wish to deceive himself. For it includes wealth supplied in full abundance but not the enjoyment of anything worth having, only terrors in constant succession, dangers unescapable, a malady more grievous than the creeping and wasting sickness, bringing with it destruction that knows no remedy. But the 31 thoughtless multitude deluded by the brilliant outward appearance are in the same condition as men ensnared by unsightly courtesans who disguise their ugliness with fine raiment and gold and the paint upon their faces,^a and so for lack of the genuine beauty

De Sac. 21, *De Fug.* 153, must mean "face." Cf. also of the male prostitutes *Spec. Leg.* iii. 37 τὰς ὄψεις τριβόμενοι καὶ ὑπογραφόμενοι.

32 θεωμένων δημιουργεῖ. τοιαύτης γέμουσι βαρυνδαιμονίας οἱ λίαν εὐτυχεῖς, ἥς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς αὐτοὶ δικάσαντες παρ' ἑαυτοῖς οὐ στέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ἄρρωσθήματα¹ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐκλαλοῦντες, ἀφιασι τὰς ἐκ πάθους ἀψευδεστάτας φωνάς, ἐπὶ συνουσίᾳ τιμωριῶν καὶ παρουσῶν καὶ προσδοκωμένων ζῶντες, καθάπερ τῶν θρεμμάτων τὰ πρὸς ἱερουργίαν παινόμενα. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα τῆς πλείστης ἐπιμελείας ἐπὶ τῷ σφαγῆναι τυγχάνει διὰ πολύκρεων εὐωχίαν.

33 Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ περὶ χρημάτων² ἀσεβῶν οὐκ ἀδήλους ἀλλὰ φανεράς ἔδοσαν δίκας, ὧν τὰ πλήθη καταλέγεσθαι περιττὸς πόνος, ἀπόχρη δ' ἐν ἔργον παράδειγμα πάντων ἐστάναι. λέγεται τοίνυν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγεγραφότων τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον³ ἐν Φωκίδι, νόμον κειμένου τὸν ἱερόσυλον κατακρημνίζεσθαι ἢ καταποντοῦσθαι ἢ καταπίμπρασθαι, τρεῖς συλήσαντας τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν, Φιλόμηλον καὶ Ὀνόμαρχον καὶ Φάυλλον, διανείμασθαι τὰς τιμωρίας. τὸν μὲν γὰρ διὰ λόφου τραχέος καὶ λιθώδους ῥαγείσης πέτρας κατακρημνισθῆναί τε

¹ Or ἄρρωστα, which is read by one good ms. and is adopted by Mangey and Dindorf. It was also read by the Armenian (Aucher, p. 67) "sicut illi, qui arcana quae silere vellent, tamen coacti tormentis exponunt," and gives a more natural sense.

² The Armenian (Aucher, p. 67) "sunt qui *illico* impietatis non occultas sed potius manifestas poenas lunt" evidently reads παραχρήμα τῶν ἀσεβῶν, which Wendland believes to be the true reading. And though "for impious gains" suits the examples which follow quite well, the form is rather strange, and the next paragraph suggests that the im-

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 31-33

create the spurious to entrap those who behold them. Such is the misery which fills to the brim the life of 32 those greatly favoured by fortune, misery whose extent measured by the judgement of their own hearts is more than they can contain, and like those who are forced to proclaim their maladies^a they utter words of absolute sincerity wrung from them by their sufferings. Surrounded by punishments present and expected they live like beasts who are fattened for a sacrifice, for such receive the most careful attention to prepare them for the slaughter, because of the rich feast of flesh which they supply.

There are some who have been punished not 33 obscurely but conspicuously for sacrilegious robbery, a numerous body which it would be superfluous labour to name in full. It will suffice to let one case stand as an example of them all. The historians who have described the sacred war in Phocis state that whereas there was a law enacted that the temple robber should be thrown from a precipice or drowned in the sea, or burnt alive, three persons who robbed the temple at Delphi, Philomelus, Onomarchus and Phayllus, had these punishments distributed between them. The first fell over a rugged and stony crag and as a piece of rock broke off he was killed both from the fall from the height and from the weight of

^a Or "disclose what should be kept secret." See note 1.

piety punished is not restricted to sacrilege, but includes all violence.

³ All other editions insert *τὸν* without any ms. authority. Gifford is, I think, quite right in arguing that when one attribute has been given between the article and the noun, a second attribute may follow the noun without a repetition of the article.

- καὶ καταλευσθῆναι· τὸν δέ, ἀφηνιάσαντος τοῦ
 [641] κομίζοντος ἵππου | καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης καταβάντος,
 ἐπιδραμόντος τοῦ πελάγους, εἰς ἀχανῆ βυθὸν αὐτῷ
 ζῶω καταδύναι· Φάυλλον δὲ φθινάδι νόσῳ (διττός
 γὰρ ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος) συντακῆναι, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐν
 34 Ἀβαις ἱερῷ συνεμπρησθέντα ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα
 γὰρ φιλονεικότατον λέγειν ἀποβῆναι κατὰ τύχην.
 εἰ μὲν γάρ τινες ἢ ἐν διαφέρουσι καιροῖς ἢ ἑτέραις
 ἐκολάσθησαν τιμωρίαις, εἰκὸς ἦν τὸ ἄστατον τῆς
 τύχης προφασίζεσθαι· πάντων δ' ἀθρόως καὶ ὑφ'
 ἓνα καιρὸν καὶ μὴ ἑτέραις τιμωρίαις ἀλλὰ ταῖς
 περιεχομέναις ἐν τοῖς νόμοις κολασθέντων, εὐλογον
 35 φάσκειν ὅτι Θεοῦ δικάσαντος ἑάλωσαν.
 393 Εἰ δέ τινες τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων βιαίων, καὶ τοῖς
 πλήθεσιν ἐπαναστάντων, καὶ δουλωσαμένων οὐ
 μόνον δήμους ἑτέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρίδας τὰς
 ἑαυτῶν, ἀτιμώρητοι διετέλεσαν, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν.
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπος δικάζει
 καὶ Θεός, διότι τὰ μὲν φανερά ἡμεῖς ἐρευνῶμεν,
 ὁ δὲ ἄχρι μυχῶν ψυχῆς εἰσδυόμενος ἀποφητί,
 καθάπερ ἐν ἡλίῳ λαμπρὰν διάνοιαν αὐγάζει,
 ἀπαμπίσχων μὲν τὰ περίαπτα, οἷς ἐγκατεῖληπται,
 γυμνὰ δὲ περιαθρῶν τὰ βουλήματα, καὶ δια-
 γινώσκων εὐθὺς τά τε παράσημα καὶ δόκιμα.
 36 μηδέποτε' οὖν τὸ οἰκείον δικαστήριον τοῦ θείου
 προκρίναντες, ἀψευδέστερον αὐτὸ καὶ εὐβουλό-

^a So cf. Diodorus xvi. 30 ἐαυτὸν κατεκρήμνισε, Pausanias x. 2 ρίπτει ἐαυτὸν κατὰ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἀποτόμου κρημνοῦ.

^b Pausanias x. 2 gives a different version of this: φεύγων . . . καὶ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατηκοντίσθη τῶν οἰκείων, who ascribed their defeat to his cowardice and blundering.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 33-36

the stone.^a In the case of the second the horse on which he was riding got out of control and rushed down to the sea and under the onrush of the tide both rider and horse sank in the deep gulf.^b As for Phaÿllus, there are two versions of his story, one that he wasted away in consumption, the other that he perished in the flame which consumed the temple at Abae.^c To assert that these events are due to chance 34 is pure contentiousness. No doubt if people had been punished at different times or by other penalties it would be sensible enough to ascribe them to the caprice of fortune. But when all were punished together about the same time and by penalties not of another kind but those contained in the laws, it is reasonable to assert that they were the victims of divine justice.

And if some of the men of violence still left un- 35 mentioned, insurgents who seized power over the populace and enslaved not only other peoples but their own countries, continued unpunished, why should we wonder? For in the first place the judgements of men and God are not alike. For we inquire into what is manifest but He penetrates noiselessly into the recesses of the soul, sees our thoughts as though in bright sunlight, and stripping off the wrappings in which they are enveloped, inspects our motives in their naked reality and at once distinguishes the counterfeit from the genuine. Let us never then 36 prefer our own tribunal to that of God and assert that it is more infallible and wiser in counsel, for that

^a The first version is given by both Diodorus and Pausanias, *l.c.* Pausanias x. 35 mentions the burning of the temple at Abae by the Thebans, together with the Phocian refugees within it. .

τερον εἶναι φῶμεν· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ἐν ᾧ μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, ἀπατηλαὶ αἰσθήσεις, πάθη ἐπίβουλα, κακιῶν ὁ βαρύτατος ἐπιτειχισμός, ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν τῶν ἐπ' ἑξαπάτῃ, δικαιοσύνης δὲ καὶ ἀλήθεια, αἷς ἕκαστον βραβευόμενον ἐπαινετῶς ἑξορθοῦσθαι πέφυκεν.

- 37 Ἐπειτ', ὧ γενναῖε, μὴ νομίσης ἀλυσιτελὲς ἐπικαιρον εἶναι τυραννίδα. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κόλασις ἀλυσιτελής, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας διδόναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἢ ὠφελιμώτερον ἢ οὐκ ἀποδέον. οὐ χάριν ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν τοῖς ὀρθῶς γραφεῖσι παρείληπται νόμοις· οἱ δὲ γράψαντες ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινοῦνται. ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν δήμῳ τύραννος, τοῦτ' ἐν νόμῳ κόλασις.
- 38 Ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἔνδεια μὲν καὶ σπάνις δεινὴ καταλάβῃ τὰς πόλεις ἀρετῆς, ἀφθονία δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐπιπολάσῃ, τηνικαῦτα ὁ Θεός, ὥσπερ ρεῦμα χειμάρρου τὴν φορὰν τῆς κακίας ἀποχετεῦσαι γλιχόμενος, ἵνα καθάρῃ τὸ γένος ἡμῶν, ἰσχὺν καὶ κράτος [642] δίδωσι | τοῖς τὰς φύσεις ἀρχικοῖς. ὡμῆς γὰρ δίχρα
39 ψυχῆς οὐ καθαίρεται κακία. καὶ ὅνπερ τρόπον αἱ πόλεις ἐπ' ἀνδροφόνους καὶ προδόταις καὶ θεοσύλαις δημίους ἀνατρέφουσιν, οὐ τὴν γνώμην ἀποδεχόμεναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας χρησίμον ἐξετάζουσαι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου κηδεμών, οἷα δημίους κοινούς ἐφίστησι τοὺς τυράννους ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς ἂν αἰσθῆται βίαν, ἀδικίαν, ἀσέβειαν,

^a Literally "more profitable or not less so," i.e. than the absence of any punishment for offences. But the sentence is obscure. The translation above makes the best sense, but we should expect either δίδοσθαι or τοὺς ἀδίκους as subject to

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 36-39

religion forbids. Ours has many pitfalls, the delusions of the senses, the malignancy of the passions and most formidable of all the hostility of the vices ; while in His there is nothing that can deceive, only justice and truth, and everything that is judged according to these standards brings praise to the judge and cannot but be settled aright.

Secondly, my friend, do not suppose that a temporary tyranny is without its uses. For neither is punishment useless, and that penalties should be inflicted is actually profitable to the good or at any rate not detrimental.^a And therefore in all properly enacted laws punishment is included, and those who enacted them are universally praised, for punishment has the same relation to law as a tyrant has to a people. So when a dire famine and dearth of virtue takes possession of states, and folly unstinted is prevalent, God, desiring to drain off the current of wickedness as if it were the stream of a torrent, gives strength and power to men naturally fitted to rule in order to purify our race. For wickedness cannot be purged away without some ruthless soul to do it. And just as states maintain official executioners to deal with murderers and traitors and temple robbers, not that they approve of the sentiments of these persons, but with an eye to the usefulness of their service, so the Governor of this great city of the world sets up tyrants like public executioners over the cities which He sees inundated with violence, in-

διδόναι. The straightforward translation "it is more profitable to the good to be punished," *i.e.* because punishment however unjust brings out heroism, seems out of place here. Another possibility "it is more beneficial to give the power of punishing to the good (than to a tyrant)" does not suit *οὐκ ἀποδέον*. The two could hardly be put on a par.

- 40 τὰ ἄλλα κακὰ πλημμύροντα, ὅπως ἤδη ποτὲ στάντα
 394 λωφήσῃ. τηνικαῦτα καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους, ὡς ἐκ
 δυσκαθάρτου καὶ ἀνηλεοῦς ψυχῆς ὑπηρετήσαντας,
 ἐφ' ἅπασιν, ὥσπερ τινὰς κορυφαίους, ἀξιοῖ μετέρ-
 χεσθαι. καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμις, ὅταν
 παραβληθεῖσαν ὕλην ἀναλώσῃ, τελευταῖον αὐτὴν
 ἐπινέμεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς
 πλήθεσι δυναστείας εἰληφότες, ὅταν δαπανήσαντες
 τὰς πόλεις κενὰς ἀνδρῶν ἐργάσωνται, τὰς ὑπὲρ
 41 ἀπάντων τίνοντες δίκας ἐπιδιαφθεύρονται. καὶ τί
 θαυμάζομεν, εἰ διὰ τυράννων ὁ Θεὸς κακίαν
 ἀναχυθεῖσαν ἐν πόλεσι καὶ χώραις καὶ ἔθνεσιν
 ἀποδιοπομπεῖται; πολλάκις γὰρ μὴ χρώμενος
 ὑπηρεταῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοῦτ' ἐργάζεται,
 λιμὸν ἐπάγων ἢ λοιμὸν ἢ σεισμὸν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 θεήλατα, οἷς ὁμίλοι μεγάλοι καὶ πολυάνθρωποι
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπόλλυνται, καὶ πολλὴ μοῖρα
 τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐρημοῦται διὰ προμήθειαν ἀρετῆς.
 42 Ἰκανῶς μὲν οὖν εἷς γε τὰ παρόντα περὶ τοῦ μή
 τινα τῶν φαύλων εὐδαιμονεῖν, ὡς οἶμαι, λέλεκται·
 δι' οὗ μάλιστα παρίσταται τὸ εἶναι πρόνοϊαν. εἰ
 δὲ μηδέπω πέπεισαι, τὸν ἔθ' ὑποικουροῦντα ἐν-
 δοιασμὸν εἰπέ θαρρῶν· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἦ τάληθές
 ἔχει συνδιαπορήσαντες εἰσόμεθα.
- 43 Καὶ μεθ' ἑτεραὶ πάλιν φησὶν·

Ἀνέμων καὶ ὑετῶν φορὰς οὐκ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν

^a There is a considerable interval between these two parts of Philo's argument. In this interval Alexander, in response to the invitation given in the preceding sentence, alleges various facts about the construction of the universe, which seem to serve no purpose which can be ascribed to Providence. Philo has answered many of these difficulties as

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 39-43

justice, impiety and all the other evils, in order that they may be at last brought to a standstill and abate. Then too it seems good to Him to crown the punishment of all by bringing to justice those who have carried it out. For knowing that their services were the outcome of an impious and ruthless soul He treats them as in a sense the capital offenders. For just as the force of fire after devouring all the fuel supplied to it finally consumes itself, so too those who have seized dominion over the populaces when they have exhausted the cities and emptied them of all their men pay the penalty due for all and perish as well. And why should we wonder that God uses tyrants to sweep away the wickedness which has spread through cities and countries and nations. For often instead of employing other ministers He effects this by Himself by bringing famine or pestilence and earthquake, and all the other divine visitations whereby great bodies of people perish in huge numbers every day and a large part of the world is desolated for His purpose of promoting virtue.

Enough then I think has been said for the present on the theme that none of the wicked has happiness, and this is a very strong proof that providence exists. But if you are not yet convinced, fear not to tell me your still lingering doubts, for by combining our efforts we shall both get to know where the truth is to be found.

Later again he says ^a:

Storms of wind and rain were made by God, not as

they arise, and among these is that recorded by Eusebius in another connexion (see Frag. I). The others he deals with in his final answer, which is given by Eusebius in the sections which follow.

πλεόντων, ὡς ἐνόμιζες, ἢ γεωργούντων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὠφελεία τοῦ παντός ἡμῶν γένους ὁ Θεὸς εἰργάζετο. ὕδασι μὲν γὰρ τὴν γῆν καθαίρει, τὸν δ' ὑπὸ σελήνην ἅπαντα χῶρον πνεύμασιν· ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ζῶα καὶ
 44 φυτὰ τρέφει, καὶ αὖξει, καὶ τελειοῖ. εἰ δὲ τοὺς μὴ ἐν καιρῷ πλωτῆρας ἢ γεωπόνους ἐστὶν ὅτε βλάπτει, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· βραχὺ γὰρ οὗτοι μέρος, ἢ δ' ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ παντός ἀνθρώπων γένους. ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἄλειμμα τίθεται μὲν ἐπ' ὠφελεία, πολλάκις δ' ὁ γυμνασιάρχος ἔνεκα πολιτικῶν χρειῶν ὥρας τῆς ἐν ἔθει μετέθηκε
 [643] τὴν τάξιν, δι' ἧς | ὑστέρησαν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀλειφομένων· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεός, οἷα πόλεως τοῦ παντός ἐπιμελούμενος κόσμον, θέρη χειμαίνοντα καὶ χειμῶνας ἐαρίζοντας εἴωθε ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παντός ὠφελείᾳ, καὶ εἰ ναύκληροί τινες ἢ γῆς ἐργάται μέλλοιεν ταῖς
 45 τούτων ἀνωμαλίαις ζημιοῦσθαι. τὰς οὖν τῶν στοιχείων εἰς ἄλληλα μεταβολάς, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος ἐπάγῃ καὶ συνέστηκεν, εἰδὼς ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον,
 395 ἀκωλύτους παρέχεται· πάχνη δὲ καὶ χιόνες καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα ἀέρος ἐπακολουθεῖ καταψύζει, καὶ πάλιν προσαράξει καὶ παρατρίψει νεφῶν, ἀστραπαί τε καὶ βρονταί· ὧν οὐδὲν ἴσως κατὰ πρόνοιαν,

^a Alexander has been represented (Aucher, p. 100) as describing the injuries caused by rain and wind and adding that while rain may be often useful, hail, snow, thunder and lightning are quite useless.

^b Or perhaps "the anointing is appointed" or even "the oil is placed," and below "those who are being anointed," and the importance in the next section attached to the oil favours this. But πολιτικαὶ χρεῖαι, whatever that exactly means,

you supposed,^a to do grievous harm to voyagers and husbandmen, but to benefit our race as a whole. For He purges the earth with water and the whole sub-lunary region with breezes. And with both He gives sustenance, growth and maturity to animals and plants. If these sometimes harm persons who travel 44 by sea out of season or tillers of the land there is nothing wonderful. They are but a small fraction and His care is for the whole human race. So then as the course of training in the gymnasium is drawn up ^b for the benefit of the pupils, but the gymnasiarch sometimes to suit civic requirements makes a change in the arrangement of the regular hours whereby some of those under training lose their lesson, so too God having the charge of the whole world as though it were a city is wont to create wintry summers and spring-like winters for the benefit of the whole, even though some skippers and workers on the land are bound to suffer loss through the irregular way in which they occur. The interchanges of the elements 45 out of which the world was framed and now consists He knows to be a vital operation and produces them in unimpeded succession. But frost and snow and similar phenomena are circumstances attendant ^c on the refrigeration of the air as thunders and lightnings are on the clashing and friction of clouds. And none of these we may suppose is by providence, but while

could hardly affect the mere act of anointing, unless that was necessarily the prelude to instruction. The functions of the ἀλειπτῆς were a good deal wider than merely anointing.

^c The terms here used, ἐπακολουθεῖν and παρακολουθεῖν, ἐπισυνμβαίνειν, ἐπιγίνεσθαι below all express the Stoic doctrine, which accounts for evils such as diseases, etc., as not primary (προηγούμενα) works of nature but incidental consequences. See App. p. 545.

ἀλλ' ὑετοὶ καὶ πνεύματα ζωῆς καὶ τροφῆς καὶ
 αὐξήσεως τοῖς περὶ γῆν αἷτια, ὧν ταῦτα ἐπακο-
 46 λουθήματα. οἷα, γυμνασιάρχου φιλοτιμίαις πολ-
 λάκις ἀνειμένας ποιουμένου δαπάνας, ἀνθ' ὕδατος
 ἐλαίῳ καταιονόμενοι τινες τῶν ἀπειροκάλων εἰς
 τοῦδαφος ῥανίδας ἀποστάζουσιν, ὁ δ' ὀλισθηρό-
 τατος αὐτίκα γίνεται πηλός· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν τις εὖ
 φρονῶν εἴποι, τὸν πηλὸν καὶ τὸν ὀλισθον προ-
 μηθεία τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου γεγονέναι, παρηκολου-
 θηκέναι δὲ ἄλλως τῇ ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν χορηγιῶν ταῦτα.
 47 ἴρις δὲ καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα πάλιν ἐστὶν
 αὐγῶν¹ ἐγκιρναμένων τοῖς νέφεσιν ἐπακολουθήματα,
 οὐκ ἔργα φύσεως προηγούμενα, φυσικοῖς δ' ἐπι-
 συμβαίνοντα ἔργοις· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ παρέχει τινὰ
 καὶ ταῦτα χρεῖαν ἀναγκαίαν τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις·
 νηνεμίας γὰρ καὶ πνεύματα, εὐδίας τε καὶ χειμῶνας
 48 ἀπὸ τούτων τεκμαιρόμενοι προλέγουσι. τὰς κατὰ
 πόλιν στοὰς οὐχ ὁρᾷς; τούτων αἱ πλείους πρὸς
 μεσημβρίαν νενεύκασιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοὺς ἐμπερι-
 πατοῦντας χειμῶνι μὲν ἀλεαίνεσθαι, θέρους δὲ
 καταπνεῖσθαι. παρακολουθεῖ δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον,
 ὃ μὴ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ κατεσκευακότος ἐπιγίνεται.
 τί δὲ τούτ' ἔστιν; αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐκπίπτουσαι
 σκιαί τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πείρᾳ διασημαίνουσι τὰς ὥρας.²
 49 καὶ μὲν δὴ τὸ πῦρ φύσεως ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον·

¹ mss. αὐτῶν.

² So Mangey, Gifford and Heinichen. On the other hand Gaisford and Dindorf τὰ μέτρα διασημαίνουσι ταῖς ὥραις. See App. p. 545.

^a According to Wendland this refers to the ablution after the exercise. I understand provisionally that the ἀπειρό-
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rainstorms and breezes are causal to the life and sustenance and growth of terrestrial things they have these others for their attendant circumstances. Similarly a gymnasiarch prompted by ambition may often provide on a lavish scale and some vulgarly extravagant people wash themselves with oil instead of water and let the drops drip to the ground, so that at once we have some slippery mud ^a; yet no sensible person would say that the slipperiness and the mud were due to the purposive design of the gymnasiarch or anything but mere concomitants to the munificent scale of the supply. Again a rainbow and a halo and all similar phenomena are attendant circumstances caused by rays mixing with clouds, not primary works of Nature but happenings consequent upon her works. Not but what they often render essential service to the more thoughtful who from the evidence which they give predict the presence or absence of wind and fine or stormy weather. Observe the porticoes in the cities. Most of them have been built to face the south so that persons who walk in them may enjoy the sun in winter and the breeze in summer. But they also have an attendant circumstance which does not arise through the intention of the builder. What is this? The shadows cast at our feet indicate the hours as we find by experience.^b Fire too is a most essential work of nature and smoke

καλοι seeing an abundance of the valuable article use it for a purpose for which it is not suited. For the word *cf. De Vit. Cont.* 52, and also *De Ios.* 205 of the "tasteless display" which Joseph avoided by not providing a sumptuous banquet in famine time. Gifford's note is "the unrefined, being accustomed to bathe only in water and shake off the drops, do the same with the oil which is meant to be rubbed in."

^b Or "for our experience."

ἐπακολούθημα δὲ τούτου, καπνός· ἀλλ' ὅμως παρέχεται τινα ὠφέλειαν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ αὐτός. ἐν γοῦν ταῖς μεθήμεριναῖς πυρσεῖαις, ἡνίκα τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλιακῶν καταλαμπόμενον αὐγῶν ἔξαμαν-
 50 ροῦται, καπνῷ μηνύεται πολεμίων ἔφοδος. οἷός γ' οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱριδος, τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκλείψεων ὁ λόγος· θείαις γὰρ φύσεσιν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐπακολουθοῦσιν ἐκλείψεις· αἱ δὲ μηνύματά εἰσιν ἢ βασιλέων τελευτῆς, ἢ πόλεων φθορᾶς· ὁ
 [644] καὶ | Πίνδαρος ἡνίξατο γενομένης ἐκλείψεως διὰ
 51 τῶν πρόσθεν εἰρημένων. ὁ δὲ δὴ τοῦ γάλακτος κύκλος τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς οὐσίας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄστροις μετέσχηκε, δυσαιτιολόγητος δ' εἴπερ ἐστί, μὴ ἀποκνεῖτωσαν οἱ τὰ φύσεως ἐρευνᾶν εἰωθότες.
 396 ὠφελιμώτατον γὰρ ἢ εὖρεσις, ἥδιος δὲ καὶ καθ'
 52 αὐτὸ τοῖς φιλομαθέσιν ἢ ζήτησις. ὥσπερ οὖν ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη προνοία γεγόνασιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰς ἐκάστων φύσεις τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἰχνηλατεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἡσυχά-
 53 ζωμεν. σεισμοί τε καὶ λοιμοί, καὶ κεραυνῶν βολαί, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, λέγεται μὲν εἶναι θεήλατα, πρὸς δ' ἀλήθειαν οὐκ ἔστι (Θεὸς γὰρ οὐδενὸς αἵτιος κακοῦ τοπαράπαν), ἀλλ' αἱ τῶν στοιχείων μεταβολαὶ ταῦτα γεννῶσιν, οὐ προηγούμενα ἔργα φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενα τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις, καὶ τοῖς
 54 προηγούμενοις ἐπακολουθοῦντα. εἰ δέ τινες τῶν

^a See on § 27. The point of the phrase here is that though divine they are part of nature.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 49-54

is a circumstance attendant to it, yet smoke too itself is sometimes helpful. Take for instance beacon signals in the daytime: when the fire is deadened by the rays of the sun shining on it, the enemy's approach is announced by the smoke. Much the same may be 50 said about eclipses as about the rainbow. The sun and moon are natural divinities,^a and so these eclipses are concomitant circumstances, yet eclipses announce the death of kings and the destruction of cities as is darkly indicated by Pindar on the occurrence of an eclipse in the passage quoted above.^b As for the 51 belt of the Milky Way^c it possesses the same essential qualities as the other stars, and though it is difficult to give a scientific account of it students of natural phenomena must not shrink from the quest. For while discovery is the most profitable, research is also a delight to lovers of learning. Just then as the sun 52 and moon have come into being through the action of providence so too have all the heavenly bodies, even though we, unable to trace the natures and powers of each, are silent about them. Earthquakes, pestilence, 53 thunderbolts and the like though said to be visitations from God are not really such.^d For nothing evil at all is caused by God, and these things are generated by changes in the elements. They are not primary works of nature but a sequel of her essential works, attendant circumstances to the primary. If some 54

^b Aucher, p. 97. See App. p. 546 for what can apparently be made of the Armenian version of this passage from Pindar.

^c Alexander (Aucher, p. 101) has mentioned the various explanations given of this and suggested the only use of it is to provide philosophers with something to dispute about.

^d On the discrepancy between this and § 41 see App. p. 546.

PHILO

χαριεστέρων¹ συναπολαύουσι τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων βλάβης, οὐκ αἰτιατέον τὴν διοίκησιν. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, οὐκ εἴ τινες ἀγαθοὶ παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζονται, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήθειάν εἰσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Θεοῦ κριτήρια τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν πάντων ἀκριβέστερα· δεύτερον δέ, τὸ προμηθὲς ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συνεκτικώτατα ἐφορᾶν ἀγαπᾶ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις καὶ στραταρχίαις, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα, οὐκ ἐπὶ τινὰ τῶν ἡμελημένων,
 55 καὶ ἀφανῶν ἓνα τὸν προστυχόντα. λέγουσι δέ τινες, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τυραννοκτονίαις καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀναιρεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθεε τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπισχεθῆναι τὰ ἀδικήματα, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ταῖς λοιμώδεσιν νόσοις παραπόλλυσθαι τινὰς τῶν μὴ ὑπαιτίων, ἵνα πόρρωθεν οἱ ἄλλοι σωφρονίζωνται, δίχα τοῦ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοὺς ἐμφερομένους ἀέρι νοσῶδει νοσεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν νηϊ χειμαζομένους κινδυνεύειν
 56 ἐξ ἴσου. τὰ δ' ἄλκιμα τῶν θηρίων γέγονεν (οὐ γὰρ ὑποσιωπητέον, εἰ καὶ τῷ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν εἶναι προλαβὼν τὴν ἀπολογίαν διέσυρες)

¹ The word seems very strange. Gifford gives "the more refined." But why should they be particularly mentioned? Mangey gives "probos," Aucher "bonos" from the Armenian, and so Gaisford. But no example is forthcoming of any such general use of the word. Mangey in his *Addenda* suggests *χρηστοτέρων*.

^a See note 1. A possible explanation might be that the

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 54-56

persons of a finer character^a participate in the damage which they cause, the blame must not be laid on God's ordering of the world, for in the first place it does not follow that if persons are considered good by us they are really such, for God judges by standards more accurate than any which the human mind employs. Secondly providence or forethought^b is contented with paying regard to things in the world of the most importance, just as in kingdoms and commands of army it pays regard to cities and troops, not to some chance individual of the obscure and insignificant kind. Some declare that just as 55 when tyrants are put to death it is justifiable to execute their kinsfolk also, so that wrongdoings may be checked by the magnitude of the punishment,^c so too in times of pestilence it is well that some of the guiltless should perish also as a lesson extending further to call all others to a wiser life. Apart from this they point out that persons who move in a tainted atmosphere must needs take the sickness just as in a storm or on board a ship they share the danger equally.

The stronger kinds of wild 56 animals were made in order to give us practice in warlike contests, for I feel bound to mention this point though you as a skilful advocate anticipated

word is used with some irony. The visitations even affect the superior people, who think themselves exempt from anything of the kind. But this is not in Philo's manner.

^b In the first example τὸ προμηθεὺς refers to divine providence, but passes in the second to forethought in general.

^c This seems to be intended as a reply to Alexander's remark (Aucher, p. 49) that the fall of the younger Dionysius could not be regarded as justifying Providence in leaving the father unpunished. Philo does not actually accept the view that such executions are justifiable. Indeed he has strongly argued against it in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 164 ff.

- ἀσκήσεως ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγῶνας.
 τὰ γὰρ γυμνάσια καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς θῆραι συγκροτοῦσι
 καὶ νευροῦσιν εὖ μάλα τὰ σώματα, καὶ πρὸ τῶν
 [645] σωματῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐθίζουσιν ἐχθρῶν ἐξαπιναίαις
 57 ἐφόδους τῷ καρτερῷ τῆς ῥώμης ἀλογεῖν. | τοῖς δὲ
 τὰς φύσεις εἰρηνικοῖς ἕξεσιν, οὐ μόνον τειχῶν
 ἐντὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ κλισιάδων θαλαμευομένοις, ἀποζῆν
 ἀνεπιβουλεύτως, ἔχουσιν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀφθονω-
 397 τάτας ἡμέρων ἀγέλας, ἐπειδὴ σῦς, καὶ λέοντες,
 καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα, ἐκουσία φύσει χρώμενα,
 μακρὰν ἄστεος ἀπελήλαται, τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν
 58 ἀγαπῶντα τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλῆς. εἰ δέ τινες
 ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας ἄοπλοι καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ταῖς καταδύ-
 σεσι τῶν θηρίων ἀδεῶς ἐνδιαιτῶνται, τῶν συμ-
 βαινόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν φύσιν αἰτιάσθωσαν,
 διότι φυλάξασθαι παρὸν ὠλιγώρησαν. ἤδη γοῦν
 καὶ ἐν ἵπποδρομίαις εἰδὸν τινὰς εἷξαντας ἀλογιστία,
 οἷ, δέον ἐγκαθεζεσθαι καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ θεωρεῖν, ἐν
 μέσῳ στάντες, ὑπὸ τῆς ῥύμης τῶν τεθρίππων
 ἀνωσθέντες, ποσὶ καὶ τροχοῖς κατηλοήθησαν,
 ἀνοίας τὰπίχειρα εὐράμενοι.
- 59 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀπόχρη τὰ λεχθέντα. τῶν
 δ' ἐρπετῶν τὰ ἰοβόλα γέγονεν οὐ κατὰ πρόνοιαν,
 ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον.
 ζωογονεῖται γάρ, ὅταν ἡ ἐνυπάρχουσα ἰκμὰς μετα-

^a Alexander, after speaking of the ravages of wild beasts (Aucher, p. 102) which do not attack those whom they know to be practised huntsmen, but only peaceful cultivators of the soil, adds that even if it can be pleaded that they seem to give practice in bodily courage, nothing of the kind can be said about poisonous animals. By "through being skilful at speaking" Philo means that Alexander has shown

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 56-59

this defence and tried to discredit it.^a For the training in gymnastics and constant hunting expeditions weld and brace the body admirably and affect the soul even more than the body by inuring it in the starkness of its strength to meet unconcernedly sudden onsets of the enemy. And people of peaceful nature^b can live sheltered within the walls of their cities and even of their chambers without fear of attack with abundance of different kinds of animals for their enjoyment, since boars and lions and the like following their natural inclination are banished to a distance from the town, preferring to be immune from men's hostility. And if some persons are so careless that they do not fear to resort unarmed and unprepared to the lairs of these beasts they must lay the blame of what happens on themselves and not on Nature, since they have neglected to take precautions when they could. Thus in chariot races too I have seen people giving way to thoughtlessness who, instead of sitting in their places as they should as orderly spectators, stood in the middle of the course and pushed over by the rush of the chariots were crushed under the feet and wheels, a proper reward for their folly.

Enough has been said on these matters. As for reptiles the venomous kinds have not come into being by direct act of providence but as an attendant circumstance as I have said above. For they come to life when the moisture already in them changes to

himself an accomplished rhetorician. Anticipation of an argument was a recognized device, technically known as *προκατάληψις*.

^b This is said to counter the suggestion of Alexander that the fact that wild beasts are allowed to attack such persons tends to disprove Providence.

βάλη πρὸς τὸ θερμότερον. ἕνια δὲ καὶ σῆψις ἐψύχωσεν, ὡς ἔλμινθας μὲν ἢ περὶ τροφήν, φθείρας δ' ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ιδρώτων. ὅσα δ' ἐξ οἰκείας ὕλης κατὰ φύσιν σπερματικὴν καὶ προηγουμένην ἔχει
 60 γένεσιν, εἰκότως ἐπιγέγραπται πρόνοϊαν. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων διττοὺς λόγους, ὡς ἐπ' ὠφελεία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γεγονότων, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἐπικρυψαίμην. ἦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἕτερος, τοιόσδε· πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν ἱατρικῶν ἔφασάν τινες τὰ ἰοβόλα συνεργεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μεθοδεύοντας τὴν τέχνην, εἰς ἃ δεῖ καταχρω-
 μένους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστημόνως, ἀλεξιφαρμάκων εὐ-
 πορεῖν, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπισφαλῶς ἐχόντων ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ σωτηρίᾳ· καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοὺς μὴ ραθύμως καὶ ἀμελῶς ἰατρεῦειν ἐπιχει-
 ροῦντας ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεσι τῶν φαρμάκων κατα-
 61 χρωμένους ἐκάστοις οὐ παρέργως. ὁ δ' ἕτερος λόγος οὐκ ἱατρικός, ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε. τῷ γὰρ Θεῷ ταῦτ' ἔφασκεν ἡντρεπίσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων κολαστήρια, ὡς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἡγε-
 μόσι ὕστριχας ἢ σίδηρον· οὐ χάριν, ἡρεμοῦντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνερεθίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατακριθεῖσιν, ὧν ἡ φύσις ἐν τῷ ἀδωροδοκῆτῳ
 62 δικαστηρίῳ ἑαυτῆς κατέγνω θάνατον. τὸ δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις πεφωλευκέναι μᾶλλον, ἐστὶ μὲν ψεῦδος·
 398 ἔξω γὰρ ἄσπετος ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἐρημίαις θεωρεῖται, |

^a The same phrase is used in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 52 and 121. By ἑαυτῆς he means perhaps the "court which is herself," i.e. Nature is both court and judge. Cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 27, and similar phrases, e.g. *De Ebr.* 165 καθίσας οὖν ὁ νοῦς ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συνεδρίῳ.

^b Alexander has said (Aucher, p. 103) that the useful animals, i.e. those good to eat, such as roes (capri), deer (cervi) and hares, have been kept far away from mankind,

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 59-62

a higher temperature. In some cases putrefaction breeds them. For instance putrefaction in food and in perspiration breed respectively worms and lice. But all kinds which are created out of their proper substance by a seminal and primary process of nature are reasonably ascribed to providence. As to them 60 I have heard two theories, which I should be sorry to suppress, to the effect that they are made for the benefit of mankind. One of them was as follows. Some have said that the venomous animals co-operate in many medical processes, and that those who practise the art scientifically by using them with knowledge where suitable are well provided with antidotes for saving unexpectedly the life of patients in a particularly dangerous condition. And even to this day we may see those who take up the medical profession with care and energy making use of every kind of these creatures as an important factor in compounding their remedies. The other theory 61 clearly belongs not to medicine but to philosophy. It declares that these creatures were prepared by God as instruments for the punishment of sinners just as generals and governors have their scourges or weapons of steel, and therefore while quiescent at all other times they are stirred up to do violence to the condemned whom Nature in her incorruptible assize ^a has sentenced to death. But the state- 62 ment that they hide themselves chiefly in houses ^b is false, for they are to be seen in the fields and desolate places outside the town, avoiding man as

while the poisonous snakes lurk in houses. (The argument is surprising from a Jew, as hares at any rate were forbidden.) He uses the same argument about edible birds, as opposed to swallows, and this is dealt with in the sequel.

- [646] φεύγοντα ὡς δεσπότην τὸν ἄνθρωπον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ', εἰ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἔχει τινὰ λόγον. ἐν γὰρ μυχοῖς σεσώρευται φορυτός, καὶ σκυβάλων πλήθος, οἷς εἰσδύεσθαι φιλεῖ, δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὴν κνίσαν ὀλκὸν
- 63 ἔχειν δύναμιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες ἡμῖν συνδιατῶνται, θαυμαστὸν οὐδέν· τῆς γὰρ τούτων θήρας ἀπεχόμεθα. σωτηρίας δὲ πόθος ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ λογικαῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλόγοις ἐνίδρυνται. τῶν δὲ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν οὐδέν ὁμοδαίειον διὰ τὰς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλάς, πλήν παρ' οἷς ἡ τῶν τοιούτων
- 64 χρήσις ἀπηγόρευται νόμῳ. τῆς Συρίας ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλις ἐστίν, Ἀσκάλων ὄνομα· γενόμενος ἐν ταύτῃ, καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἰς τὸ πατρῶον ἱερὸν ἐστελλόμεν, εὐξόμενός τε καὶ θύσων, ἀμήχανόν τι πελειάδων πλήθος ἐπὶ τῶν τριόδων καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν ἐκάστην ἐθεασάμεν. πυνθανομένῳ δέ μοι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἔφασαν οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶναι συλλαμβάνειν· ἀπειρησθαι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τὴν χρήσιν. οὕτως ἡμέρωται τὸ ζῶον ὑπ' ἀδείας, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ὑπωρόφιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον αἰεὶ
- 65 γίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς ἐκεχειρίαις ἐντρυφᾶν. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ καὶ θαυμασιώτερον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν. τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρωποβόρον καὶ θηρίων ἀργαλεώτατον ὁ κροκόδειλος, γεννώμενος καὶ τρεφόμενος ἐν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ Νεῖλῳ, τῆς ὠφελείας, καίτοι βύθιος ὢν, ἐπαισθάνεται. παρ' οἷς μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶται πληθύνει μάλιστα· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς λυμαινομένοις οὐδ' ὄναρ φαίνεται, ὡς τῶν πλεόντων ὅπου μὲν καὶ τοὺς

* Or perhaps somewhat stronger "which we indulge in"; cf. § 69. Philo there, as elsewhere, e.g. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 20, treats all meat-eating as a luxury.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 62-65

though he was their master. Not but what if it really is true there is some reason for it. For rubbish and a great quantity of refuse accumulate in the corners of houses, into which the creatures like to creep, and also the smell has a powerful attraction for them. If swallows live with us there is nothing to be 63 wondered at for we do not attempt to catch them, and the instinct of self-preservation is implanted in irrational as well as in rational souls. But birds which we like to eat^a will have nothing to do with us because they fear our designs against them except in cases where the law forbids that their kind should be used as food. There is a city on the sea coast of 64 Syria called Ascalon. While I was there at a time^b when I was on my way to our ancestral temple to offer up prayers and sacrifices I observed a large number of pigeons at the cross roads and in each house, and when I asked the reason I was told that it was not lawful to catch them because they had been from old times forbidden food to the inhabitants. In this way the creature has been so tamed by its security that it not merely lives under their roof but shares their table regularly and takes delight in the immunity which it enjoys. In Egypt you may see a 65 still more wonderful sight, for the man-eating crocodile, the most dangerous of wild animals, which is born and bred in the holiest of rivers the Nile, understands the benefit of this though it is a deep water creature. For among the people who honour it, it is found in great numbers, but where men try to destroy it not a glimpse of it is to be seen, so that in

^b So, rather than "the time" as Gifford. Philo does not imply that this was a solitary or even a rare visit to Jerusalem.

πάνυ θρασεῖς μηδ' ἄκρον ἐπιτολμᾶν καθιέναι δάκ-
 τυλον, ἀγελῆδόν ἐπιφοιτώντων· ὅπου δὲ καὶ τοὺς
 ἄγαν δειλοὺς ἐξαλλομένους νήχεσθαι μετὰ παιδιᾶς.

66 χώρα¹ δ' ἡ Κυκλώπων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ γένος
 αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πλάσμα μύθου, δίχα σπορᾶς καὶ γεω-
 πόνων ἀνδρῶν ἡμερος καρπὸς οὐ φύεται, καθάπερ
 οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος τι γεννᾶται. τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 οὐ κατηγορητέον, ὡς λυπρᾶς καὶ ἀγόνου· πολὺ γὰρ
 κὰν ταύτῃ τὸ βαθύγειον. εἰ δ' ἡ βάρβαρος δια-
 φέρει ταῖς εὐκαρπίαῖς, πλεονεκτεῖ μὲν τροφαῖς,
 ἐλαττοῦται δὲ τοῖς τρεφομένοις, ὧν χάριν αἱ τροφαί.
 [647] μόνη γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀψεудῶς ἀνθρωπογονεῖ, φυτὸν
 399 οὐράνιον καὶ | βλάστημα θεῖον ἡκριβωμένον, λογι-
 σμὸν ἀποτίκτουσα οἰκείουμένον ἐπιστήμη. τὸ δ'
 αἴτιον· λεπτότητι ἀέρος ἡ διάνοια πέφυκεν ἀκονᾶ-
 67 σθαι. διὸ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος οὐκ ἄπο σκοποῦ φησίν,
 “οὐ γῆ² ξηρή, ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη.” τεκ-
 μηριώσαιοτο δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς μὲν νήφοντας
 καὶ ὀλιγοδεεῖς συνετωτέρους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ποτῶν

¹ The sentence is an anacoluthon. If emendation is required the simplest would be χώρα (= χώρα) δὲ Κυκ.

² mss. αὐγῇ (a form of the saying which is found elsewhere, see App. p. 546). οὐ γῆ is required here by the sense and is supported by the Armenian “in terra sicca animus est sapiens ac virtutem amans.” Gaisford and Dindorf retain αὐγῇ.

^a Alexander (Aucher, p. 105) has quoted *Od.* ix. 106-111 to the effect that the arrogant and lawless Cyclopes neither sow nor plough, “trusting to the immortal gods,” yet everything grows there, wheat and barley and vines. On the contrary “pietatem colentibus nihil fere remanet,” and Greece is thin-soiled and barren and the barbarians have to supply it with everything. The answer has a certain dry humour rare in Philo.

some places people sailing on the Nile do not venture, even the very boldest, to dip the tip of a finger in the water as the crocodiles resort thither in shoals, while in other places quite timid people jump out and swim and play about. As to the land of the 66

Cyclopes,^a since that race is a mythical fiction, it is not the case that cultivated fruit is produced without seed being sown or husbandmen tilling it, on the principle that from what does not exist nothing is generated. Greece must not be accused of being a sour unproductive land. For it too has plenty of deep rich soil, and if the world outside excels in fruitfulness its superiority in foodstuffs is counterbalanced by inferiority in the people to be fed for whose sake the food is produced. For Greece alone can be truly said to produce mankind, she who engenders the heavenly plant,^b the divine shoot, a perfect growth, even reason so closely allied to knowledge, and the cause of this is that the mind is naturally sharpened by the fineness of the air.^c And so Heracleitus aptly says 67
 "where the land is dry the soul is best and wisest." One may find evidence for this in the superior intelligence of the sober and frugal, while those who cram

^b From *Timaeus* 90 A, cf. *Quod Det.* 85, *De Plant.* 17. In Plato the heavenly plant is mankind, and in the passages cited Philo recognizes this. I think it may be possible (1) to take both *φυτὸν* and *βλάστημα* as governed by *ἀνθρωπογονεῖ* or rather as in apposition with *ἀνθρώπων* implied, and (2) *ἡκριβωμένον* as agreeing with *λογισμὸν*. Even if (1) is impossible, (2) seems to me preferable. *ἡκριβ.* is an epithet more suitable to *λογισμὸν* than to *βλάστημα*. So the Armenian translator, p. 117 ("certam veramque intellegentiam procreans"), though he goes wrong in taking *φυτὸν* and *βλάστημα* in apposition with *Ἑλλάς*.

^c Mangey quotes Cic. *De Fat.* 4 "Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici."

- αἰὲ καὶ σιτίων ἐμπιπλαμένους ἥκιστα φρονίμους,
 68 ἅτε βαπτιζομένοι τοῖς ἐπιούσι τοῦ λογισμοῦ. διὸ
 κατὰ τὴν βάρβαρον ἔρνη μὲν ταῖς εὐτροφίαις καὶ
 στελέχῃ περιμήκιστα, καὶ ζώων ἀλόγων σφόδρα
 τὰ γονιμώτατα, νοῦν δ' ἥκιστα γεννᾷ, διότι τὸ
 ὑψωθῆναι ἐξ ἀέρος αἰτίου¹ αἱ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἐπάλ-
 ληλοι καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀναθυμιάσεις κατεκράτησαν.
 69 ἰχθύων δὲ καὶ ὀρνίθων καὶ χερσαίων
 γένη ζώων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐγκλήματα φύσεως ἐφ'
 ἡδονὴν παρακαλούσης, ἀλλὰ δεινὸς ψόγος τῆς
 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀκρασίας. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν γὰρ ἦν εἰς
 τὴν τοῦ ὄλου συμπλήρωσιν, ἵνα γένηται κόσμος ἐν
 ἐκάστῳ μέρει, φύναι ζώων ιδέας ἀπάντων· οὐκ
 ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλαυσιν ὀρμῆσαι
 τὸ σοφίας συγγενέστατον χρῆμα τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
 70 μεταβαλόντα εἰς ἀγριότητα θηρίων. διὸ καὶ μέχρι
 νῦν, οἷς λόγος ἐγκρατείας, ἅπαξ ἀπάντων ἀπ-
 ἔχονται, λαχανώδει χλόῃ καὶ καρποῖς δένδρων
 προσοψήμασιν ἡδίστῃ ἀπολαύσει χρώμενοι. τοῖς
 δὲ τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων θοίνην ἡγουμένοις εἶναι
 κατὰ φύσιν ἐπέστησαν διδάσκαλοι, σωφρονισταί,

¹ So apparently all mss. All editors except Gifford αὐτοῦ. If αἰτίου is retained, the sense must be as in the translation. But αἴτιον in this sense is strange without some clearer indication of what it causes. Mangey suggested τὸ μὴ ψυχωθῆναι ἐξ ἀέρος αὐτοῦ, οὐ, and I am inclined to think that ψυχωθῆναι is right. In this case the objection to αἰτίου is removed, for the air is the cause of vitalization. Cf. *De Som.* i. 136 τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὗτος ἐψύχωσεν, where ἐκείνοις is earth and water and οὗτος is air. This is supported by the Armenian "mens nusquam nascitur ob frigefactionem et gelationem." The translator, who often duplicates, may easily have taken ψυχοῦσθαι in the sense which it sometimes bears, though not in Philo, of "being refrigerated." See App. p. 547.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 67-70

themselves with food and drink are most wanting in wisdom, because the reason is drowned by the stuff that is brought in. And therefore in the world outside Greece the plants and trunks are so well nourished that they grow to a great height and it is exceedingly productive of the most prolific animals but very unproductive of intelligence, because the continual and unceasing exhalations from the earth and water overpower it and prevent it from rising out of the air which is its source. The various

kinds of fishes, birds and land-animals do not give grounds for charging Nature of inviting us to pleasure, but they constitute a severe censure on our want of restraint.^a For to secure the completeness of the universe and that the cosmic order should exist in every part it was necessary that the different kinds of living animals should arise, but it was not necessary that man the creature most akin to wisdom should be impelled to feast upon them and so change himself into the savagery of wild beasts. And therefore to this day those who have thought for self-restraint abstain from every one of them and take green vegetables and the fruits of trees as a relish to their bread with the utmost enjoyment. And those who hold that feasting on these animals is natural have had placed over them teachers, censors and lawgivers who in

^a Alexander has argued (p. 106) that if self-denial and temperance, as the philosophers say, are acceptable to God and gluttony and the like are not, Providence, if it existed, would not have created animals of this kind to minister to men's appetites. Philo is unkind to his opponent in putting the argument into his mouth, since above he was bringing it against Providence that it kept these animals at a distance from mankind. See on § 62.

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νομοθέται κατὰ πόλεις, οἷς ἐμέλησε τὴν ἀμετρίαν
 τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν στείλαι, μὴ ἐπιτρέψασι τὴν χρῆσιν
 71 ἀδεᾶ πᾶσι πάντων. ἴα¹ δὲ καὶ ῥόδα καὶ
 κρόκος, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν ἀνθέων ποικιλία, πρὸς
 ὑγίειαν, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν γέγονεν. ἅπλετοι γὰρ
 τούτων αἱ δυνάμεις, καὶ καθ' αὐτὰς διὰ τῶν ὁσμῶν
 ὠφελοῦσιν, εὐωδίας πάντας ἀναμιμπλάσαι, καὶ
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἱατρικαῖς συνθέσεσι τῶν φαρ-
 μάκων. ἔνια γὰρ ἀναμιχθέντα τὰς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις
 ἀριδηλοτέρας παρέχεται, καθάπερ εἰς ζώου γενεσιν
 ἡ ἄρρενος καὶ θήλεος μίξις, ἰδίᾳ ἑκατέρου μὴ
 72 πεφυκότος ποιεῖν ἅπερ ἄμφω συνελθόντα. ταῦτ'
 ἀναγκαίως λέλεκται πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπό σου
 400 διαπορηθέντων, ἱκανὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι δυνάμενα
 τοῖς μὴ φιλονείκως ἔχουσι περὶ τοῦ τὸν Θεὸν τῶν
 ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πραγμάτων.

¹ MSS. εἰ. See App. p. 547.

^a The same argument had been applied to the scents of flowers, particularly as an accompaniment of banquets. Philo elsewhere does not appear insensible to the beauty of flowers, but neither this nor their fragrance seem to him to come under the head of sensual pleasure, which is what he means by ἡδονή here.

ON PROVIDENCE, 2. 70-72

the different cities make it their business to restrain the intemperance of their appetites by refusing to allow all people to use them all without restriction.

Violets, roses, and crocuses and the 71 other flowers in their manifold variety were made to give health not pleasure.^a For their properties are infinite; they are beneficial in themselves by their scents, impregnating all with their fragrance, and far more beneficial when used by physicians in compounding drugs. For some things show their virtues more clearly when combined with others, just as the union of male and female serves to engender animal life while neither of them is qualified to do separately what they can do when combined.

This is the best answer I can make^b to the rest of 72 the points raised by you, and it is enough to create in the mind of those who are not contentiously inclined solid grounds for believing that God takes care of human affairs.^c

^b For this sense of ἀναγκαίως cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 4, *Quod Det.* 160, and note on the latter, vol. ii. p. 497.

^c This is not actually the end of the treatise. Philo goes on to invite any other questions, but Alexander politely declines further discussion for the present.

APPENDIX TO QUOD OMNIS PROBUS LIBER SIT

§ 2. "Walk not on the highways." The form given here is almost the same as that in the latest edition of Diogenes Laertius, viz. τὰς λεωφόρους μὴ βαδίζειν. But another reading is ἐκτὸς λεωφόρου μὴ βαδίζειν. This has been emended to ἐντὸς, but does it not rather point to a variant assigning a quite different and more obvious meaning to the maxim?

§ 3. *Super-law*. Or "divine ordinance." Cf. *De Op.* 143 νόμος ὁ τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὸς λόγος, δς κυριωτέρα κλήσει προσονομάζεται θεσμός, νόμος θεῖος ὢν. In the same way the Ten Commandments are in a true sense θεσμοί, *Quis Rerum* 168. Besides being more divine the θεσμός has a wider scope and is like a general principle. So the Ten are θεσμοί τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπειρῶν νόμων γενικὰ κεφάλαια, *De Cong.* 120. It is a pity that these examples from Philo have not been used in the lexica. For though L. & S. remarks that θεσμός properly applies to ancient laws supposed to be sanctioned by the gods, it cites no examples which bring out the distinction from νόμος. Stephanus too after quoting the θεσμοί of Draco and the νόμοι of Solon, which may be merely traditional titles, only cites Plato, *Ep.* viii. 355 B, where after an exhortation to set the ἀρετή of the soul above that of the body, and that again above money, he says ὁ ταῦτα ἀπεργαζόμενος θεσμός νόμος ἂν ὀρθῶς ὑμῖν εἴη κείμενος, which points to a sort of distinction as that quoted above from *De Cong.*

§ 5. *The puppet show*. Though probably this is suggested by the words quoted in the footnote, those do not mean what is stated here. Plato does not mean that the prisoners in the cave mistake the realities for θάύματα. The phrase comes in incidentally to indicate that the wall behind which move the persons who carry the objects the shadows of which are reflected is like the screen behind which the θανματοποιοί

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stand when exhibiting their show. Elsewhere Plato uses the figure (*Laws* 644 D, 804 B) to describe human conduct, mankind being the puppets whose strings are worked by some higher power, a figure which Philo also uses, *De Op.* 117, *De Fug.* 46.

§ 10. *Highly connected.* Or more exactly "highly connected on both sides." Philo has ἀμφιθαλής twice elsewhere, *De Cong.* 132, where Moses is said to be καὶ τὰ πρὸς πατρός καὶ τὰ πρὸς μητρός ἀμφιθαλής, and *Legatio* 93, where Hermes, Apollo, and Ares are μείζονες καὶ ἀμφιθαλεῖς as compared with Dionysus and Heracles, presumably because Semele and Alcmena were mere women. This is a natural extension of the meaning in *Il.* xxii. 496 and Plato, *Laws* 927 D, viz. a child who has both parents alive. So here cf. πρὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν below.

§ 15. (The hiatus παιδεία ἀναθεῖναι.) Cohn in *Hermes*, li. (1916), pp. 172 ff. propounds a theory that the hiatus here is justified on the principle that Philo does not avoid it between the verb and its noun or adjective, which are so grammatically connected as to form a sort of unity. In the same way he accounts for ἰση ἀντιτιμηθέντες εὐνοία (§ 42) and φόβω ἐκκλίνει (§ 159), and notes similar examples in other treatises. On the other hand εὐτονία κραταιοτάτη ἰσχύος (§ 40), θεοῦ ἐλευθέρους (§ 42) and σὺν εὐτολμία εὐθυβόλον (§ 124) have no such justification. Accordingly the first of these remains "suspect" (though one would have thought κραταιοτάτης was an easy correction), the second is corrected to τῶν θεῶν, and the third has μετ' εὐτολμίας suggested in a footnote. This new law of justifiable exceptions is a big extension of the principle laid down by Jessen and Cumont (see my note in vol. viii. p. 428), by which familiar conjunctions like ἐτήσιοι ὥραι are declared acceptable. There are no such familiar conjunctions in the instances quoted from §§ 42 and 159.

Wendland in his essay on *De Providentia* written several years earlier points out (p. 146) Philo's general avoidance of the hiatus in that treatise, but notes a few exceptions, ἀδιалύτῳ ἐνώσει ἀρμολάμενος (§ 3), εὐμορφία ἀγάλλοιτο (§ 15), ἀπατηλαὶ αἰσθήσεις, πάθη ἐπίβουλα (§ 36), and there are some others which he has not observed. He then makes a remark which seems to me worth quoting: "We must not forget that avoidance of the hiatus is a matter of feeling only, not of

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anxious calculation, and there were very few writers in whom this feeling was so finely developed that it was not exposed to fluctuations and caprices." This is not quite the same as the view suggested in the note above mentioned, namely that he avoided it generally but not when the avoidance would hamper his expression, but it leads to the same practical conclusion. When the tradition, Wendland continues, does not present any difficulty or any other cause for alteration, the editor of a writer like Philo will do well not to introduce any alteration merely on account of the hiatus.

§ 15. *New vessels*, etc. Cohn quotes Quintilian i. 1. 5 "natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percepimus, ut sapor, quo nova imbuas, durat." The parallel will be still clearer if we adopt the correction "quo nova imbuas <vasa>." As Quintilian in the sentence before has quoted Chrysippus, *Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς*, it seems probable that the illustration in both cases comes from a Stoic source.

§ 28. (Insertion of *οὕτως*.) Though not grammatically necessary it certainly appears to be Philo's invariable usage when a comparison begins with a relative conjunction to introduce the main clause with an adverb *οὕτως* or *τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον*. So in this treatise §§ 15, 30, 45, 49, 51, 130, 140. And so in *De Prov.* §§ 3, 6, 20, 23, 39, 40, 52, 55. If the comparison begins with the main clause as in § 155 the rule naturally does not apply, nor always if the relative clause does not contain a separate verb as in *De Prov.* 32. Otherwise I have found no exceptions either in these two treatises or in *De Praem.*, in which I have tested it.

§ 70. *Wholefruits*. Or "wholly fruits." In this digression induced by a favourite text, Deut. xxx. 14, and the favourite interpretation of mouth, heart, hands by words, thoughts, actions, we have something more akin to the Philo of the Commentary than we find anywhere else in this treatise. The meaning is that while in the natural garden the fruit only comes in the final stage, in the spiritual life all is fruit. As a matter of fact *ὀλοκαρπώματα* occurs only three times in our text of the Pentateuch and then only as a variant for *ὀλοκαυνώματα*. But the form *ὀλοκάρπωσις* is more frequent, occurring three times in Gen. xxii. in the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, and also in Gen. viii. 20, where Noah took of

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every clean beast and every clean fowl and offered them for a *ολοκάρπωσις*. On this passage, where perhaps he read *ολοκάρπωμα* for *ολοκάρπωσις*, Philo has a special meditation in *Quaest. in Gen.* ii. 52. The point of this is that the pure beasts are "*sapientis sensus*" and the pure fowls "*intellectus cum cogitationibus in mente agitatis*" and that they must be offered as "*integer fructus*." The thought is perhaps much the same as in the stanzas of Rabbi Ben Ezra beginning "Not on the vulgar mass."

§ 73. οἱ ἐτύμως ἐπτά σοφοὶ προσονομασθέντες. I find that the view taken in the footnote that the appellation is *ἔτυμον* because *ἐπτά* is akin to *σέβας* and *σεμνός* is thought to be a hard saying; and I am asked why it should not mean that they were called *σοφοί* because they were truly wise. I think that that explanation not only slurs the *πρός* but is entirely contrary to Philo's use of *ἐτύμως* and *ἔτυμος*. That word in classical use is an epic or lyric word, in the ordinary sense of "true," but with the grammarians came to mean the true or original form of the root from which other words spring, and thence the name "etymology" for the science of these *ἔτυμα*. Thus (*De Op.* 127) the Latin "septem" is said to be *ἐτυμώτερον* than the Greek *ἐπτά* because it preserves the original *σ* of the etymon.

As stated shortly in the note in vol. iv. p. 556, the examples of *ἐτύμως* in the index bear this out.

Names are said to be given *ἐτύμως*:

(1) *De Op.* 36. *στερέωμα* to "heaven," because it is *σωματικός* (as opposed to *νοητός*), and *σῶμα* is *στερεόν*.

(2) *Ibid.* 126. *φωνήεντα* to the vowels, because *ἐξ ἐαυτῶν φωνοῦνται*.

(3) *Ibid.* 133. *παμμήτωρ* and like names given by the poets to γῆ, because it is the source (*αἰτία*) of *γένεσις*.

(4) *De Conf.* 137. *θεός* to God, because *ἔθηκε τὸ πᾶν*.

(5) *Mos.* i. 17. Moses so called, because he was drawn from the water and the Egyptian for water is *μῶν*.

(6) *Ibid.* 130. "Dog-fly" from its persistence, because the dog and the fly are the most shameless creatures in earth and air.

(7) *Mos.* ii. 105. *θυματήριον* given to the altar of incense, because *ἀναθυμιάσεις τηρεῖ*.

(8) *Ibid.* 149. *τελειώσεις* to the rams by which the sacrificers were admitted to the *τελεταί*.

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(9) *Spec. Leg.* i. 88. λογείον to the breastplate symbolizing heaven, because heaven is governed by λόγος.

(10) *Ibid.* 93. ρόσχοι to pomegranates παρά τὴν ῥύσιν.

(11) *Ibid.* 147. σιαγόνες to the jaws, because they shake (σειώ).

(12) *Ibid.* 183. πρωτογεννημάτων to Pentecost, because τὰ πρῶτα τῶν γεννημάτων are then offered. So also *De Dec.* 160.

(13) *Spec. Leg.* ii. 188. "Trumpet-feast" to the ἱερομηνία, because it is the custom to sound the trumpet.

In this volume, besides the words under discussion, we have (14) *De Vit. Cont.* 2, the Therapeutae, so called because θεραπεύουσι ("worship" or "heal").

(15) *De Aet.* 54. κόσμος to the world, because it exhibits κόσμος ("order").

Many of these are explanations of a term rather than what we should call derivations or etymologies, but they all have this in common, that the ἐτυμότης does not consist in the appropriateness of the term in itself, or of its application in the particular case, but in its relation to some other word or in (15) to some other sense of the same word. None of them suggest that a person could be called ἐτύμως σοφός because the adjective σοφός could be justly applied to him. The ἐτυμότης therefore I believe belongs to ἐπτά, and the words of *De Op.* 127 explain in what it consists.

I should add that in the note, vol. iv. p. 556, I suggested that σοφός also was traced to σεβασμός, but this, I think, has no foundation.

§ 74. πρεσβευταὶ λόγων καὶ ἔργων. Or πρεσβεύεται λόγων ἔργα? In support of the latter it is worth noting that Strabo xv. 1. 59 cites Megasthenes as saying of the Brachmanes (on whom see next note) ἐν ἔργοις γὰρ αὐτοὺς κρείττους ἢ λόγοις εἶναι. That Philo in his account of the Gymnosophists and Calanus had Megasthenes in mind is at least very probable.

§ 74. *Gymnosophists.* What did Philo understand by the Gymnosophists? Is it simply another name for the caste of the philosophers, i.e. the Brahmins, or for a specially ascetic type among them and possibly other castes? They are mentioned in the same vague way as here by Strabo xvi. 2. 39 coupled with the Magi and the μάντις of other nations. So too Plut. ii. 322 v eulogizes the γυμνήτης σοφία of the Indian sages.

When Strabo xv. 1. 39 ff. describes from Megasthenes the seven castes, of which the philosophers are the first, he does

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not use the term Gymnosophist or indicate any especial asceticism. Further on, *ibid.* 59, Megasthenes is stated to classify the philosophers as Brachmanes, *i.e.* presumably Brahmins, and Garmanes, by whom experts appear to understand Buddhists, and it is these Garmanes or some of them who seem best to exemplify the asceticism implied in the name of Gymnosophists, though nakedness is not actually mentioned. Again, *ibid.* 70, the Brachmanes are distinguished from the Pramnae and it is as applied to some of these last that we first meet the term.

On the other hand Arrian, who also is supposed to be quoting Megasthenes, definitely says of the philosophical caste that as a whole they live (*διαιτῶνται*) naked, and when Plutarch (*Alexander* 64) applies the name Gymnosophists to the philosophers who had stirred up national feeling against the invader (§ 59), presumably he means the caste as a whole. I leave the experts to disentangle these conflicting statements. I suspect that the legend as Philo received it included (1) a belief that the philosophers were a caste, (2) that some of them were believed to practise a special asceticism, without aiming at anything more exact.

§ 75. *Essenes*. This note does not attempt to digest the many theories propounded about the Essenes but merely to summarize what Philo says about them and compare it with Josephus. In *Quod Omn. Prob.* Philo gives the following account of them : (1) They do not sacrifice animals ; (2) they live in villages ; (3) they work industriously at various occupations, not military nor commercial ; (4) they keep no slaves ; (5) their study is on morals and religion, particularly the allegorical meaning of the Scriptures ; (6) they pursue and exhibit every kind of virtue ; (7) this includes refusal to swear oaths and ceremonial purity ; (8) they hold goods and clothing in common ; (9) they provide for the sick and aged. To this is added an account of their sabbatical meetings, but this does not materially differ from that given of the Therapeutae in the *De Vit. Cont.* and of the nation as a whole in the *Hypothetica*.

Of these the *Hypothetica* mentions in much the same strain (3), (6), (8) and (9) and adds (10) that only adults are admitted to the order and (11) that they eschew marriage and have a poor opinion of women.

Josephus's account is given in *B.J.* ii. 8. 2-13, with some

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additions in *Ant.* xviii. 1. 5. It confirms practically all the points mentioned by Philo but goes far more into detail. Thus he describes fully the terms and process of admission to the order and also their refusal to take oaths in ordinary life and their ceremonial ablutions, points indicated by Philo only by the single words ἀνώμοτον and ἀγνεία. Interesting additions which he gives are that they regard the use of oil as a defilement, wear white garments, keep the sabbath with extraordinary strictness and show a feeling of reverence for the sun and sunrise which reminds us somewhat of *De Vit. Cont.* 27 and 89. Elsewhere he credits them with the power of predicting the future, also he gives us, what Philo entirely omits, some information about their doctrines, that they believed in the immortality of the soul though not of the body and in future rewards and punishments.

(Sections 89 to 91.) I have not seen any notice of the historical statements made in these sections and this note must be regarded as a tentative inquiry. I feel little doubt that Philo is referring in the first instance to Herod, who, according to *Jos. Ant.* xv. 10. 5, treated the Essenes with special friendship and thought of them as something higher than human (μεῖζόν τι φρονῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἢ κατὰ τὴν θνητὸν φύσιν). This friendship is traced by Josephus originally to the predictions made by the Essene Manahem to Herod, first in his boyhood when Manahem prophesied that he would be a king who at first would govern righteously but afterwards would commit crimes for which he would be punished. When he became king Herod asked Manahem how long he would reign and was told that for at least thirty years, but no other limit was given, which answer appears to have satisfied Herod.

We have no other evidence, I think, as to how the Essenes were treated by any other ruler in Palestine. But we may ask who are these ferocious or treacherous potentates here alluded to. Apart from the wild statement of Pliny, *N.H.* v. 17 that the Essenes had flourished in Palestine "per millia saeculorum," the only allusion to their existence in earlier times is in *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 5. 9, where he mentions them as existing in the times of Jonathan the high priest, *i.e.* about 150 B.C. But this does not of course show that they did not exist at a considerably earlier date, and Philo might well have had Antiochus Epiphanes in mind. One would

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hardly think that any of the Hasmoneans would appear in this light to Philo, though both Aristobulus and Alexander Jannaeus are credited with some barbarity. Archelaus at the other end, who also (*B.J.* ii. 7. 3) listened to the prediction of an Essene, would fit, but his date is too late, at any rate if the *Quod Omn. Prob.* is an early work of Philo.

§ 96. (Death of Calanus.) This is described by Strabo (xv. 1. 68), who says that while the historians differ on some minor points they agree that he accompanied Alexander and when in his seventy-third year he fell ill for the first time he burnt himself to death in Alexander's presence. Strabo adds that Megasthenes denied that suicide was enjoined by the philosophers, who regarded it as showing a reckless disposition.

Ibid. (Text of the letter.) Cohn in the article in *Hermes* mentioned in the note on § 15 observes that it contains four instances of hiatus, which however need not concern us, as Philo though avoiding it himself does not trouble himself to correct them in quotations. Cohn would not therefore raise this objection to my proposed insertion of ἀπὲρ αἱ ἡμῖν.

§ 99. "*Burn me, consume my flesh,*" etc. I am rather surprised that Nauck, *T.G.F.* p. 525, lists this quotation as from the *Syleus*. Is not its juxtaposition with the *Syleus* in this one of the four places where it occurs sufficiently accounted for by the fact that Heracles plays a part in both? But the attitude which it represents seems very different from the boisterous behaviour in the Satyric play.

§ 100. (The *Syleus*.) Who speaks the last four lines of the first quotation and the three of the second? Cohn, following Nauck, *T.G.F.* p. 526, says *Syleus*. Subject to correction from those who know the ways of Satyric drama better than I do, I should reconstruct the situation as follows. Hermes brings Heracles to market much as Diogenes is brought in § 123, and one of the possible purchasers asks the question whether he is φαῦλος. The auctioneer emphatically denies this, and then turning to Heracles says "Do try and look more like the sort of servant that people like to have." Heracles then accommodates himself somewhat and is bought by *Syleus*, who finds out too late what a bad bargain he has made. Even if we assume that Cohn and Nauck are so far right that the last four lines from οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἐμβολῆν are to be detached from the other four, I should still prefer to

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ascribe them to one of the ἀνηγικῶς ἔχοντες, who declined to buy anyone so dangerous, rather than to Syleus.

§ 127. *Theodorus*. An account of this follower of Aristippus about the end of the fourth century is given by Diog. Laert. ii. 98-102, who mentions his important book Περὶ θεῶν and his denial of much of the popularly accepted morality. According to Diogenes Laertius he did not take refuge with Lysimachus on his expulsion from Athens but with Ptolemy, who sent him on an embassy to Lysimachus. Another saying attributed to him by Cicero and others is that when Lysimachus threatened to crucify him he replied that it was a matter of indifference to him whether he went to corruption in the earth or in the air.

§ 134. *Ion*. A contemporary of the great Tragedians and sufficiently eminent for Longinus to say that though he was faultless, polished and elegant no one in his senses would match all his tragedies taken together with one of Sophocles. Little has been preserved of his, and of the sixty-eight fragments listed by Nauck many are single words, few as long as this and only one longer.

§ 140. *The Venerable Goddesses*. Cohn's statement that these are Demeter and Persephone seems rather rash. He adduces Ar. *Thesm.* 294

δούλοις γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστ' ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων,

and though this line has been suspected as a gloss the preceding words,

οὐδ' ἀπιθ', ὡς Θράττ', ἐκποδών,

show that the slave girl was excluded. But it does not follow that this was the only cult from which slaves were excluded. Though no doubt the epithet *σεμναὶ θεαί* might be applied to Demeter and Persephone, its regular connotation is the Eumenides. The procession in honour of the Eumenides is alluded to by Aeschylus at the end of the play and is mentioned by other writers as including the carrying of sacred cakes (see Pfühl, *De Atheniensium pompis sacris*, pp. 92 ff., a reference given me by Dr. Cook). Pfühl accepts without question that it is this to which Philo refers.

Also it would seem *prima facie* unlikely that the procession at the Thesmophoria would include men as well as women or that the cakes would be prepared by the Ephebi, though I do not know that there is positive evidence about this.

APPENDIX TO *DE VITA CONTEMPLATIVA*

(Title and sub-title.) The main title as here printed is that used by Eusebius himself, first when making his famous disquisition on the Therapeutae, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 17, and again in his list of Philo's writings in the next chapter. There can therefore be no doubt of its authenticity, but it is difficult to see why Philo substituted *ἰκετῶν* for *θεραπευτῶν*. It does not occur in the treatise itself and though as Conybeare shows there are many passages where *ἰκεταί* and *θεραπευταί* are coupled, they are not exactly the same and *ἰκεταί* does not suit the sense of healing which he gives as an alternative meaning for Therapeutae.

As for the sub-title, the "fourth (part or book) of the virtues" has no authority from Eusebius but appears to be given in all the mss. The title of *Περὶ ἀρετῶν* is given by Eus. ii. 18 to the treatise of which the *Legatio* as we have it is a part, and he says in ii. 5 that this had five books and in ii. 6 speaks of the sufferings of the Jews in Alexandria as being described in the second book. The sub-title, therefore, affirms that the *De Vit. Cont.* was the fourth book of this treatise. We may be sure at any rate that Eusebius had no idea of this. But this, being part of the wider question what the complete *Περὶ ἀρετῶν* consists of and what is the meaning of the title, may be postponed until the *Legatio* is translated.

§ 2. *προαίρεσις*. This word occurs again five times in this treatise, §§ 17, 29, 32, 67, 79, and twice elsewhere in this volume, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 89 and *Hyp.* 11. 2. The uses in Philo, all springing from the sense of choice or purpose, may be divided into those which describe the purpose or motive of some particular action and those which indicate the motives and principles which regulate a lifetime or a career. To the first class belong §§ 29 and 79 as I under-

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stand the passage, and § 32 might be taken in the same way. In the other passages it is used in the second sense. In §§ 2, 17 and *Hyp.* 11. 2, where it is applied to the Therapeutae or the Essenes, it may be thought that it simply = the sect itself. So indeed Gifford translates it in the latter passage and L. & S. recognizes this use of the word. But it seems to me better in the Philonic passages to take it as the beliefs and principles held by the sects, thus including both a creed and a rule of life. The various attempts made in this volume to translate it, *i.e.* "persuasion," "vocation," "creed" and "rule of life," are none of them, perhaps, quite adequate.

§ 3. (Hephaestus and Poseidon.) So Cornutus (§ 19) says of Hephaestus ἐκ τοῦ ἡφθαί ὀνομασμένος. In the same chapter he, like Philo in *De Dec.* 54, identifies Ἥρα with ἀήρ, but does not suggest a common derivation. For Poseidon *cf.* Corn. 4, where he identifies him with ἡ ἀπεργαστικὴ τοῦ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑγροῦ δύναμις and adds εἶτ' ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως οὕτω κέκληται. This is followed by two alternative suggestions, *cf.* Philo's τάχα.

§ 17. *ῥαψωδίας*. Conybeare, scolding Lucius, who saw in this reference to the thirteenth rhapsody the mark of later authorship, says that the division into rhapsodies was the work of Zenodotus and Aristarchus, 250 years before Philo. He does not give his authority for this. As to the use of the word in this sense the lexica do not give any certain evidence. L. & S. (old and revised) gives "portions of an epic poem fit for recitation, etc., *e.g.* a book of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, Plut. 2, 186 E, Lucian, *D. Mort.* 20. 2 and *Cont.* 9." In this they are really repeating Stephanus. In the first of the Lucian passages the greater Homeric personalities when in Hades are described as τὰ κεφάλαια τῶν *ῥαψωδιῶν*. In the second Homer in Charon's boat was sea-sick and vomits his rhapsodies. Plutarch is more definite. Alcibiades asks the teacher for a rhapsody of Homer and when the teacher says he has no Homer gives him a box on the ears. In the *Life of Alcibiades* 7 Plutarch repeats this story, substituting βιβλίον for *ῥαψωδίαν*. It is both curious and regrettable that this passage of Philo which so definitely establishes the use of the word for the Homeric books as we have them has not found its way into the lexicon.

§ 25. *μοναστήριον*. On this word Conybeare states that

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it does not exist elsewhere in any Greek document until the end of the third century, when it has acquired the sense of a building or establishment for a single monk or hermit (for which he gives references from Athanasius and other patristic writers) or for several monks together. The statement that it does not occur earlier is confirmed by L. & S. revised, which, apparently ignoring the patristic use, quotes this passage but nothing else earlier than the sixth century. It translates it here by "hermit's cell," which does not seem to me a happy phrase. It indicates simply a room in a house, into which no one else is allowed to enter. The familiar "closet" of Matt. vi. 6, though the R.V. has replaced it by "inner chamber," seems to me to carry the same idea.

Ibid. (End of section.) τὰ ἄλλα presumably refers to writings of some kind. But the words may refer to the συγγράμματα mentioned in § 29, or to the other books of scripture besides those indicated above. So Wendland, who quotes the Canon given by Josephus, *Ant.* i. 8, *i.e.* the Law, the Prophets (including the historical books), and the four books of the psalms and precepts of human life, *i.e.* Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Cantica. If Philo means this, τὰ ἄλλα will be the last three. But unless other evidence is forthcoming this seems very conjectural.

§ 36. λιπαίνουσιν. Wendland, like Conybeare, takes this word to mean "anoint" in the literal sense. He does not translate the passage, but as he thinks that τὰ θρέμματα is figuratively used and cites several passages where Philo uses the word to represent the senses or body as cattle under the guidance of the shepherd, the mind, he presumably would translate it "releasing as it were the animal side from its labours." He also takes the passage to be a reminiscence of Plato, *Menexenus* 238 A, where oil is spoken of as πόνων ἀρωγὴν, *cf.* *De Aet.* 63. With all due deference to two such high authorities, I still hold to the interpretation given in the translation that the relaxation of abstinence on the sabbath is to the Therapeutae what release from labour is to the beasts of burden. The Therapeutae have not endured the labour for which oil is a relief nor is λιπαίνω the natural word for anointing. Wendland certainly makes a point when he remarks that the indicative ἀνίσται would be expected rather than the participle. But the construction may, I think, be explained quite easily by understanding

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λιπαίνουσι. When he asks if they only eat bread and salt on the sabbath, what did they do on the other days, the natural answer is that on the sabbath they did not fast for the whole day or even until sunset. It is, I think, worth noting that according to Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 8. 3, the Essenes abstained altogether from the use of oil. Though it is not a decisive point it is a little surprising to find the Therapeutae making a sabbatical luxury of the indulgence which the less ascetic Essenes refuse.

§ 49. *τρίκλινα*. "Sets of three couches" is one of the meanings given in L. & S. revised for *τρίκλινος* (the more usual form) and *τρίκλινον* which appears to be found occasionally. Conybeare gives "couches for three to recline upon." Whatever the exact meaning is the point is, as he says, that they are large articles of furniture and therefore it shows extravagance to make them of very expensive material.

§ 58. (Xenophon's *Symposium*.) Philo's description of this is very superficial. The amusements mentioned chiefly appear at the beginning and end of the banquet and he does no justice to the mixture of banter and seriousness (*ἀναμῖξ ἔσκωψάν τε καὶ ἐσπούδασαν*) which characterizes most of the talk, nor to the real seriousness in Socrates' longer speech, while, on the other hand, he ignores the fact that the acceptance of the feature in Greek sentiment so strongly denounced in §§ 60-62 is as prominent here as in Plato's *Symposium*.

§ 59. (Plato's *Symposium*.) Philo's criticisms of this are not very creditable to him. In the first place his equating *πάνδημος ἔρως* with *παιδεραστία* is entirely wrong. The essence of *πάνδημος ἔρως* as represented in Pausanias's speech, where the phrase principally appears, is that it is *περὶ σώματος*. It is concerned with women as much as with boys (181 B) and the passion of a male for a younger male plays a greater part in *οὐράνιος ἔρως*. But more important than this is the error of dismissing the *οὐράνιος ἔρως* as merely a secondary adjunct brought in to give a touch of humour or wit. Such a description indeed would be appropriate to Aristophanes' fable of the original third sex which Philo takes so seriously in § 63, but it does not apply to the rest, and much of the picture ascribed by Socrates to Diotima is very much after Philo's heart. Indeed, he himself uses the word *ἔρως* in the same idealistic way, *e.g.* *De Ebr.* 136.

Philo, of course, is not the only person who has been

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shocked by the acceptance in some parts of the *Symposium* of παιδεραστία as a normal feeling and still more by the apparent callousness of Socrates as described by Alcibiades in the last part. It was perhaps with reference mainly to this that Athenaeus xi. 506 c declares that what Plato says about Alcibiades in the *Symposium* is not fit for repetition οὐδ' εἰς φῶς ἄξιον λέγεσθαι, and that, as every Cambridge student learnt in an earlier generation, Paley in the *Evidences*, part ii. 2, says that Socrates himself was more than suspected of the foulest impurities. Philo makes very little use of the *Symposium* himself. The only definite reminiscence listed by Leisegang is that noted on p. 232 of this volume, though perhaps the thought of the preference of the Therapeutae for the immortal rather than mortal children in *De Vit. Cont.* 68 may have in mind *Symp.* 209.

§ 65. δι' ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδων. Wendland rejects Conybeare's view almost entirely on the ground that the word cannot yield this sense. He is wrong, I believe, in saying that the words in themselves cannot mean "after seven weeks." διὰ in this sense indicates the interval between two events, but whether this interval occurs only once or recurs regularly depends on the context. Here, as stated in the footnote, since weekly sabbaths have been mentioned, "every seven weeks" is the natural meaning. But admitting that Philo has expressed himself carelessly if he means seven weeks after the Passover, is it likely that the Therapeutae, who appear to have been orthodox Jews, discarded the religious calendar of Moses and arranged a new system of festal days which one would have thought would have been difficult in itself? For since periods of fifty days do not fit into the year, this great feast would recur seven times in one year and eight times in another and in different months from year to year.

Wendland does not notice μεγίστης ἑορτῆς, which is not without its difficulties on Conybeare's hypothesis but much more perplexing on his. In what sense is every fiftieth day which follows the *Symposium* on the forty-ninth called the greatest feast and what happened on it? Nor does he notice τὸ μὲν πρῶτον. Conybeare understood this to mean that they first meet on the eve for the banquet, the religious meeting on the day itself for worship being taken for granted. By translating it "first of all" I suggest that he does not rule

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out other cheerful convivial meals but takes this as the most notable, *cf.* § 40.

Ibid. *The chief feast.* Conybeare, p. 313, gives the following as reasons why Philo describes the Pentecostal meal in preference to the Paschal. The Passover was a domestic feast celebrated more austere than Pentecost, which was also a day prescribed by the Law for rejoicing; also it occurred in a season more suited to remaining all night in the open air. These are perhaps satisfactory reasons for his selection of the feast for description, but not for his calling it the greatest feast, and Conybeare is mistaken when he says, p. 300, that Philo uniformly refers to Pentecost as the greatest of the feasts. Philo I think only mentions Pentecost three times, *De Dec.* 160, *Spec. Leg.* i. 183, ii. 176 ff. In the third of these he remarks that it is a greater feast than the Sheaf which he has just described. In the second he calls it *δημοτελεστάτη*, *i.e.* especially national or generally celebrated, while in the first he speaks of the Passover and Tabernacles as the greatest feasts. However this inconsistency is not greater than many of those to be found in Philo's writings.

§ 67. (Genuineness of ἀλλ' ἔτι κομιδῇ νέους παίδας.) In *Hermes*, 1916, p. 179, Cohn gives as an additional reason for expunging these words that they make no sense, and that not they but ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης . . . φιλοσοφίας are the antithesis to τοὺς πολυτεεῖς καὶ πολιοῦς. This last is true, but the sentence contains another antithesis, *viz.* πρεσβυτέρους and νέους παίδας. This may be awkward, but is perfectly intelligible. Conybeare says "Armenio plane desunt, non tamen omittenda esse videntur."

§ 78. *Reminding.* I think this should be taken as an allusion to the Platonic doctrine that learning is recollection (*Meno* 81). The knowledge is latent in the mind and the teacher only brings it into consciousness, *cf.* *De Praem.* 9.

Conybeare discussing this thinks that the employment of *ὑπόμνησις* instead of *ἀνάμνησις* is against it. But surely if learning is recollection, teaching is reminding. He considers that *Spec. Leg.* iv. 107 is still more against it, but this seems to me irrelevant. There Philo says that, when the lesson is over, the pupil, by chewing the cud, *i.e.* by using his memory to call up what the teacher has told him, stamps a firm impression of them on his mind.

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§ 80. (The hymns.) That the Jewish churches in the Hellenistic world should have hymns and that they should be composed in metres familiar to Greeks is perfectly natural, and I presume it was knowledge of such hymns that led Josephus to make the fanciful statement (*Ant.* vii. 12. 3) that David arranged the Psalms, some in trimeters and others in pentameters, and also that Moses composed both his longer and shorter hymns in hexameters (ii. 16. 4, iv. 8. 44), but I have seen no illustration of this statement of Philo which seems curiously elaborate, particularly its enumeration of Greek metres. Among these *προσοδίων* (or, at least the variant *προσοδιακῶν*) and *στασίμων* are recognized metrical terms. But *παραβωμίων* and *παρασπονδείων* are not cited elsewhere, at least as applied to hymns or lyrics, and *χορικῶν* appears to be a general term for any choral hymn.

APPENDIX TO *DE AETERNITATE MUNDI*

§ 12. *Ocellus*. The work attributed to Ocellus consists of four chapters. The first argues the indestructibility of the Cosmos and it is in this that the analogies to the *De Aet.* are mostly to be found. The most striking is in the eleventh section where he argues that the destroying cause must come either from within or from without and both of these are impossible. This is to the same effect as *De Aet.* 20-24 and in one place there is a certain similarity of language, *ὁ κόσμος ἀγεί τὰ πάντα μέρη* § 22, beside *ἀγεται τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντός* of Ocellus. It has far less detail than Philo and in fact is more a statement than an argument. Again i. 9 makes much the same point as *De Aet.* 70, namely that the world causes other things to exist and therefore causes itself to exist. Thirdly, §§ 12-13 describe shortly the transmutation of elements and there is a considerable analogy to *De Aet.* 107-110 and in both we have the same phrase *κύκλον ἀμείβειν*. The second chapter deals with *γένεσις* and is largely a reproduction of Aristotle, *De Generatione et Corruptione*. The third short chapter asserts the existence from everlasting of the human race, arguing to much the same effect as Critolaus in *De Aet.* 55. Chapter four is ethical; the view that the generation of mankind is from the first from mankind and not from the earth is declared to demand sexual purity and continence.

A curious point about the book is that the quotations from it in Stobaeus are in Doric while our manuscripts are in ordinary Greek. The presumption is that it was originally written in Doric, probably to give it the appearance of a heritage from the early days of Pythagoreanism, and afterwards translated into ordinary Greek to make it more acceptable to the general reader.

§ 13. *Gods sprung from gods*, etc. Archer-Hind (who

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translates "Gods of gods") and others take this as an intensive expression like κακά κακῶν and ἄρρητ' ἄρρήτων in Sophocles, but these do not seem to me quite analogous. The other rendering however is also very difficult. The words which follow in the mss. of Plato ὦν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων ἃ δι' ἐμοῦ γέγονε πάντα ἐμοῦ γε μὴ θέλοντος are rendered by Archer-Hind "whose creator am I and father of works which by me coming into being are indissoluble save by my will." Philo omits not only ὦν but ἃ δι' ἐμοῦ γέγονε.

Bernays held that these words are a gloss in Plato, and I see that the Loeb edition and apparently others omit them, quoting Philo as their authority. I do not think that the omission by Philo is a strong argument for their spuriousness. The translation given above making ὦν ἔργων = ἔργων ἃ would of course be impossible with the ordinary reading.

I think it is an alternative possibility that Philo did omit ὦν but actually wrote ἃ before πάντα which has fallen out. In this case he may have taken the words as "Gods, of gods I am the maker (*cf.* θεοπλάστην below) and father of works which," etc.

The μὴ δεθὲν for δὴ δεθὲν is of course a mere scribe's blunder. The same uncertainty between θέλοντος and μὴ θέλοντος is found in the mss. both of Plato and Philo, but I cannot feel with Archer-Hind that the sense is as good with the positive as with the negative.

§ 21. *Opposite extremes.* The use of ἐναντιότης for a pair of opposites or for one member of such a pair, or for the condition of such a member, is too well supported by Philo's use of it, particularly in *Quis Rerum*, to allow us to take the phrase ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐναντ. as = "the other hostile forces." So too Ocellus in chapter two of his treatise taken, as stated in the last note, from Aristotle, *De Gen. et Corr.* Here the ἐναντιότητες or at least the primary ones are hot and cold, wet and dry. Fire is hot and dry, air hot and wet, water wet and cold, earth dry and cold. When one opposite overcomes the other, *e.g.* the wetness of water overcomes the dryness of fire, fire changes to air, and it is the overcoming of one opposite by the other which brings about the transmutation of the elements described by Philo, §§ 107 ff., but this conversion of one element into another is quite distinct from the causes of destruction of the world. Philo clearly

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has in mind the passage from the *Timaeus* translated in § 26. I suspect that he thought that when Plato follows "hot things and cold" by "all that have strong powers" he refers to the other *ἐναντιότητες*: if so I think he misunderstood Plato.

§ 23. (Transposition of the text.) Between *ἄδεκτον ἔσται* and *κατὰ τὸ παντελές* the mss. insert a mass of sections from § 53 *ὑποστήναι καθ' ἑαυτὸν* to § 77 *νέος ἦν συνεπιγραφάμενος*. This no doubt happened because the leaves containing these sections were torn off and then replaced wrongly. The result was confusion at all three places, §§ 23, 53, 77. *ἄδεκτον ἔσται ὑποστήναι καθ' ἑαυτὸν, κτλ., τὸ μὴδὲ χρόνον τῷ δόγματι, κτλ.* and *συνεπιγραφάμενος κατὰ τὸ παντελές, κτλ.* are all equally unintelligible. Mangey of course perceived this but supposed that at each place words had dropped out which would have supplied the necessary connexion. Bernays' discovery that the confusion was caused by the displacement of these sections was a brilliant feat of scholarship and is incontrovertible. The words fit in exactly where they are now placed and nothing needs to be added. In this way the transposition stands on a different footing from that made by Cohn in *De Vit. Cont.* p. 144 of this volume, where several words have to be added to make the passage coherent.

§§ 25 and 38. (Text of quotations from Plato.) In § 25 besides a few minor differences there are as stated in the footnotes three departures of some importance in the mss. of Philo from the accepted text of Plato. In the first, *ὡς τὰ τῷ* for *ὡς συστάτῳ*, it must be noted that *συστάτῳ* though accepted by recent editors is a correction. The mss. for the most part have *συνιστάς (-άν) τῷ σώματι*, out of which Stallbaum produced *ἃ συνιστᾷ τὰ σώματα*. If *συστάτῳ* is accepted the accommodation of *τὰ τῷ* to this is justifiable, since that makes no sense and cannot have been written by Philo. The second case of *λυπεῖ* for *λύει* is different, for *λυπεῖ* makes good sense. But there is no reason to doubt that Plato wrote *λύει* or that Philo meant to reproduce Plato's words as exactly as possible. He often indeed does not reproduce quotations exactly, but the substitution of *λυπεῖ* for *λύει* is as likely to be due to a scribe as to him, and it seems to me a doubtful point whether we should not make the correction here as Mangey and the earlier editions did. Bernays indeed supports *λυπεῖ* on the grounds that it

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gives a preferable meaning, but surely that is irrelevant unless he means that the text of Plato should be emended accordingly. In the third case of θεός for ἐν we have in θεός an interpolation which Philo might naturally make by mistake, and though ἐν is of some importance as echoing πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐν above this might easily escape notice, and the text is best left as it stands. In § 38 the change of the three masculines, αὐτὸς . . . παρέχων . . . πάσχων, to the corresponding neuters is necessitated by the neuters in the last sentence. But the addition of ἄλλων is perhaps unnecessary and is not accepted by Cumont and Bernays.

§ 48. ἰδίως ποιόν, etc. Zeller, *Stoics and Epicureans*, p. 100, says of ποιόν that it "comprises all those essential attributes by means of which a definite character is impressed on otherwise indeterminate matter. If the definite character belongs to a group or class it is called a common form κοινῶς ποιόν, or if it be something peculiar and distinctive it is called a distinctive form ἰδίως ποιόν." There are a good many passages quoted in *S.V.F.* which contain the phrase, though they do not I think throw much light on the meaning. To them we may add Diog. Laert. vii. 138, where one definition of the Cosmos is ὁ ἰδίως ποιὸς τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας, which Hicks translates the "individual being qualifying the whole of substance" (perhaps rather "the substance of the all"). I do not feel that either this or Zeller's "distinctive form" conveys to me any clear meaning. On the formula stated here that "two ἰδίως ποιόι or ποιά cannot exist on the same substratum," Zeller says that it follows as a matter of course since ἰδίως ποιός distinguishes a thing from every other. As to the argument based on it Bernays in the dissertation which precedes his commentary says frankly that we cannot expect to understand it, but in the commentary itself he does give an explanation which I do not understand. We can see however that, assuming as in the typical case that Theon is destroyed when Dion's foot is amputated, the application which Philo makes is logical or at least intelligible. The Cosmos is a composite being with body and soul, the soul being Providence. In the conflagration when the Cosmos loses its bodily part it is on the same analogy not the Cosmos which is destroyed but its soul.

It may possibly help us to compare the similar argument

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in Plutarch *Comm. Not.* chapter 36, 1077 B where we have the Cosmos, identified with Zeus, as the whole man with Providence for its soul. What happens at the conflagration according to the Stoics is that Zeus alone among the gods is not destroyed, *cf. De Aet.* 81, and passes over or withdraws (*ἀναχωρεῖ* = *ἀνέδραμε* here) into Providence and they (*i.e.* the Cosmos and Providence) being brought together (*ὁμοῦ γενομένους*) both continue to exist on the single *οὐσία* of ether (does this mean that as in the *διακόσμησις* the Cosmos was the *ιδίως . . . ποιὸς τῆς οὐσίας τῶν ὅλων* now that *τὰ ὅλα* are resolved into ether, this has both Zeus and Providence for its *ιδίως ποιός*?), and this is supposed to contradict the doctrine of *δύο ιδίως ποιά*, etc. The only thing I can claim to gather with certainty from the two passages is that the Peripatetics argued that the Stoic doctrine of the *ἐκπύρωσις* contradicted their own doctrine of *δύο ιδίως ποιά*, etc.

Two minor points are: (1) the mss. reading *εἰδοποιούς* is retained by Bernays though he clearly takes it as equal to *ιδίως ποιούς*. He curiously says that this is not to be put down to the scribes, but shows that the source is Peripatetic, since Aristotle uses the term as "specific." (2) The treatise *Περὶ αὐξανόμενων* is not mentioned in Diogenes Laertius's catalogue of Chrysippus's writings. The subject no doubt is what Plutarch 1083 B calls *ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐξήσεως* and deals with the relation of increases and diminutions to identity of personality. Plutarch represents the Stoics as holding that these changes are wrongly called in familiar language increase and diminution and are rather *γενέσεις* and *φθοραί*.

§ 127. *Fire . . . lame*. This allegorical interpretation of the post-Homeric story that Hephaestus became lame when thrown from heaven to earth comes originally from Heraclitus according to a scholiast on *Il.* i. 590. It is also alluded to by Plutarch, *De facie in orbe lunae* 922 A and Cornutus 19, who says that fire cannot advance *ἀνευ ξύλων* nor a lame man *ἀνευ ξυλῶδους βάκτρον* (see quotations in Cohn). Cumont's emendation given in the footnotes is ingenious in the sense that *Ἡφαιστος* might easily have been lost before *ἢ φασι*, and *Διὸς σκηρ.* corrupted to *διὸ σκηρ.*, but is surely impossible. He cites the passage from the scholiast to support it, but this only mentions Zeus to equate him with the heavenly fire which is contrasted with the earthly. He

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also declares that ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ would be καθ' ἑαυτὸν if taken as Bernays and the translation take it, but see § 20 above, and *De Vit. Cont.* 4 and 5. νομήν ("feeding on") for μονήν is also unnecessary and indeed less suitable to the context.

§ 129. *Free their heads.* So I think rather than "lift their heads." ἀνακύπτω in the common sense of emerging from water suggests coming up to breathe, cf. ἀνανήξασθαι *Spec. Leg.* iii. 3. The snakes might conceivably, even though crushed by the elephants, still have their heads free, and it is this that is negatived here.

§ 143. (ἐρωτάω="state a proposition.") Another example of this use, which may be much commoner than the lexicon suggests, occurs in the passage of Plutarch mentioned in the note on ἰδίως ποιόν above, ὁ περὶ αὐξήσεως λόγος . . . ἡρώτηται ὑπ' Ἐπιχάρμου.

Sections 147 ff. I take the opportunity of pointing out a serious omission in the notes in vol. vi. In *De Abr.* 1 Philo says that the Book of Genesis tells how fire and water wrought the greatest destructions on what is on the earth. In *Mos.* ii. 53, speaking of the punishment of the wicked, he says that the most forceful elements in the universe, fire and water, fell upon them, so that as the times revolved some perished by water, others by conflagration. He then mentions the deluge itself and continues "at a later time when the race sprung from the remnant had again become very populous, he determined to destroy them by fire," and we then have a short account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. I did not at the time perceive the close connexion of these passages with the *Timaeus* and the *Laws*. The connexion is clearer still in *Mos.* ii. 263, where we are told that the men had lost count of the sabbath by reason of the constant destructions by fire and water. Philo evidently considers the deluge and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah as examples of the destructions described by Plato. Whether he supposed that they were only examples, as the last passage suggests, and that other unrecorded visitations had occurred, we cannot tell. At any rate he would hold that what truth there was in Plato's story came from Moses.

APPENDIX TO *IN FLACCUM*

§ 1. *Sejanus*. According to Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 5, Philo related in his "Embassy" that "Sejanus, who had the greatest influence with the Emperor, was zealous to destroy utterly the whole Jewish nation." In *Legatio* 160 he says that Sejanus brought charges against the Jews in Rome, the falsity of which was recognized by Tiberius after Sejanus's fall and execution. Sejanus had invented these calumnies because he knew that the Jews would defend the Emperor against his treason. I have not seen elsewhere any support of these statements.

§ 10. (Tiberius Gemellus.) Gemellus was the son of Drusus, Tiberius's son who had died in A.D. 23. He was therefore one of the *γνήσιοι* while his cousin Gaius was the son of Germanicus, Tiberius's nephew, who had been adopted (*θετός*) into the Gens Julia. The story of the murder of Gemellus, or, more strictly speaking, his enforced suicide, is told by Philo in *Legatio* 22-31. Philo is somewhat inaccurate in speaking of him as *κοινωνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς* here and in *Legatio* 23, 28. Tiberius had left his property to the two equally, but had said nothing about the succession to the principate. This, however, might be taken to imply that he wished the two to share the sovereignty, and Gemellus's partisans, no doubt, claimed that this was his rightful position. Indeed, though Gaius obtained from the senate the cancellation of the will, he according to Philo declared his wish that Gemellus should ultimately be his partner, but that as he was a mere child (he was actually 17 or 18, and only seven years younger than Gaius), he needed to be educated for this and he therefore made him his adopted son.

There seems to be another inaccuracy in the statement that Gaius's mother, Agrippina, was put to death. She and her son, Nero, had been condemned and exiled in A.D. 33. The

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statement made by both Tacitus and Suetonius that she starved herself to death seems to be generally accepted, though Tac. *Ann.* v. 25 suggests that possibly food was refused her.

§ 20. *Dionysius.* Dionysius is presumed to be identical with the Gaius Julius Dionysius or Dionysius son of Theon, mentioned in the recently discovered letter of Claudius, see the text with translation and commentary in H. I. Bell's *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, pp. 23 ff. The letter was written in answer to the embassy sent by the Alexandrians, primarily to congratulate Claudius on his accession, but also to present their defence for the recent anti-Jewish disturbances. Dionysius is named among the ambassadors and also the zeal with which he pleaded his case is especially mentioned.

Our knowledge of Isidorus and Lampo is not confined to the activities described by Philo, see Introduction, pp. 299 f. They reappear in another interesting document. This is a fragment of what Bell calls the Alexandrian Propagandists' Literature, known as the "pagan acts of the martyrs." This fragment probably belongs to some twelve years later. It appears that Isidorus, now gymnasiarch, and Lampo are still the protagonists of the Greek cause. They have brought charges against Agrippa the Second, but have lost their case and are themselves put to death. In this literature the arch-rogues and villains have become the true patriots who withstand the pernicious influence of the Jews and the tyranny of Rome.

In another fragment, apparently of the same type, described by Box, p. lvi, Dionysius appears with Isidorus as having an interview with Flaccus, in which they procure from him a permit to leave the country. This does not appear to do more than confirm Philo's statement that Dionysius was one of Isidorus's leading supporters.

§ 25. *Agrippa.* Agrippa the First is a subject of a long biographical notice in Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 6 and other notices elsewhere, but he is also well known to multitudes, who have never heard of Josephus, from Acts xii. He is the Herod who figures there as persecutor of the early church and dying miserably. A grandson of Herod the Great, his early life was one of extravagance, and when reduced to destitution he had on a visit to Alexandria borrowed a large sum from

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Philo's brother, the alabarch Alexander. This visit is mentioned by Philo in § 28, though he discreetly says nothing of the circumstances. At Rome he had made friends with Gaius but got into trouble with Tiberius and was imprisoned. But Gaius on his accession released him and gave him as Philo tells us the territory which Philip had ruled as tetrarch as well as the title of king. Philip, the "best of the Herods," had died three years before and Tiberius had annexed the tetrarchy to the province of Syria, but under the condition that the revenues should be kept separate, and these presumably fell into Agrippa's hands. Josephus adds that Gaius gave him at the same time the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and, finally, after Gaius's death, Claudius gave him also Judea and Samaria, so that he held all the dominions over which his grandfather had ruled. Agrippa's loyalty to his nation appears again in *Legatio* 261-332, where Gaius while praising his candour blames him for his complaisance (*ἀρέσκεια*) to his fellow nationals, thus agreeing with the author of the Acts when he tells us how Agrippa slew James the brother of John with a sword, and because he saw that it pleased (*ἀρεστούν* ἐστὶ) the Jews proceeded further to take Peter also.

§ 45. (*κατάλυσις*.) Up to this point we should think that the overthrow or destruction consisted in the desecration caused by the installation of the images. But in § 53 this is expanded into "Flaccus seizes them without even leaving them their name." And in *Legatio* 132 the Alexandrians, thinking that Gaius would approve their action, destroy and burn all the synagogues in which the Jews did not make an effective resistance and installed the images in the others. How are we to reconcile these statements? I should suggest as most probable that Flaccus had merely ostentatiously abstained from interfering when the Alexandrians tried to install the images by force. These attacks resulted in riotous conflicts in which many synagogues actually were destroyed, and the statement quoted above from § 53 merely means that the Jews felt that they had lost their holy houses and considered that Flaccus was ultimately responsible. On the other hand, H. I. Bell in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. x. p. 310, takes the statement in § 53 more literally and says that Flaccus forbade the Jews the exercise of their religion, closing the synagogues. See also note on § 54.

§ 48. (Footnote *a*, p. 328.) When I wrote this note I had

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not sufficiently considered Box's translation and note. He translates "they have no sacred precincts in which they could set forth their gratitude" and gives as a note "the Jews of the Diaspora had no temples," i.e. the *προσευχαί* are not *ἱεροὶ περίβολοι*, whereas I understand Philo to say that they are holy until they are desecrated. His explanation has the great merit that he gets rid of the difficulty mentioned in my footnote, but it seems to me to raise other difficulties. It is true that the synagogues were not temples, that is to say sacrifices could not be offered in them, but that they were *ἱεροὶ περίβολοι* is implied by the very fact that they could be desecrated. Box seems also to suggest a distinction between the pagan temples and the synagogues in that inscriptions to benefactors could not be placed in them, and loyalty could only be shown by dedications and emblems in honour of the imperial power. I dare say he may have evidence of this, but it seems rash to assume that the phrase *ἐνδιθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον* would not apply to dedications and emblems. If it does not, then neither were the Jews deprived of the means of showing their loyalty, for they never had it. I still prefer my view and explain the *μόνοι ἀπεστεροῦντο* to mean that the Jews were the only people who would be deprived of their places of worship by the introduction of images and thus also be deprived of the means of showing their gratitude. It is badly and obscurely expressed, but so is much in these sections.

§ 54. (The edict.) The purport of this is obscure and I can do little more than record some recent suggestions on the subject. Box, p. xlv, looks upon it as a pronouncement that the Jews would retain only legal rights assured by a competent authority, and that every merely prescriptive right or concession would be withdrawn. Among these were the right to live in other quarters than the one originally granted, and the privilege of being beaten by blades, mentioned in § 78. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*, p. 132, says that the Alexandrians pleaded that the Jews had no right to live in Alexandria at all and that what Flaccus did was to lay down that this right was limited as above. I do not know what evidence he has that the Alexandrians proposed anything so extreme. Both these views imply, I suppose, that when Philo says that the edict deprived the Jews of their political rights in general, it is merely a rhetorical exaggeration.

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The fact that the edict was issued a few days after the demand for desecrating the synagogues suggests that the two things are connected. Accordingly Bell in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. x. p. 310, says that Flaccus welcomed the proposal and on the inevitable refusal by the Jews branded them as aliens and intruders. This hint started the pogrom, the blame for which Flaccus cast on the Jews and in consequence closed the synagogues. Box and Balsdon, so far as I can judge, would hold that these two things were separate though practically simultaneous attacks organized by the Alexandrians.

Another possibility, more or less favoured by Bell, in his *Jews and Christians*, p. 16, is that at the bottom of both, but kept in the background by Philo, is a claim made by the Jews of full citizenship. This may have been formally made by the Jews or formally repudiated by the Alexandrians; if so, the edict is exactly what it stated, a specific answer to a specific question. The Jews are aliens and incomers and, as Claudius worded it some years afterwards, live in a city "which is not their own." It need not, though it may have added, "but there are certain ancient privileges which they may retain." In this case, the two things have the very close connexion, that the Alexandrians strengthened their case by bringing out the disloyal refusal of the Jews to give the honours to the Emperor which the true citizens give.

§ 56. *Drusilla*. The mourning for Drusilla is not the ordinary tribute to the death of a royal person. She was especially beloved by Gaius, who was believed to live incestuously with her, and on her death he proclaimed a *iustitium*, during which it was a capital crime to laugh, bathe, dine, with parents or wife or children (Suet. *Gaius* 24).

§ 130. *Great expenses of the office*. "The gymnasiarch had to maintain and pay the persons who were preparing themselves for the games and contests in the public festivals, to provide them with oil and perhaps with the wrestlers' dust, also to adorn the gymnasium or the places where the *agones* took place" (*Dict. of Ant.*). This is said of Athens, but the statement here and the particular expense of the oil mentioned in *De Prov.* 46 show that much the same held in Alexandria. Bell (*Camb. Anc. History*, vol. x. p. 299) says that in the capitals of each nome in Egypt the Roman rule established a superior class known as the Gymnasium Class

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and "only members of this were entitled to that education in the gymnasium which was as much the hall-mark of social superiority as a public school education has been in England." If this is to be extended to Alexandria, we can understand that the official who catered for so select a body would naturally feel bound not to skimp the expenses. Lampo's protest is perhaps to his credit.

§ 131. (εἰσάγων ὡς or εἰσαγωγέως.) Mr. Box is too modest over this emendation; textually it is obviously satisfactory, getting rid of a serious, if not a fatal, difficulty, at a minimum cost. In his note in *Class. Quart.* 1935, he refers to papyri for the use of the term εἰσαγωγεύς. I am not sure that these help him as far as the functions are concerned, but they show, at any rate, that the word was in use in Egypt, and if so it is only natural that the persons who εἰσάγουσι τὰς δίκας should be called εἰσαγωγεῖς. He quotes also a parallel from Lucian, which is worth quoting for itself, though since Lucian does not actually use the word εἰσαγωγεύς it does not strengthen his case. Lucian, *Apol.* 12, says that he at one time held a post in Egypt, which was important, lucrative, and likely to lead to high promotion. In this he introduced the cases (εἰσάγει τὰς δίκας), assigned the order, taking minutes of the proceedings (ὑπομνήματα τῶν πραττομένων καὶ λεγομένων γράφεσθαι), arranged (ῥυθμίζειν) the speeches of the pleaders, preserved the decisions of the magistrates, clearly, faithfully and accurately, and transmitted them to be kept for ever.

§§ 136, 137. (κλίνη and κλινάρχης.) On the question of the exact meaning of these terms, the lexicon speaks with uncertain sound. The original L. & S. gives for the second "one who takes the first place," with reference to this passage. The revised repeats this misleading, indeed, erroneous entry, but adds (for κλινάρχος) "president of an Isiac fraternity." For κλίνη the original edition noted "ἱερὰ κλίνη, the *lectisternium* or *pulvinar deorum* of the Romans," and the revised while repeating part of this has added the example κλίνη τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος, and finally κλίνη is used "generally for a banquet." Under πρωτοκλινάρχος, a word unknown to the original edition, it gives "president of a κλίνη, i.e. a religious association." This and the other references added by the revised are all from papyri or inscriptions. Stephanus gives nothing on the subject; Box adds more references from

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similar sources. The natural conclusion seems to be that originally the couch is that on which the divine image is laid (*cf.* the couch of Adonis in the fifteenth *Idyll* of Theocritus), and the extensions to the festal meeting and further to the associates themselves are quite intelligible. The present passage suggests that the religious side was often left very much in the background. The words are untranslatable, "couch" is meaningless, and the substitution of "divan" on the grounds that the word connotes both a couch and a collection of people is perhaps not much improvement.

§ 138. (*ἀλειφόβιος*.) A rare word of which only one other example from a fragment of Aristophanes is cited. Hesychius explains it as *πένης*. L. & S. regards it as a contemptuous term for *ἀλειπτής* or the menial serving an *ἀλειπτής*, and so Bekker's *Anecdota* 382. 17 τὸν περὶ παλαίστραν ἀναστρεφόμενον καὶ ὑπηρετοῦντα.

§ 139. (*Anapaests*.) It certainly seems that this term may be applied to verse which is not anapaestic in the regular sense, though it does not follow that it connotes ribald verse in general. The Greek ear could find in certain metres and rhythms, as in music, something undignified and suited to burlesque, and these are called anapaestic, presumably because anapaests often predominated in them. So Demetrius, *De Eloc.* 189, speaks of *σύνθεσις ἀναπαιστική καὶ μάλιστα εἰκνύια τοῖς κεκλασμένοις καὶ ἀσέμνοις μέτροις*. So it is applied to the parabasis in the Old Comedy even to the parts which are not anapaestic (see several examples in Stephanus). L. & S. revised notes its special application to "ribald and satirical" verse and cites two examples. The first, Plut. *Per.* 33, consists of regular anapaests. In the second, from Dion Cassius 65. 8, the Alexandrians taunt Vespasian; and, though Titus appeases his anger somewhat, still continue. Their first refrain is *ἐξ ὀβόλους προσαιεῖς* and the second *συγγιγνώσκομεν αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ οἶδε καισαρεῖν*. Here only the first words of the second piece are anapaestic, but Vespasian is said to have been enraged not only by the substance of what they said, but *ἐκ τοῦ κατακεκλασμένου καὶ ἀναπαίστου*. Here *κατακεκλασμένου*, like *κεκλασμένοις* in the quotation from Demetrius, indicates something lacking the proper seriousness and dignity. Cornutus 30 seems to equate the "anapaestic" with the iambic, which also often indicates a lampoon. He derives *θρίαμβος* from *θροεῖν* and

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λαμβάνειν and then adds ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων θριάμβοις πολλοῖς ἀναπαίστοις σκώπτοντες χρώνται.

§ 141. (Subject of προσαναμάττεσθαι.) The use of these compounds of -μάττομαι is somewhat uncertain. The only one listed by Leisegang is ἐναπομάττομαι. Of his ten examples of this seven are middle in the sense of "receiving the impression," but three, namely, *Quod Deus* 43, *Mos.* ii. 76 and *Spec. Leg.* i. 47, have an active sense of "giving the impression." In other compounds I have noted ἀναμάττομαι *De Virt.* 24 and *De Aet.* 2, both in the sense of receiving, also ἀπομάττομαι *De Virt.* 207. L. & S. gives our word as "besmirch in addition," clearly taking ἀγνωμοσύνην as subject. No doubt this is possible, but the mass of evidence as far as I can judge is in favour of τοῦνομ'.

§ 162. (σφαδάζειν.) A favourite word with Philo. It is badly dealt with in Leisegang's index, which though frequently missing an example or two is generally near enough to completeness to enable one to decide how Philo uses the word. Here he has listed five examples, namely, *De Cher.* 36, *De Mig.* 156, *De Abr.* 257, *De Virt.* 128 and *Quod Omn. Prob.* 39. In addition to these I have noted eight, some from Siegfried, and probably there are others, possibly many. For the use of other students I give the references: *De Ebr.* 121, *Mos.* i. 170, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 81, *De Virt.* 30, *De Praem.* 140, and in this volume besides this passage *Flacc.* 18 and 180, also *Legatio* 184. Only in *De Praem.* 140 is bodily struggling necessarily implied and in most of them it would be grotesque.

APPENDIX TO *HYPOTHETICA*

§ 7. 5. (Absolution from vows.) On this Edersheim (*The Temple, its Ministry and Services*, p. 69) says that release from a vow which affected the interests of others might be obtained from one sage or from three persons in the presence of him who had been affected by the vow. He does not state the authority for this and it seems strange that in treating the subject he does not refer to this passage in Philo. In the same connexion he remarks that all laws were limited by higher obligations: according to the Mishnah a man could not vow what of his fortune he owed to others nor his widow's portion. Philo's statement that a man by vowing his wife's τροφή could bind himself not to support her agrees with the practice denounced in Mark vii. 10 ff., but is contrary to the principle described by Edersheim, and it is strange to find Philo apparently approving it.

§ 7. 8. (Precepts of Buzyges.) The rare passages alluding to these are collected by Bernays (see *Introd.* p. 407 note *b*). The *Paroemiographer*, p. 233, has ὁ γὰρ Βουζύγης Ἀθήνησι ὁ τὸν ἱερὸν ἄροτον ἐπιτελῶν ("instituted the sacred rite of the plough") ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀρᾶται καὶ τοῖς μὴ κοινηνοῦσι κατὰ τὸν βίον ὕδατος ἢ πυρός, ἢ μὴ ὑποφαίνουσιν ὁδὸν πλανωμένοις. A scholiast on *Soph. Ant.* 255 mentions the saying that Buzyges cursed those who left a corpse unburied. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* ii. 503 says that those who bid others do what they judge to be not profitable to themselves οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοιεν τὴν Βουζυγίαν ἀράν. Though the name of Buzyges is not mentioned, there is clearly an allusion to the same in a fragment of Diphilus where refusals of charity are said to be denounced in the "curses." Cicero, *De Off.* iii. 54 f., speaks of refusing to show the way as denounced "Athenis execrationibus publicis" and interprets it to include those who allow a purchaser to be defrauded by a mistake.

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Bernays notes that three of the specific things here mentioned, the duty of showing the way, allowing free use of fire and water, and giving burial are all mentioned by Philo. Bernays does not give any quotation for the statement that the curses are repeated by a descendant of Buzyges at a feast of Demeter.

§ 7. 9. (Appeal of animals.) The statement seems to me remarkable and I should like to meet with some illustration of it or comment on it particularly in the form given it by Josephus. When is it that animals enter our houses as suppliants? The only thing in the law which suggests helping animals in trouble is the command in Deut. xxii. 4 to help to raise up a fallen beast and there really the point is helping the owner.

Philo in *De Virt.* 125-147 has insisted earnestly on the duty of kindness to animals, but it is remarkable that of the points which he mentions, namely the prohibitions against (1) separating the mother and offspring before seven days, (2) killing the two in the same day, (3) seething the lamb in its mother's milk, (4) muzzling the treading ox, (5) yoking different kinds of animals together, none is mentioned here, at any rate definitely, though (1) may be alluded to in § 7. On the other hand the one which precedes this here is omitted there.

APPENDIX TO *DE PROVIDENTIA*

FRAGMENT 1

Really created. In the preceding paragraph, if the Latin translation of the Armenian version is to be trusted, Philo has declared that he is ready to concede "universum ingentum et sempiternum esse," a belief which he ascribes not only to Parmenides and Empedocles but also to Zeno and Cleanthes. But still of the "ingenita materia" some part may be created and destroyed ("generetur et corrumpatur"), sometimes by providence, sometimes in the course of nature. He goes on to compare this with the work of a statuary and other craftsmen. According to this hypothesis God did not create eternally the primal matter but used matter to shape the Cosmos. And even if we go a step farther and suppose that the Cosmos itself as well as matter was uncreated ("etsi una cum materia mundus ingentus supponatur") there is still room for providence in directing it. In this case the analogy is with the Ephors at Sparta, which they rule though they did not build it. I cannot fit εἰ δὴ γέγονεν ὄντως into this. I should understand it better if for ὄντως we substituted οὕτως = "assuming that this is the method of its genesis." This is not quite satisfactory, since properly speaking if it is ἀγένητος it has no genesis.

The Armenian has "materiae specialiter factae," of which Aucher says that the translator read τῆς ὕλης εἶδος. Is it not simpler to suppose that he took εἰ δὴ as a single word and unable to make anything of the rest omitted it?

FRAGMENT 2

§ 4. The thought here is very striking. Wendland cites for it from Sen. *Ep.* lxvi. 26-27. Here we have "num quis tam iniquam censuram inter suos agit, ut sanum filium

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quam aegrum magis diligit? . . . quoniam quidem etiam parentium amor magis in ea, quorum miseretur, inclinatur." But this is not quite the same. For as the sequel "virtus quoque opera sua, quae videt affici et premi, non magis amat, sed parentium bonorum more magis complectitur ac fovet" shows, it is pity for the sufferings of the good and not a yearning for those who have gone astray which Seneca means. Philo's words come nearer to the spirit of the story of the Prodigal Son than anything I have seen elsewhere in ancient philosophy.

§ 8. *περὶ ᾧ κηραίνει*. This phrase is here given in Gifford's translation by "about which . . . are anxious"; in Mangey's by "quorum in cupiditate . . . contabescit," and L. & S. revised, connecting it with *κηρ* and citing a very similar passage to this (*De Dec.* 153), has "be sick at heart or anxious." But the evidence of Philo's use of the phrase points to the meaning given in the translation, *i.e.* "incurring disaster" or "getting into trouble in connexion with something." Leisegang has eight examples of it, to which add this passage and perhaps *De Virt.* 31. In none of these is "suffering disaster" impossible and in some "being anxious" is impossible. Thus in *Spec. Leg.* i. 81 the body of the would-be priest must be scrutinized *ἵνα περὶ μηδὲν ἀτύχημα κηραίνῃ*; *ib.* 260 the bodies of the victims sacrificed must be without flaw and the souls of the offerers must *κηραίνειν περὶ μηδὲν πάθος*; *De Praem.* 29 the defectiveness of human reason is shown by *ὁ λογισμὸς περὶ πολλὰ κηραίνων*. In *De Ebr.* 164 Lot *περὶ ταῦτα μάλιστα κηραίνει*, where *ταῦτα* is explained as the fact that Lot had only daughters and therefore could breed nothing masculine or perfect.

§ 17. (Footnote 1, *ἄξαντες*.) I do not know what sense Dindorf and Gaisford supposed this to have. Gifford, clearly taking it from *ἄγνυμι*, says that "if it is retained the meaning will be 'having broken through,'" but no such meaning of *ἄγνυμι* is known, and even if it were possible it would still be necessary to follow it with *διὰ*. Nor can any meaning be obtained by taking it from *ἄγω*. But it is not quite so impossible that it should be the participle of *αἰσσω*, though the picture of the physicians being so eager to reach the royal bed that they dart or rush through the bodyguard is, like "breaking through," somewhat grotesque. In this case we should print *ἄξαντες <διὰ>* (though the mss. would have it without

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the iota subscript) and ὄχλον and θεραπείαν would be governed by ὑπερβάντες. Wendland suggests as alternatives ἐξ ἐναντίας or ἀντικρὺ or ἀμελήσαντες.

§ 18. σχήματι. Something is to be said for Mangey's proposal to correct this to ρεύματι. This is supported by Wendland, but it should be pointed out that in this case the word would be used in the medical sense of a flux or discharge. Galen and Dioscorides both speak of a ρεῦμα γαστροῦ or κοιλίας in this sense. The Armenian has a word which Aucher translates by "laxitate" and it is possible that it is some medical term which might indicate discharges or as we should say "looseness" of the bowels, but is διώδῃκε a word which would be joined with ρεῦμα in this medical sense?

§ 23. (The quotation from Empedocles.) Two lines of this are quoted by Synesius

“ἐνθα φόνος τε κότος τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρῶν
αὐχμηραί τε νόσοι καὶ σήμειε ἔργα τε ρευστά.”

Another line quoted by Clement

“κλαῦσά τε καὶ κώκυσα ἰδὼν ἀσυνήθεα χῶρον”

is no doubt rightly supposed to precede the two. The correction of φόνοι τελοῦνται to φόνοι λιμοί τε is apparently due to Stephanus, but I feel as Dindorf evidently did that it is somewhat arbitrary. There is no great similarity between τελοῦνται and λιμοί τε and nothing very strange in Philo quoting the first two words, then inserting the verb, and then quoting the conclusion of the line. Nor is hunger to the point. The places spoken of are those in which not physical evils but human cruelty predominates. The Armenian no doubt had τελοῦνται, for the Latin is “ubi caedes aliaeque huius modi pravae gentium consuetudines vigent.”

§ 24. (Footnote 3, ἡωρῆσθαι.) This correction of Dindorf for θεωρῆσαι, which is not noticed in Gifford's later edition, is clearly based on the fact that in Her. iii. 124 Polycrates' daughter dreamt that her father ἐν ἡέρι μετέωρον ὄντα was washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun. Mangey had suggested μετεωρίζεσθαι. The correction leads up well to κρεμάμενον.

§ 24. The Armenian version of this section as it appears in Aucher's translation is very curious. Wendland dismisses it

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as corrupt, but much of it admits of some interesting interpretation. It does not give the name of Polycrates at all, and Aucher in a note says that the translator seems to have read *πολὺ κρατεῖ γε*, which he rendered by a phrase which Aucher represents by "per multum temporis tenet." This no doubt he tacked on to the clause about fortune given in the footnote as omitted by Eusebius. He made a full stop then and continued with what Aucher represents by "con-digne iis quae patrauerat inique impieque ut eorum promotor et auctor sortitus est deterioris vitae infortunium, atque iussu magni regis diu tortus et clavis compressus crudeliter consummatus est." That is to say he took *χορηγός* as = "promoter and author" and as subject to *ἡδίκησε καὶ ἡσέβησε*. At the end of the sentence his "crudeliter consummatus est" seems to represent what he read for *χρησμών ἐκπιπλᾶς* or perhaps *χρησμών ἐκπιπλᾶς οἶδα*. The Latin then proceeds "illa vero dimiserunt eum quae non multis ante horis gloriae speciem ferebant ante solem ungi et a Iove lavari." The words *ἔφη κάμαντόν* of the received text are to some extent conjectural, for almost all the mss. divide them otherwise such as *ἔφηκ' ἔμαντόν* or *ἀμαντόν*, and if the Armenian by a slight change got *ἀφήκεν αὐτόν* it will explain "dimiserunt eum." I suspect therefore that he read *ἀφήκεν αὐτόν τὰ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἐκτιμήσαι* (or some similar word which he substituted for *θεωρήσαι*) *δόξαντα*, and the translation will run "He was sent out of life by the things which seemed a short time before to have promised him high honour, namely being anointed," etc. If the similar word is *θεῶ εἰκάσαι* "to liken him to a god," we should have something which would make admirable sense and be textually fairly satisfactory, but not well represented by "gloriae." His version, I am afraid, cannot be accepted in face of the violent changes from the mss. involved, but it is a much more sensible version. It avoids the pointlessness of putting these words into the mouth of Polycrates and also the contradiction of Herodotus's story. If we had no access to the Greek and had to choose between his account and that in the translation no one would hesitate to choose the former.

§ 26. *ἀνείμωνα*. For this word see note on *De Som.* i. 99 (vol. v. p. 599), where this example should have been noted as well as *Spec. Leg.* i. 83. In all these cases Philo uses this apparently rare word in the sense of without the upper

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covering and contrasted with γυμνός. The contrast is obvious both here and in *Spec. Leg.*, where it is explained as = "in short tunics," almost as obvious in *De Som.* i. 99, where the phrase κοιμᾶσθαι ἀνείμωνα means sleeping with inadequate covering. In that note I suggested that Philo had *Od.* iii. 348 in mind, but if so he misunderstood the meaning, for there the ἀνείμων is not a person who sleeps uncovered but a host who is unable to supply proper covering to himself or his guest. But the misunderstanding is shared by L. & S. which translates it as = "unclad." I also commented on L. & S. revised being, like Stephanus, still unable to supply an example of the word except that in the *Odyssey*. In the Addenda however two examples are given, one from a fragment of Callimachus in a papyrus and our *Spec. Leg.* passage (which however should be given as Ph. 2. 225—not 355).

§ 45. For the Stoic doctrine of "incidental consequences" as distinguished from the "primary works of nature" cf. Gellius vii. 1. 7 "existimat (sc. Chrysippus) non fuisse hoc principale consilium ut faceret homines morbis obnoxios . . . sed cum multa, inquit, atque magna gigneret pareretque aptissima ac utilissima alia quoque simul agnata sunt incommoda, eaque non per naturam sed per sequelas quasdam necessarias facta dicit quod ipse appellat κατὰ παρακολούθησιν." This dictum of Chrysippus applies primarily to diseases but the latter part gives it the same general application as Philo gives it here. See Zeller, *Stoics and Epicureans*, p. 179 (Eng. trans.). Zeller adds that the Stoics also pointed out that things ordinarily regarded as evil may be of the greatest service, and illustrates this from a saying of Chrysippus quoted by Plutarch that bugs do us good service by preventing us from sleeping too long. Cf. for this the incidental uses pointed out by Philo in §§ 47-51.

§ 48. (Footnote 2.) I have allowed what may be called the generally received text to stand but further investigation since the translation was made makes me think that Gaisford and Dindorf were almost certainly right. Gaisford's App. Crit. seems to indicate that he found τὰ μέτρα or τὰ ἡμέτερα μέτρα in his mss. with one exception and found πείρα in none. Gifford in the two mss. which he relied on for this part of the *Praeparatio* found the same. Also ταῖς ὥραις, not τὰς ὥρας, appears to be universal. On the other hand

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τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πείρᾳ goes back to Viger, 1688 and possibly (though I have had no opportunity of verifying it) to Stephanus in 1544. How then did Viger or Stephanus get it? The clue seems to be that the one exception noted by Gaisford has τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πέτρᾳ. Assuming that Viger or Stephanus found this, the correction to πείρᾳ would be very natural. But if μέτρα is right, ἡμέτερα, which appears in nearly all mss., must either be dismissed as a dittography or amended to ἡμέρινα (or ταῖς ἡμερίναις . . . ὥραις?). Wendland, quoting the Armenian, "diei mensuras notat et horas," suggests τῆς ἡμέρας, but the adjective used in its common antithesis to νυκτέρινος seems to me preferable.

Wendland also notes that the Armenian has "quae de columnis cadunt umbrae," and suggests that πασάδων should replace ποδῶν.

§ 50. (Quotation from Pindar.) The quotation here alluded to occurs in that part between the two divisions of the second fragment which was omitted by Eusebius. It is undoubtedly from the beginning of a fragment of Pindar preserved in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Vi Dem.* 6. It is listed among the fragments of Pindar as 107 or 74 (Schröder, p. 427), in Sandys's Loeb translation, p. 548 as *Paeon* 9. The Latin version in Aucher has enough resemblance to show the identity, but otherwise is sheer nonsense and does not even suggest the general sense, which is that the sun is asked why by this darkening it threatens the world with evil. A version supplied by Conybeare, from which Schröder quotes various bits, would probably explain it better. But it certainly seems that the Armenian who could manage Philo with general accuracy was unable to tackle Pindar. The continuation as given by Dionysius does not suggest the death of kings or the destruction of cities, but war and faction, abnormal storms and floods and through these the destruction of mankind. Some lines however seem to be missed out in the continuation, which may have been more specific.

§ 53. The inconsistency between this and the view expressed in § 41 may perhaps be explained by supposing that though earthquakes, pestilences, etc., are in themselves incidental consequences they may still be employed by God as a means of chastisement.

§ 67. οὐ γὰρ ξηρή, κτλ. Zeller in *Presoc. Phil.* vol. ii. pp. 80-81

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(Eng. trans.) has a long discussion on this Heracleitean saying. It is quoted by numerous writers, Stobaeus, Musonius, Plutarch, Galen, Clement and others in various forms and the variation extends to different mss. of these authors. The chief variants are *αῦη ψυχῇ*, *αῦγη ξηρῇ ψυχῇ*, *ξηρῇ ψυχῇ*. Zeller thinks that *αῦγη ξηρῇ* can hardly be the original form, largely on the ground that there is no such thing as a wet beam. The form *οὗ γῆ ξηρῇ* does not appear in any of these quotations, though one variant in the mss. of Musonius has *αὖ γῆ ξηρῇ*, but Zeller has no doubt that this is a true reading in our passage, though his remarks, which are transcribed by Gifford, are oddly worded and not very logical. "Philo," he says, "*ap. Eus. Praep. Evang.* viii. 14. 67 has *οὗ γῆ ξηρῇ*, κτλ., and that this is the true reading . . . is clear from the passage in Philo, *De Prov.* ii. 109 'in terra sicca,' " etc., *i.e.* Zeller, unless the translator has misrepresented him, and Gifford certainly, were not aware that Philo *ap. Eus.* and Philo, *De Prov.* were the same, and that what he is quoting is only the Latin translation of the Armenian translation of the same passage. What the words in Aucher show beyond doubt is that the Armenian found *οὗ γῆ* in his text, for he is not likely to have had the acumen to make the correction independently, and they thus give a very convincing support to what we might otherwise have supposed to be an emendation of Stephanus or Viger.

§ 68. (Footnote 1.) The Armenian also presumably read *αἰτίον*. The full sentence is "mens tamen nusquam nascitur ob frigefactionem gelationemque, quoniam aer, terra et aquae in causis sunt simul, et frequentes exhalationes densae supereminent." I imagine that he read or translated as if he read *ἐξ αἰέρος αἰτίου καὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος* instead of *αἰ γῆς*.

§ 71. *ia*. So Wendland from the Armenian "viola vero et rosa crocusque"; this is perhaps the best example of the value which the Armenian occasionally has, see *Introd.* pp. 449 f. The common reading *εἰ* does not give any good sense. The rendering which I had given, "though roses, etc., exist they exist for health not pleasure," lays a difficult stress upon *γέγονεν* and Gifford's "roses, etc., are meant, if for health, yet not all for pleasure" misplaces the "if" and gives no clear meaning.